

THE ROMAN HISTORIE

WRITTEN

BY T. LIVIUS OF PADUA.

Also,

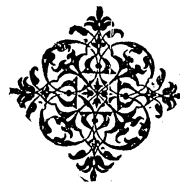
The Breviaries of *L. Florus*: with a Chronologic to the whole
History, and the Topographie of *Rome* in old time.

Translated out of Latine into English, by *Phil: mon Holland*,
Doctor in Physick.

To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of *Livy*
(which was lost.)

Lately written in Latine by *I. Frainshemius*, he now newly
Translated into English.



LONDON,

Printed by *W. Hunt*, for *George Sawbridge* at the Bible
on Ludgate Hill. 1659.



To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Sovereign) by the grace of God, Queen of England
France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c.



AL my labour whatsoever, in translating another mans work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortal memory of your most sacred Majesty. An attempt (I confess) in regard of mine own imperfections, venturous and bold, as the first enterprises right hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most worthy and Powerfull Empress; Who is therefore insufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect, as of myself the meanest of many thousands, under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equal; no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royal person; the wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency shewed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare virtues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius: who having arrived long since and conversed as a meer stranger in this your famous Island, and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour to be ranged with other free denizens of that kind: so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegiance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, justice, virtue, valour, loyalty, and not other wise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty alwaies with his holy Angels, prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divine graces, maintain your Regall estate in all honour: blest the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble
and obedient subject,
Philemon Holland.



*Ad Anglicam Livianæ Historiæ versio-
nem, Interpretis Protopopœa.*

Nate (decem decies sensu fastidia menses,
Longa nimis; matri dum gravis pondus eras)
Quid lucem refugis? (necuit pudor iste parenti)
Atria quid fugitas regia? siste padem.
Siste pedem, audentes sequitur fortuna; nec ausis
Excidere & magnis dedecus esse reor.
Horridum peperit si rustica Nympha; paternum
Te genus aut virtus nobilitare potest.
Nempe Decem Patavi genuit te Livius ingens:
Sane animum, tanto es qui genitore salus.
Et, quæ favit opemque tulit Læcina vocanti,
Elasidua potens, diæ Diana mihi;
Hæc oculis, hæc te manibus refovebit aleique:
Audiet, ipsa leget, faustaque verba dabit.
Agnoscat proprias, Princeps ter maxima, laudes;
Sive artes pacis, seu fera bella refers.
Quid si παλαιῶν, quid si παύσαντων, & orbis
Mirandum Decus, hæc Elizabetha tenet,
Quæ tulit in Latium Patavinum, transfuit inde
Tentonus, Hetruscum, Gallus, Iberus, Arabs?
At patrias mavult audire & reddere voces,
Quæ parva principi, alma parensque sua est.
(Scilicet ille te hucus sapiens optavit Vlysses
Velsumum & patriis posse videre focis.)
Illius aspectu vitalis, numine tutus,
Auspiciis salix atque beatum eris.
Aulam sive solas, seu Sacra, aut Castra sequaris:
Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratum eris.
Sive togata legat gens ingeniosa, placebis:
Sui magis exiliu tuâ frequensque post.
Aulicus, Antistes, Miles, prudensque Senator,
Causidicus, Civis, femina, virgo, puer,
Hinc documenta parent: discet juvenisque senexque
Vir bonus, & patriæ commodus esse sua.
Ergo macte animi, nec te gens Critica ledet:
Candidior, quo quis doctior, esse solet.

Σὺ δὲ χαρίεστος τῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοειδὲς αὐτῷ
Τίμων, οὗ πατριδὸν ποσὸν δὲ, πολλὰ καμῶν
ὡς τὰ γὰρ σοὶ τὰ χάρεις, & μὴ μόνον χάρις ἀνέστη
Τὸ αὖ πῶτος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀντὶ.



TO THE READER.

The Rue is that Axiome received from Philosophy, τὸ ὅτι
ὅτι τὸ γένος ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑνῶν, i. The corruption of one thing is the
generation of another. Thus out of the ashes and ruins
of Troy sprung the City of Rome: and by the woful fall
of that one state, arose not only the most glorious em-
pire of the Romans, but also the best writer of their hi-
story, Titus Livius. For whereas after the fatal destruction of Troy, two
principal men of name remained alive, *Æneas* and *Antenor*: the one with
his fleet arriving in that coast of Italy where Tybre runneth, built *Lavi-
num*, and became the first father of the Romans, according to *Virgil* in
the first *Æneid*:

genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, alia moenia Romæ:

from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of stately Rome.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of *Padua*, the native
place of *Livy* their historiographer, as the same Poet writeth a little after:

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi I sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, &c.

Yet here the City *Padua* built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when *Troy* was lost, who resting seat did want.

And I wot not well, whether they were more beholden to that fortune
of theirs, (whereof so much they boasted) for *Æneas* the author of their
beginning and admirable greatness: than for this writer *Livy*, who com-
mended their deeds to everlasting fame. For from their very first rising
[even with *Æneas*] unto their sensible declining and decay, were not
1200 years compieat: but since *Livy* enchronicled their acts, sixteen
hundreds are come and gone: yet continue they as fresh this day as at the
first, and spread stil far and neer into all parts of the world. So much more
durable and permanent are the memorials recorded by learned Histori-
an, than either any Monarchy be it never so great, or all those wonderful
Pyramids and Obeliskes, reared by most magnificent Kings, and migh-
ty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This *T. Livius*
was born at *Padua*, in the year 694 after the foundation of *Rome*,
when *franius* and *Q. Cælius Metellus Celer* were Consuls. He flour-
ished

To the Reader.

rished all the time of *Augustus Caesar*, and died in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. By which account, he lived full LXXVI. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at *Padua*, (where it is thought he died) with the pourtrait of his visage: whereof the one is reprinted here, and the other immediately before the beginning of the History.



TITVS LIVIVS PATAVINVS,
Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum
facta scripta sunt.

TITE LIVY OF PADVA.
Who wrote long since with peer-less pen,
The acts of Romans, match-less men,

To the Reader.

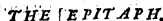
Other evidences there be concerning the same, which needles it were to call to witness: for no Epitaph nor inscription either enchaſed in ſtone or cut in braſs, is there left, better than the monuments of his own writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the testimony of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Augustus*, he wrote the worthy deeds of the Romans, and continued the narration thereof from the very foundation of the City of *Rome* unto the one and twentieth year of his Empire. A ſtory of 750 years, and a peece of work for the artiſt: all frame and elegant ſetting out, comparable to the beſt in that kind. My purpoſe is not here, to enter into a large field and Rhetorical diſcourſe of his praifes in regard of any gifts of fortune wherewith he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativity, a City more ancient by 400 years than *Rome*; flouriſhing in martial puiſſance, able to ſet out and maintain 100000 fighting men for the wars; in ſtately port at home, having a nobility of 400 in number; in gorgeous and coſtly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Marchants thither; as alſo, that *Venice* was a Colony deducted and drawn from thence; and, which is not the leaſt, how at this day the famous Univerſity there, affordeth excellent Profeſſors in all kind of learning: nor his happineſs and felicity to live and die with the glory and beauty of *Rome*, and not to behold with his eyes thoſe daies of her declining ſtate & deformity, which in great wiſdome he foreſaw in his ſpirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the ſpecial favour wherein he ſtood with his Prince *Augustus*, and *Livia* the Empreſs: much leſs then mean I to ſet forth the ſingular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and paſſing eloquence, which my pen is more able now to deſcribe and amplify to the worthineſs thereof, than it was to imitate and expreſs the ſame in tranſlating of his ſtory. Moreover, if I ſhould ſet into his commendation, beſides that I muſt needs come far ſhort of his merit, the thing it ſelf would but renew the juſt grief, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maine and defect of that notable peece of work & uniform compoſition which he left unto poſterity. For having digeſted the whole hiſtory into an hundred and two and forty books, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well collekteth: like as alſo it is evident by the *Breviaries* of *L. Florus* the Epitomift, whereof we have 140, with an evident flaw and default of twain, to wit, the 126 and 137: ſee the partial injury of the time, the crooked and maligne deſtiny of the man! Books of far leſs moment and importance, yea, & thoſe of greater antiquity, have been ſpared & remain ſafe: but of that work of his, one fourth part hath not eſcaped the envy of fortune: and that which now is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious meddling of ſome buſy *Ariſtarches* of late daies depraved, who with their correcting have corrupted; and in ſtead of reforming words, have deformed the natural ſenſe and primitive conſtruction. Where, by the way, I muſt advertiſe the Reader of that which *Petru Crinitius* hath obſerved, even againſt the common opinion proved by thoſe who otherwiſe

To the Reader.

are well learned, namely that our Author dispensed not this history into Decades: that is to say, suted and sorted them not into several Tomes and Sections of ten books a peece. For *Priscian* and other old Grammarians; when they cite any testimony out of *Livy*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade; and with him the above-named *Petrarch*, *Florus*, and *Politian* do agree. Now in these 33 books, so few as they be preserved as another *Palladium* out of a generall skare-fire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull eloquence of our writer in the whole; for the farther he proceedeth into a world, as it were, of matter, the more copious still he floweth; and with such variety, as that he never iterateeth one thing twice; but at every change of new affairs, returneth alwaies fresh and gay, furnished with new devils, inventions; and phrases; much like a second *Anteus*, gathering greater strength and more forces still at every turn; or after the manner of a little hill, which issuing from a small source, is maintained with fresh springs and new riverets; and hasting toward the vast Ocean, carrieth a deeper channell and broader stream. For the form of his stile, I refer the readers to the sound and staid judgment rather of *Quintilian*, who compareth him with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and the best Greeks; than to the fantastick conceits of some Critics of our time, who seeking *nodum in circo*, have dreamed of I wot not what *Patavinity* in him. What should I speake of that Patheticall spirit of his in moving affections? But, that which most of all commendeth an history, which being *lux veritatis*, ought especially to mendeth an history, which being *lux veritatis*, ought especially to deliver with sincerity the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without respect of face or person; to keep only to the substance and train of the subject argument; the due and orderly regard of the important circumstances thereto belonging, without incerting extravagant and impertinent by-matters, much less than fabulous tales; therein he hath the prick and price above all others. For, neither forbeareth he to reprove (as occasion is offered) the Romans, in whose favour he might be thought to have written; nor doubteth to praise the good parts and the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls he may seem to gall more bitterly upon a sinister affection, glancing at them as he doth, in many places for their greedy desire of gold and idle sloath, as not able to endure any long travell, and heat least of all; yet so, as the French, now living, seem not much offended therewith; for above other Nations they have given him most friendly entertainment, and twice enfranchised him among them. I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principall point and vertue of an Historiographer, I mean the delivery of a simple truth in his narrations; for that I have observed in him throughout, that he hath been most modest in reporting from others by hearsay any thing that soundeth to an untruth; so little deserveth he to be noted with the infamous brand of lye. The wary circumspection of his in that behalf which I dare be bold to recommend unto the Reader, I proposed unto my self in making him English; endeavouring by conference especially of the select copies in Latine, yet not rejecting other translations (such as

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I had some little skill in) to come as near as possibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author; making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wants and defects might sooner be passed by and pardoned. A desire I had to perform, in some sort, that which is profitable to the most, namely, an english History of that C.W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affordeth most plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wisdom, policy, justice, valour, and all vertues whatsoever. According to this purpose and intent of mine I framed my pen, not to any affected phrase, but a mean and popular stile. Wherein, if I have called again into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit together, as the originall, loath I was to be obscure and dark; have I not englished every word aptly? Each Nation hath severall manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themselves; have I varied in some places from the French or Italian? Censured I look to be and haply reproved; but like as *Antibides* said to one, *παταγον εν ελκυστον, i.e. Strike hardly (Euribides)* so you bear me speak; even so I say, Find fault and spare not; but withall, read the originall better before ye give sentence. And howsoever I have faulted otherwise by oversight, let against it my affection and desire to do some good whiles I live to my sweet native country; add thereto the long travell that I have taken to testifie the same; and if that will not bring down the ballance, let the profit and delight both, which you shall find in the argument and discourse of the history, counterpoise and overweigh my wants, more or less. And thus I recommend unto my countrymen *Livy* in english habit; *Livy* (I say) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this day of forraign nations, I cannot easily determine. For like as then (by the testimony of *S. Hieron* and *Pliny* in his Epistles) there repaired many great and noble personages from the farthest parts of *Spain* and *France*, only to see his face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence; even so of late time, his spirit (which yet liveth in his writings) hath made a voyage by *Florence* into the same *France* and *Spain*, and hath passed as far as into *Arabia* one way, and *Almain* another. In which distant and remote parts he hath found such kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates; but also with the people in generally; that they seem to strive no less (who may endow him with most ample franchises and free burgesie) than those seven cities in old time who every one challenged to themselves the birth of the Poet *Homer*. Since then, he hath thus long been desirous to cross the seas into this noble Island, not as a traveller to sojourn for a time in the Court only or the Universities, but to remain here still both in City and country, and thereto hath learned our language indifferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the rest.

[illegible]

V. F.
TITUS LIVIUS
LIVIAE T. F.
QUARTAE. L.
HALYS
CONCORDIALIS
PATAVI.
SIBI ET SUI
OMNIBUS.
OBII IIII. TIBERII
CAESARIS ANNO.
NATUS LXXVI
ANNOS.

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE HISTORIES
OF
TITUS LIVIUS
OF PADUA, FROM THE FOUNDATION
OF THE CITY OF ROME.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the First Book.

A He comming of *Eneas* into Italy, and his att: there, the reign of *Ancanus* in *Alba*: of *Sylvius Aeneas*, and of *fourth* of *other Sylvii*. *Ciculus* therof, are contained in the *fi* ft *Book*. The daughter of *Numitor* with child by *Mars*, *Romulus* and *Remus* are born, *Amulius* killed, The City of *Rome* built by *Romulus*. The Senate by him chosen. He made war with the *Sabines*. He presented unto *Jupiter Feretrius* the royall spoiles of their King, whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into *Centuries*, vanquished the *Fidenates* and *Veientians*, and was canonized a god, *Numa Pompilius* taught the rites and ceremonies of sacrifice and divine service, erected a Temple to *Janus*, and was the first that shut the doores thereof, after he had made peace with all the Nations thereabout: and raising that he had secret company and conference by night with his goddesse *Proserpina*, won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion. *Tullus Hostilius* warred upon the *Albans*, whereupon ensued the combat of the three brethren, twis on both sides, *Horatius* was acquit for killing his sister. The execution of *Metius Sufferus*. *Alba* raised and destroyed. The *Albans* made free denizens of *Rome*, and there dwelt. Why denounced against the *Sabines*. Finally, *Tullus* was consumed with lightning. *Ciculus* *Martius* renewed the ceremonies by *Numa* first ordained. He to the *Latines*, being conquered and made Citizens of *Rome*, he assigned the mount *Aventinus* to inhabit. He won again by force a town of the *Latines* called *Politiorum*, which the old *Latines* had surpris'd and possess'd themselves of, and wistly destroyed it. He made the *Sublician* or wooden bridge over *Tybris*, and adjoynd to the City she hill *Janiculum*. He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, took *Osilia*, and reigned three and thirty years. In the time of his reign, *Lucumo* the son of *Demaratus* a *Corinthian*, removed from *Tarquinius*, a City of *Tuscanie*, and came to *Rome*; and there entering into amity with *Ancus*, (legat to him the name of *Tarquinius*), and so to be called: and after the death of *Ancus* took the Kingdom up to him. He encreas'd the number of the Senators by one hundred, subdued the *Latines*, appointed the *Circus* or Theatre, for both the publick games and plaies: and being warred upon by the *Sabines*, he augmented the centuries of the housesmen, and for to make peace and trivall of *Accius Navius* the *Angur* his cunning, he dema'd of him, as they say, whether that which he conceived in his mind were possible to be effected: a woman he made a sower, she it was, he commanded him to cut a whistone in two with an arazor, which out of it he did with *Accius* done. Moreover, he was the field of the *Sabines*, and defeated themselves, the City about, made the wall'd sink; and when he had reigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the son of *Ancus*. Their succeeded after him *Servius Tullius*, the son of a Captive, a noble Lady of *Corinellum*, who being a child, and being foaled in the cradle, had caught fire (at the report geath) burning about his head. He discomfited the *Veientes* and *Tuscanes* in battell. He was the first that numbred the people of *Rome*, and after that good advertisement the *Lustrum* every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbred eighty thousand Citizens. He destroyed the *Classe* and *Centuries*: set out further the bounds of the *Pomarine*, without and within the City walls, and put to the City the hill *Quirinalis*, *Viminalis*, and *Esquilinus*. He together with the *Latines* founded the Temple of *Diana* in mount *Aventine*, and when he had reigned four and thirty years, he was, with the priority, slay'd by the compass of his daughter, *Tullia*, murdered by *L. Tarquinius*, the son of *Priscus*. After him *L. Tarquinius Superbus* usurped the Kingdom, without the election either of the Senators or the people. On which day at *Tullia* (most wicked and cruel for her truth) she was caught her Carth to be driven over the Corp of her father, lying dead on the ground. It had about him a troop of armed men for the guard of his person. By a subtiltie he put to death *Turnus Herdonius*. He had w^{ar} with the *Volscians*, and of their spoils erected a Temple to *Jupiter* on the hill *Capitol*, where he had *Terminus* and goddesse *Juvetas*, agreed not to be displaced, whose dates could not be stirred nor removed, as the others, by the

[illegible]

The Preface of Titus Livius to his whole Work.

[illegible]

The

The First Book
OF
TITUS LIVIUS.

[illegible]

Venetians at
this day de-
scended from
Henni, a peo-
ple of *Paphla-*
gonia, and the
Trojans un-
der the con-
duct of *Alex-*
ander.

and
the Trojans
arrive in Italy.
King Latinus.

А. М. Сидоров.

Laubmoor
bush.
African
bush.
Turner.

Leinster Hall,
Mezzerine,

The Lancers

Patres,
Patris.

The C-minimal
completeness
of the logic
 CMin_Δ

The prayer
of *Romulus*
to *Jupiter Stator*.
107.

A. H. REAGAN
c/o J. L. W. Co.

feir, For whilst the Cavalry stood unresolved, as it were, in a hammering whether to fly or fight, G
and the Infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner sallied forth
the gates, and chaled the Romans to fiercely, that in their eager pursuit they were drawn to the ve-
ry place of ambush. Thence the Romans suddenly arose, and charged the flank of the enemies: And
to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left behind to guard the camp, shewed themselves
with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terrified hundry ways, before well near that *Romulus* and
his men of arms could rein about their horse-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards
the town again, and so much the faster, for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pur-
sued them, who a little before made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape
the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, rushed together with them pell-mell into the town, H
before the gates could be shut against them. At this Fidenation war spreading so dangerously, the
Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kind-
red and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewise Tulsans. And fearing lest (if the Roman forces
should thus distress and lie upon all the borderers) they being so near should not go free, they were
the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entered in arms the confines of *Rome*,
spoiling and rifling, more like robbers than professed warriors. So without pitching any tents, or
abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the
fields, they return again to *Vei*. The Romans contrariwise, not finding the enemies in the field, but
yet provided and resolved to give battel, and to hazard all, passed over the *Tyber*. Whom the *Veien-*
tians understanding to be encamping themselves, fully minded to come against their City: sifted I
forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of sword, and in open field, rather then to
be mured up within the town, and to fight and defend themselves from off their houses and walls.
There the Roman King with the strength only of his old beaten souldiers, without any other help
and supply whatsoever, without policy or stratagem, had the better: and having thus discomfited
the enemies, he chafed them even to their very walls. And for that the City was exceeding strong,
fortified as well by natural situation, as by walls, he forbore to assault it. But in his return home-
ward, he wasted the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoil. With this defeature
the *Veientians* no less subdued then if they had lost a field, sent Orators to *Rome* to sue for peace: A
unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were amerced to lose part of their
lands. These were in manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign
of *Romulus*. Whereof none seemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth K
and beginnings, and also of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous
heart in recovering his Grandfathers Kingdom: his policy and wisdom in founding the City first, and
after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whole good proceedings
it got such strength, and so sure footing, that for forty years space after, it enjoyed peace with safety.
Nevertheless of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his
Souldiers most heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Esquires of the body, L
three hundred Penfioners armed, not only in time of war, but also of peace, whom he called *Celeres*.
Thus having achieved these noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time assembled all his people
upon the plain, at the marsh *Capra*, there to number or muster his army, behold upon a sudden there
arose a tempest with great cracks of thunder, which with so thick and cloudy a storm, covered the
King, that the people lost the sight of him. And never after was *Romulus* seen on earth. The Ro-
man youth, after their fear was at length past, and that upon so dark and troublefome weather, it
proved a fair day again, and calm withal, seeing the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the
Senators that stood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storm: yet stricken
into sad dumps, as it were for the loss of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards,
when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, *All hail god Romulus the*
son of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome: With earnest prayer beseeching him of his grace,
that he would vouchsafe to be propitious, and save their off-spring and posterity forever. I am of
this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly surmised that the King was
pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumor also was bruited abroad, although in
very dark and obscure teams. But by reason of the high admiration of the man, and the present fear
withal, the former opinion took place, and was more current. Over and besides, it grew the rather
credible, through the politick practise of one person. For as the whole City was penfive and
rowful for the misis of their King, and sore displeased with the Senators, one *Proculus Julius*, a sub-
stantial good author (as men say) and to be believed in a matter of great importance, stepped forth
into the assembly. *Romulus* (quoth he) *O Quirites*, the Founder and Patron of this City, even
this very morning at the day break, descended suddenly down from heaven and met me, and as
I stood all quaking for fear, ready to worship him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold
him face to face: Away (quoth he) and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that
my City of *Rome* shall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow
and practise chivalry, and the knowledge thereof: and wor this world, and so let them reach their
posterity, to wit, That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Ro-
mans. Which (said he) was not so foon spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A wonder
it was to see, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the misis of *Romulus*
both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digested,

The *Veien-*
tians: discom-
fited by *Rom-*
ulus.

Truce be-
tween *Rom-*
ulus and *Ve-*
ientians for an
hundred
years.
The com-
mendation of
Romulus.

Celeres.

Romulus his
end.

The speech
of *Proculus*
Julius.

- A In this mean while the Senators fell to strive who should be King, and the desire of sovereignty
troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no bending nor riding from any
one person in particular: for that in a State to newly risen, and of so small continuance, there was
not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two several
factions in general. For they that were defended of the Sabines, fearing lest because after the death
of *Italus* there was none of their part, that had reigned with *Romulus* in equal interrelation, they
should now lose their possession and title to the Crown, were desirous to have a King chosen out
of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or foreigner to be King.
Howbeit, thus diversly affected as they were, a King they all willingly gave, as who (quoth we)
B had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty and freedom. Besides, the Nobles began to fear a per-
adventure in case the hearts of many Cities thereabouts, should not be well disposed, but provoked
against them, some foreign power would make in them. Finding the City without government,
and the army without a Captain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could
find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators associate and com-
bined together in the rule of the Common-wealth, by dividing themselves into ten Decuries, and or
every Decury chusing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that in government they but one a-
lone had the regal Emblems and the Liens before him. This sovereignty and parliament deter-
mined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner,
they continued the space of one year. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is till at
C this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a year began the Commons to gudge and murmur, that
their servitude was greater then before, having now Lords over them and lord of one, and deemed
they would no longer endure, but have a King again, yea, and one of their own chusing. The
Senators (seeing them thereabouts, and taking it to be good policy for to obdurate of their own ac-
cord, which they were otherwise like to forgoe) carried favour with them in this wisd to wit, by
granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in choosing a King) yet for as they gave them no greater
privilege, then they referred to themselves. For thus it was decreed, that when the people had
elected a King, it should stand firm and ratified, if the Senators liked the choice, and gave thereto their
royal assent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chusing of Magistrates or Rulers, the same
right is in force for observed, letting aside the violence of Tribunes. For this now before the
D people give their voices, the Senators pass by their authority, that which they would have done, fail
it out in the assembly of people, by krutiny, doubtful as it will. To proceed then the Interregne
having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) *O Quirites*, and which may be
to you good, lucky, and prosperous, elect, or nominate yea new King: for to us the good pleasure
of the Nobles and Senators: and in case ye shall elect a man of such quality as may be deemed wor-
thy to succeed *Romulus*, then will they by their assent pass the same, and allow thereof. This pleased
and contented the Commons so highly, that because they would not keep behind in bounty and
countreie, they answered again that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Se-
nate should determine who should be King of *Rome*. There was in those days one *Numa Pompilius*,
much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religions: he dwelt in *Antur*, a City of the Sabines,
E a man right skilful and very well seen (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine
and humane: whose teacher and first matter, for want of other Author of his Science and Knowledge
(they say) but yet privately, was *Pythagoras of Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well known, that
he 100 years after and above, in the days of *Servius Tullius* King of *Rome*, held a School of young
men Students, that were his Disciples, and followed his Sect in the most and strictest coil of
his, about *Metaphisicall, Heracles, and Cronos*. From which place (albeit he had lived in that time)
whatframe of him could spread so far as to the Sabines? or by what error curie and slinty of sen-
sengue might he possibly have trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by
what good means and help, could *Numa* travel alone unto him in Italy, through so many coun-
tries, of divers tongues and sundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature
F was framed and disposed to vertue, and that he was instructed, not to him, but to the Gods and
Sciences, as after that strict rule, that stern and severe discipline of the art of *Numa* is, then whom
there was not a nation in times past, more precise, reformed and void of corruption. The Roman
Senators hearing the name of *Numa*, although they saw well enough, that the Sabines were like
to prove of great reputation and power, by chusing their King from among them, yet as there none
of them to andious, as to prefer either themselves, or any one of their party or faction, nor any
one, I say, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but a fingerer with one ear, and agd out to con-
fer the Kingdom upon *Numa Pompilius*. Who being sent for and come, the Sabines, as the found-
ing of the City was inagurate King, or attained to the Crown by means of *Agropyro* also it would
needs: that the will and counsel of God should be sought for, in his own election. Where-
G upon he was by the Augur (unto whom for ever after that public Ministry or Priesthood) of
honor and reverence by patent becomed) brought unto the Cattle hill, and there he let him
down upon a stone, with his face toward the South. Then the Augur as his face, and with his
covered took his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staff without knots or knobs, and look-
ed towards the top, which they called *Latina*. From whence after that he had with good advice,
taken a prospect and view towards the City and Countrey, and made his prayer unto the gods, he
limited the quarters of the Heaven, from East to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for the

Stile be-
tween the
Romans and
Sabines for
the Crown.

* *Charles*, his father

Motias Suffetin
Dictator of the
Albans.

The Oration of
Melius unto the
late

*Christi-
moratii.*

[illegible]

A "conven, or frand, and how at this day they are most rightly meant and understood, according to
the tenure of the words : for therein articles I say, I shall not the people of Rome hurt but kill,"
nor make detain : If they shall first go back and fall therein by publick consent, and frandless-
ly ; that day, *O Jupiter*, imite this : the City of *Rome*, as I to day will strike this swine ; yea, and
limite thou home to much more, as thou art more able and powerful than my self. And after he
had thus said, he imote the two with a flint stone. The Alban likewise repeated their pre-
cept form of words, and the oxen, by their Dictator and Priests for the purpose. The complements of
the covenant and agreement thus performed, and all con-cluded, then those three brethren of
both sides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arm themselves. And being con-urged on both hands,
B by their well-wishers, the friends, that put them in mind of their country gods, their native coun-
ty and parents, saying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whatsoever, both at home in
the City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and
their hands : the young men being both of themselves by nature forward and lusty, and also em-
boldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth between both armies. Now
were the two hosts set for on both sides before their camps, rid of present danger, rather then void of
care and perplexities. For why ? the whole trial of our craginy and nile, felted in their lionr and
good specc of a few. Whereupon they longing to see the league and issue, were wholly bent to be-
hold, and only minded this unpleasant sight and spectacle. At found of Trumpet their brave bre-
thren, three to three like as they had been twofold battels and carrying the tombs, they set of two
C great armies, affronted one another and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither
regarded they their own proper peril, but set before their eyes, only the rule or iurisdiction of the
Common-weal, is the title of their country from then, forth by wholly upon their good or bad
success in this action. So loon as they began to cope together and make assault, that their harnes
and weapons one clattered, and their drawn swords home and glittered again, beheld him an
exceeding fear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal : and during the
time of equal combat, neither inclination of victory to the one side or the other, they were to
affonced, that hardly they could well feak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they
were once to hand-shocks, and that now not only the flitting of their bodies, and the doubtful
handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds also were seen, two of the Romans
D (having first wounded all the three Albans) fell down one upon the other, and yec'd up the
ghost. At whole fall, the Alban host shouted again for joy : but the Roman legions, albeit they
were now pat hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amazed, and an extasy as it
were, with very fear what should become of him, who being but one, had three *Centurians* upon him
at once. But as good hap was, he as yet was fresh and unwounded. And as he was not able alone
to make his part good with them all together, so in single fight, man to man, he thought himselfe
good enough for them all, one after another. To fingle therefore, and to part them in fight, he
begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would
give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place, where they fought,
and looking behind him, espied them following far alunder, and one of them not much behind
E himselfe, he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilst the host of the Albans cried
out to the *Centurio* to rescue and incur their brother, then the Romans, by that time had flain his foremost
enemy, and was in hand with the second. Then the Romans with such a shout, as they are wont
to make, who after a great fight recover themselves and take heart again, en-urage their cham-
pion : and he himselfe halseth to finish the combat. And before that the third, who was not far
off, could get to the other, he had flain the second *Centurio*. So that now there was but one to
one, left to fight on e'en hand : and they, neither in hope nor strength equally matched. As for the
one of them, his body as yet not wounded, and his double victory withal caused him to attempt
the third conflict boldly and courageously. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with win-
ning, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, feeling his two brethren like an air
F his selfe, offered himselfe as a prey to his victorious enemy : for surely hee seen them to be
at all to speak of. The Roman he triumphing and crying out for joy : Two brethren like him
have I sent to the Divel, the third likewise shall fend after them : that a Roman may command
an Alban, which is the cause of all this war. And thereafter he was down a ftrip and killed him,
who had much ado to hold his weapons : and so soon as he was down a ftrip and killed him,
as his case was more dangerous and well nigh desperate. Then of both sides adde they them-
selves to bury their champions, but with like cheer and alacrity of heart : For why ? they of the
one part were become Lords, and they of the other. Subjects. Their troubles never yet to be
seen in the very places where they were each other's overthrow, but distant addeces. As they
G then fought and left their lives, before they did so, they agreed and departed thence the one from another. And
thus, according as it was capitulated in the composition, asked and demanded what *Centurio*
command him to do : who enjoined him to keep his youth ready in arms at an hours warning, so
that he would employ them in service, in case he should war with the Volscians : So were the
armies dismissed home. And *Horatius* he went forth baring on him the gold plate of his
brethren, Whom his Sister a maid affianced before to one of the *Centurions* before he was slain.

The cruel combat between the brethren *Corvus* and *Harporhynchus*.

Horatius kil-
leth his sister.

The judgment
of Horatius.

P. Horatius the
Father to the
people.

clipping upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her espoused husband, which she herself had wrought with her own hands; the unbowed her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victory, and amidst to great and public joy, moved the proud and haughty young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the silly damsel through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unseasonable and foolishly love; forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the honor thereof; and to with a mischief go she, whatever she be, that shall bewail an enemy of Rome. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and treacherous desert made it the less treacherous: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not seem the author of a judgment to unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doom, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duumvirs to sit upon Horatius, in trial of a criminal cause of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form. *The Magistrates called Duumvirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duumvirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they overthrow him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a cursed Gallows tree by a rope, and strangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either within the Pomony or without.* [By virtue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by their rigor of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltless person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O Publius Horatius a murderer and an enemy to the state of Rome. Go Lictor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Lictor and cast a cord about them. But Horatius, by the advice of Tullus, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of Publius Horatius the Father, crying out and saying, That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authority. Beweeching moreover, that they would not now make him childless, whom erewhile they saw with a goodly company of children about him. And therewithal the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoils of the *Curia*, set up and hanging in that very place which now is called *Pila Horatia*, i.e. Horatius his Pillar. And can ye indeed (O ye Romans, quoth he) abide to see him bound under a Gallows, yea, and whipped and tormented, whom a while ago ye beheld to march in great glory and jollity for his achieved victory? So uncleanly and foul a sight as which, the Albans themselves can hardly suffer. Go Lictor, go bind those hands fast, which armed a little before, won the people of Rome their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwink his head who saved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the neck, and strangle him upon a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the walls, so it be among those javelins and spoils of the enemies: or without the walls, so it be within the compass of the *Curia* Sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honorable acts may not save him from so unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himself still the same, and not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess and valor, than in the right and equity of his cause. Yea to the end that the murder so manifest and openly known, should be in some sort expiated, and satisfaction made therefore, his father was charged to purge his sons sin, and make amends, at the expenses of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the *Horatii*, put a raster or beam cross overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoke or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the City charges repaired, and they call it *Sororium Tigillum*, i. e. The Sisters beam. And in that very place where Horatia was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stone.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three soldiers, infected so, and poisoned the vain and little head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he sought peace: and seeing his people had more heart than hand, and their strength not answerable to their stomacks: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make war, and reserved his own men under a colour of league and confederacy, for to practise treason and falsehood. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having once the Veientians partakers of their counsel, and combined with the Albans to forsake the Romans, when time came, and turn unto them, brake out and took arms. When Fidene had thus openly revolted, Tullus sent for Metius and his power from Alba, and set forth forward against his enemies: and passing over the river Anio, encamped near the confluence, where both streams meet together. Between which place and Fidene, the army of the Veientians had crossed the *Tyber*, who put themselves in the right wing of the battle fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,

left nearer to the mountains. Tullus directly opposeth his own forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honesty and truth, neither durst keep his standing, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdrew himself toward the mountains: and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, displaceth his ranks. His intent and purpose was, on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that stood near, perceiving their flanks naked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there galloped an horseman, and advertised the King that the Albans were gone away. Tullus in this so fearful and dangerous case, vowed twelve Priests *Salus* and two Temples to *Palor* and *Pavor*, i. e. to Paleness and Fear: and with a loud voice cried out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the battle, laying, There was no cause at all to fear, for that himself had commanded the Alban host to wheel and lurch about, and so to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him expressly moreover, to cause them men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And those that had seen them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to speak, fought so much the more cholly. So the fear turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King when he spake so loud, and also a great many of the Fidenates being co-habitants with the Romans, underfoot Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans should all on a sudden run down from the hills and stop their passage to the town, they turned their backs and fled. Then Tullus presseth hard upon them, and having discomfited the Fidenates wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the sight of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the brunt. Howbeit the river behind at their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their slight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water: other lingering still, and staying on the bank side, doubtful whether to flee, or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and hewen in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battle. Then the Alban army, which beheld and saw all this conflict, defended down into the plain. And Metius, forsooth, rejoiceth much on Tullus behalf for this victory. Tullus again speaketh Metius fair, and gave order, that the Albans in a good hour should join their camp to the Romans: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lustral sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readiness, according to the manner, he commanded both armies to assemble together: to an audience, the Criers, beginning at the farthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first. Who also for the strangeness of the matter, and desirous to hear the Roman King to make his Oration, pressed forward to stand next. The Roman legion on pur purpose, as it was before decreed, stood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded.

Then began Tullus to speak in this wise, "If ever in any war heretofore had cause, O Romans, The Oration of Tullus.
E "to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, certainly it was in yesterdays battle. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more than with the treachery and falsehood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer in hand with a wrong persuasion: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commission, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and countenance only of command: to this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight, and also that your enemies weening they were environed behind, should be afraid and enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I reprove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewise would have done, if I had willed the march to have turned any whither from thence. It is Metius that was the guide and leader of this journey, Metius is he that is the worker and deviser of this war, Metius I say it is, and none but Metius, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. Butler who that will from henceforth presume hardly to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centurions stood armed round about Metius, and the King goeth on with the rest of his speech as he began, and said: "That which I pray God may turn to the good prosperity and happiness of the people of Rome, of myself, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to Rome: to endue the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentlemen to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common wealth: that as in times past the Albans state, out of one body was divided into twain. In now it may be united and become one again. At these words the Alban youth unarmed and helen on every side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general cart to keep silence, and hold their peace. Metius Suffenus (quoth Tullus then) If thou couldst have learned to keep allegiance promise, and covenants, thou mightest have been taught it at my hands with life. But now since thy forward nature is incurable, teach thou by thy carnal example and death all mankind, to hold and repute those things for sacred and holy, which have been broken and violate. Like as therefore erewhiles thou barest a double heart in doubt-

[illegible]

A And there sticking close together with the boats and planks, fired and consumed it clean. This accident both terrified the Sabins in their flight, and when they were discomfited, troubled them much, and hindered their flight: so that many a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the very river. Whole armor and weapons floating down the river were known at *Rome*, and brought news thither of this victory, in manner before word could be brought thither: by land. In this conflict the horsemen won great price and praie. For being placed at the skirts of both the wings, at what time as the main battel of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire, they charged forribly upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were marshalled, that they not only stayed the Sabin Legions pressing hard and fiercely upon those that began to shrink and give back, but all at once put them to flight. The Sabins ran main towards the mountains, but few got thither: for the greater number, as we said before, were by the horsemen driven into the river. *Tarquinius* thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them whilst they were lighted, after he had sent to *Rome*, the body with the prisoners, and burned on a great heap together (as he had vowed to *Vulcan*) the spoils of the enemies, marched on still forward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already sustained an overthrow, and could not hope for better success, yet because they had no time to consult, and advise with themselves, with such a power as might on a sudden in that strait be raised, met with him. Where they once again were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in despair to make their part good, they sued for peace. Then was *Collatia*, and all the lands about it taken from the Sabins. *Egerius* the Kings brother son was left with a garison at *allatia* to keep that place, And (as I find upon record) the Collatins were yielded into his hands, and the manner of their surrender was in this order. First, the King demanded thus and said: Are ye Ambassadors, or deputed agents sent from the people of *Collatia* to make surrender both of your selves and the Collatines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of *Collatia* in their own power, and at liberty to do what they will? They are (say they.) Do ye also render up your selves, the people of *Collatia* their rovin, their territory and lands. their wares, their limits, their temples, their household stuff and implements, and all thing else, as well faced as prophane, unto my power and the peoples of *Rome*. We do yield (say they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands. The Sabin war thus finished, *Jaquinius* returned to *Rome* in triumph. After this, he warred upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so far on any side, as to join issue in a general battle, and one set field for all, But bringing his power first to one town, and after to another, he made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latins. So as these towns, *Corneolum*, old *Fundania*, *Cameria*, *Crustumium*, *Amicula*, *Medullia*, *Nomentum*, were recovered from the old Latines, or from those that had revolted unto them.

After all this continued peace, Then was he more earnestly bent to go forward with his works, begun in time of peace, then he was before busied in managing of his wars: inasmuch as he gave the people no more repose at home, then he had in wars abroad. For besides that he prepared to compass the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a fone wall, the beginning of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he devised also certain draughts or vaulted links from aloft into the *Tyber*, whereby he drained and kept dry the bare City, or lowly grounds about the market place, and the other valleys between hill and hill, for that out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conveyance away of the water. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war; his mind even then giving him, that one day it should be a stately place.

At the same time there hapned in the court a wonderful strange thing, both in present view, and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was *Servant Indragas*, as he lay asleep in the night of many persons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcry raised at the wondering of so great a matter, the King arose; and when one of the household brought water to quench the flame, he was by the Queen stayed. And after the fire was somewhat appeased, she forbade the boy to be disquieted, until such time as he awoke of himself: and within a while as the sleep departed, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away. Then *Indragas* the Queen taking her husband aside into a secret room, "See you this boy (quoth she) whom we lo homeily keep, and in so poor and mean estate bring up? Wot well this, and know too ver aim, that he will one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affairs: he will be the chief pillar and support of the afflicted state of the Kings house. Let us therefore cherish him and foster with all kindness and indulgence the subject matter of so great a public and private ornament. Whereupon they began to make much of the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to instruct and train him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are lifted to great enterprizes, and to achieve high place of wealth and honor. And soon came to that pass, which pleased the almighty gods. For he proved a young man indeed princely nure and towardness in such sort that when there flourd he a young boy fought out to match with a *young* his daughter in marriage, there was not one of all the young gentlemen of *Rome* to be found comparable to him in any respect. So as the King affirmed to bestow her on him. This great honor wherunto he was advanced upon what reason came or cause it was, indueth me to think he was not the son of a bondwoman, nor that he served whilst he was a little one, as a slave, I am of their mind rather, that report thus:

When

[illegible]

Tranquil to the
people.

The Ions of *Ancus* at the first, seeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the King was alive, and *Servius* to mighty, retired themselves as bashed persons to *Sacell*, *Pontius*, And *Servius* now thought means to make himself strong, as well by private helps, as by publicke. And till peradventure the children of *Tarquinius* should another day be as ill affected against him, as the children of *Ancus* were against *Quintinius*, he gave in marriage his two daughters to *Lucius* and *Arms*, two of the Kings Ions late deceased. Yet could not he with all the policy of mans wit stay the fatal necessity, nor stop and divert the course of the delinities: but that the envy that followeth a Kingdom bred all distrust, dissoluality, and malice, even among those of his own household, for all their alliance and affinity. Howbeit in very good time, and fildy for the quietness of the present state, was the war with the *Vientes* (for now was the term of the truce expired) and other Tulkans, taken in hand. In which war, both the valour, and also the good fortune of *Tullius* was well seen and greatly knowned. Who having discomfited a mighty host of the enemies, as undoubted King in the opinion and judgment as well of the Senators as of the Commons, if their hearts had been founded, returned to *Rome*.

[illegible]

D peace, And first of those who were rated at an hundred thousand *Shillings* and above, he ordained
80 Centuries; 40 of the elder Iors, and as many of the younger; and all jointly were comend the
City Claffis. The elder were charged to be in readines at all hours, for defence of the City: the
younger to follow the wars abroad. There were bound to find harness, for defence of their own
bodies, an headpiece or morion, a shield, greeves and corselet, all of brais: and for offence of the
enemy, a javelin, and a sword. To this Claffis were adjoynd two Centuries of Carpenters and
Smithis, or Engineers, who were in wage, and served without amoure: and their charge was to
find the Campe Engines of battery and artillery. The second consisted of those that were valued
between 10000 and 75000 *Affes*. And of this sort both young and old were enrolled twenty
Centuries: who were comend to provide for their armour, a target or buckler instead of a

Centuries: who were chosen to be the Kings of the field: and excepting only a couplet, in all points as the former. The third the world has to be of those that were elected out of the 1000 Ailes, and as many Centuries of them, and with the same distinction of age. The fourth concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for the greaves they were disposed with. In the fourth Clavis were those that were afflicted in the Subdity book, between 1000 and 1500 Ailes, and of them were 10 many Centuries. Their armour was changed, having no more but a spear and a casting darr, with a lope called *Coronula*. The fifth was greater, containing thirty Centuries. Those carried with them flings and stones to sling at, or arrows, whom were reckoned the bowdies or criers, together with the trumpet and cornetiers, who were divided into three Centuries. This band host of them that were afflicted in the 1500, 1600, 1700, 1800 Ailes. The valuation under this comprised all the rest of the multitude.

from 25000 into \approx 11000 Alles. The Valuation under this prince ended at the year 1000. Whereof arose one Century, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having furnished and disposed the forces of the Infantry, he enrolled besides twelve Centuries of horsemen, and chose out of the principal men of the City and in other Centuries likewise. To the three that *Romulus* instituted, retaining the same name (till that they in their first solemn institution had) These horsemen for to buy their great horses had \approx 10000 Alles out of the Chamber of the City a peece: and to for to find and keep those horses were the rich wide-waisted yearly at \approx 2000 Alles a peece. Thus were all these charges and burdens shifted from off the poor mans shoulders, and laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignity and honor so much the more, For in the grand-leets and solemn elections of Magistrates, every man had not pre-ogative alle, nor equal authority, as *Romulus* first ordered, and the other Kings continued, when they gave their Votes by the poll indifferently one with another: but there was distinction made, and certain degrees; but so, as neither any one was ex-cluded or shut out, and yet the whole relied by the power of the richer sort, and chief of the City. For till the horsemen were called: afterward, the eighty Centuries belonging to the first Clasis. of the principal footmen: who if they disagreed, and hapned to be at any difference, then the Centuries of the second Clasis were called. And never went they likely so low as to the last of all, Neither ought any man to marvel that this order in these daies, after five and thirty tribes compleat, agreed not with the Centuries of the

elder and younger fort, according to the computation set down by *Servius Tullius*, considering their H numbers now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters and hills: those parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as *Lippos*.) For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equal contribution and payment, proportionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these Tribes any ways at all respective to the division or number of the Centuries aforesaid. When this Levy and taxation was finished, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the peoples fear of an act at him made, concerning those that should not come in to be registered and enrolled in the Subsidy book: he published an Edict, under pain of imprisonment and death, that all Citizens of *Rome*, as well horsemen as footmen, should the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century: I shew himself in *Campus Martius*, i.e. in *Mars* field. There, after he had mulctured and embattelled the whole Army, he assailed and purged the flames with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. And this was called *Conditum Lustrum*. Which was the very closing up and accomplishment of the assessment. In this *Lustrum* there were numbered and assessed 80000 Citizens; *Fabius Pictor*, a most ancient writer saith moreover, that so many there were of able men to bear arms. For to contain this multitude, it was thought good the City should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoined unto it two hills more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount *Esquilæ*: and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himself, and had his Court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the City, and then walled it: by occasion whereof, he set out the Pomery further. *Pomeryum*, according to the Etymology and literal signification of the word, is as much to say, as *Postmarium*, or the *Arrimure*, that is, a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the wall on either side, which the *Tulcans* in old time, when they built their Cities, used by advice of *Augurs*, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to set the wall: that neither within, the houses might joy upon the wall (whereas now ad days they build close to) and without also there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and plowed, as well because it was without the wall, as the wall without it, the Romans called *Pomeryum*. And ever as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls should be set out further, so far those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the Pomery were extended.

Thus the City being much increased in compass of building and all things disposed in good order, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not always seek to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martial prowess only, he attempted to amplify his dominion by policy, and withall to bestow upon the City some glorious ornament to beautify the same. And even at that time was the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of *Asia*. When as therefore *Servius* would use highly to praise and commend unto the Lords and heads of the Latines (with whom of purpose he had both in public and private, mutual entertainment and familiar acquaintance) that general agreement of the Princes of *Asia*, in matters of religion, and in the uniform worship of the same gods: at length, by much iterating and following till that theme, he prevailed with them so far, that the nations of the Latines, and the people of *Rome* together, built at *Rome* a Temple unto *Diana*: which was plain confession, and clear case, that *Rome* was now the imperial seat, for which they had so often warred. This quarrell, albeit now the Latines all in a manner had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, seeing they had so often attempted it by force of arms, and sped so badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to cast a favourable aspect, and yeeld good hope, by his private policy and industry, to recover again the imperial dignity unto the Latines. A certain householder forsooth, of the Sabines, had, as they say, a cow bred with him of a wonderful bigness, and late withall, (for a memorial of which so rare and wonderful beast the horns were set up, and remained still fixed in the porch of *Diana*'s Temple, many a hundred years after) this was supposed (as it was no lesse in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the N wile men or wizards prophesied, that the sovereignty and Empire should be settled and established in that State, whereof any one Citizen sacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This prophetic came to the ears of the Priest of *Diana*'s Temple. The Sabins aforesaid, so soon as he had espied a meer and convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to *Rome*, and leads her to the Temple of *Diana*, and there presented her before the Altar: where the Roman Priest wondering to see so huge a beast, whereof there had been so much speech, and calling to mind withall the foretold Oracle, spake to the Sabins in this wise. My friend (quoth he) what mean you to sacrifice to us uncleanly unto *Diana*, and do not rather purifie and wash your self all over in some running stream, before you come hither? Lo where *Tyber* runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple of conscience, who desired nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, that a happy success might be correspondent and answerable to so prodigious a beast, forthwith went down to the *Tyber*. In the mean while, the Roman killed the Cow in honor of *Diana*. This thing pleased the King and the whole City wonderful well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by so long continuance, fully and really invested in the Kingdom: yet because he heard say, that young *Tarquinius* otherwise gave out speeches of him, that he reigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had

A first want the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certain lands gotten by conquest from the enemies, he adventured to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffrages and voices. Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should reign over them. Thus was he declared King with as great content, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this, had nevertheless hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather for much the more, because he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and paid against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion thereby to accuse and blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he was

B both himself a young man of great courage and hot stomach, and his wife likewise at home, dame *Tullia*, lay ever upon him, and pricked forward his discontented and troubled mind: for you mult think, that the royal Court of *Rome* also hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragical and horrible act: that by a weariness and loathing conceived against the Kings government, liberty and freedom might the sooner ensue: and that reign be the last, which was by mischief gotten first. This *L. Tarquinius*, whether he were the son or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius* is not very clear: howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son. A brother he had, *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the two *Tullia* the Kings daughters; and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike. And happily it is to tell out that two forward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such

C was the good fortune. I believe, or the Roman people, that thereby the reign of *Servius* might continue the longer, and the City brought and settled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame and a proud grievous and exced much that her husband had nothing in him, no metal or matter at all, either to covet and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the other: *Lucretia*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed, and dedicated of royal blood. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that the having a forward and valorous Knight to her husband, sat still, and seconded him not in audacity and boldness as a woman should do. Well, in short time likeness and disposition soon brought them together, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naught, and for best together. But the mischief and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For the using to have secret

D conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. "A affirming in good earnest, it were better "both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than to be so matched as they were, and through the craven cowardice of others to languish and come to nothing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and worthiness, she doubted not to see, and that shortly, the Crown in her own house: that now "she seeth in her daughters, in this manner posseseth the quickly the humorous young man, and filled his head with her own rashness and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius*, and the elder *Tullia*, who died still in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and consent, rather than their good liking. But then every day more and more odious: for now the woman

E continually more in their eyes, his old age hateful, and his reign more odious: for now the woman minded nothing but one mischief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and past, should serve to no purpose, and mislead the effect of their designments. And thus she brake out and said, That she wanted not before one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and said nothing. "But she had a want of one, that that thought himself worthy of a kingdom, that remembered he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be king of a Crown and keeper "indeed than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof, But first (quoth she) if you be the man to whom "I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: if not, then is our case changed for

F "the worse, in that cowardliness is accompanied now with wickedness. Why resolve you not? "why arm you not your self, and go about this business? you need not go so far as to *Corinth* or "to *Tarquinius*, for to seek and compass forraign kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own "house and native country, the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein "the royal seat and throne of estate, yea, the very name of *Tarquinius*, createeth, nameth, and saluteth "you King. But an if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why bear you the world in hand "and deceive them? why take you so upon you as you do, to throw your self as a Kings son? Get "you hence to *Corinth* again, away to *Tarquinius*, turn backward to your former luck and condition, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of reproof, he checked the young man, set him on, and pricked him forward, and the her self for her part, could be at no repose, for thinking that *Tanaquil*, an alien and stranger born, could contrive in her head, and effect so great a matter, as to make two kings together, one after other, namely, her husband first, and afterwards her son in law: and she her own self, a Kings daughter, could bear no stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom. *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and temptations of a woman, went about, laboured and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were *Minerum gentes*: oftentimes putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men then

Tullia to her husband.

Suessia Pomelia
won by the
Romans.
* 1070 li. steel

See Tarquinii
to the Con-
vuls of the
Gabins.

Tarquinus having thus gained the town of *Gales*, made peace with the nation of the *Aequians*, H and renewed the league with the *Tuiscans*. After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principal, to leave behind him the Temple of *Jupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memorial of his reign and name. That of two *Tarquinus*, King both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religion, might wholly be dedicated to *Jupiter* and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to ex- aminate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chapels, which having been first vowed by King *Tarquin*, in the very extremity of the battle against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hal- lowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and sovereign deity moved the gods to declare the future mischiefs of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signs out of the *Augurs* learnings, admitted and allowed the exauguration and un- hallowing of all other cels and chapels besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to the confirming the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous preface, and thus interpreted, That seeing the seat and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not dis- placed and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuity being received for good and current: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, portending the greatness also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared (as they say) a mans head, face and all, whole and found: which might import no doubt, and plainly foretold that it should be the chief Cattle of the Empire and the Capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City, as the whom they sent for out of *Tuscan*, to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly let upon sumptuous building and spa- rious for no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Penates*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therefore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but 40 talents and no more, than to *Piso*, who writeth, that there was 40000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which sum or mass of money could never be looked for to arise out of the fackage of one only City in those daies: and must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of the self-same and magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being L thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and lending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of *Tuscan*, employed not only the Cities money and stock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall, which was no small travail of theirs: considering the travail of warfare besides: yet were they less aggrieved and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their own hands the Temples of the im- mortal gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were less in shew, so were they more painful and of greater trouble, namely the making of scaffolds or vault- ing-places in the Cirque or Theatre: and to the conveyance of a mighty great sinke or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, chiefly is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect com- M parable. Having in this wise held the commons in continual labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but over-charge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the Confines of his Domini- ons, he therefore sent part of them to inhabit and people *Signa* and *Cerret*, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

Whilst he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearful sight, namely a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and caused them to flee into the Kings palace, did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentary fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the *Calchans* and wise men of *Tuscan* about N publicke prodigions tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearful sight, being domestically, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *D. Ipsi* to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world, and for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatal lots, he ad- dressed two of his sons to take a voyage through unknown lands in those daies, and more un- known seas into *Greece*. *Titus* and *Arms* were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way. *L. Junius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the son of *Tarquinus*, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He having heard say, that certain principall Citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death: to the intent that himself might have nothing left either in the parts of his mind for the King to fear, or in his outward state for him to cover and desire: re- solved under the cloak of bale contempt to save himself, since that in right of justice he might receive small or no safeguard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a noddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an eicheat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriate to unconsol- able creatures: that under the shadow & colour of that surname, that courage of his lying close hid,

Terminus the
god of bounds
and lucers.

Tarquinus
Pictor
describeth the Tem-
ple of the
Capitol.
* 7500 lib. sterl.
* 150000 lib.
sterl.

Jun. Brutus
counterfeited
a fool.

A which should one day set free the City of *Rome*, might abide the full time and appear in due sea- son. This *Brutus* being by the *Tarquin* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing stock to make them pat- tism by the way, rather than to meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men say) tortoise and present unto *Apolla* a golden roil within a staffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by secret circumstances, of his natural disposition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers committal as ordingly, were ve- ry devout and earnest to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them should be King of *Rome*. And from the bottom of the deep Vauke this answer, as men say, was delivered in their hearing: [Which of you (O young men) shall first kiss your mothers breast shall be chief and sovereign ruler of *Rome*.] B The *Tarquin* then intending that *Sextus* their brother who was left behind at *Rome*, might nei- ther know the answer, nor yet otherwise the kingdom, willed the matter should by all possible means be carried to secret as might be, and concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twain, when they were returned to *Rome*, should first kiss his mo- ther. But *Brutus* supposing the speech of *Apolla* his Priest, tended to another issue, made as though he stumbled forward and took a fall, and so touched the ground with his mouth and kissed the earth, thinking this with himself, that he was common mother of all mortal men. Then returned they to *Rome*, where they found great preparation for war against the *Rutilians*.

The *Rutilians* then were Lords of *Ardea*. A people in those parts, and for those times very rich and wealthy: and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of war. The Roman King was desirous both to enrich himself, as having about the sumptuous building of pub- licke works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his natural subjects: being much discontented (besides their general milke of his pride, otterwise) at his manner of government: and disdainng greatly that they were by the King made labour- ers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held to long to servile toil and painful labour. The Ro- mans assailed at the beginning to surprize and win *Ardea* by assault: but when that way sped but ill, then began they to annoy and distress the enemies by laying siege, by casting trenches, raising forts, and labours about the town. During this siege, and the landing annoy lying there, (as it falleth out commonly when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruch) there were granted large licences and passports to and fro between the Camp and *Rome*, with much liberty: and yet more to the Principals of the Army than to the common Soldiers. And the Kings sons had otherwise good leisure to feast and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whilst they were drinking and making merry with *Sextus Tarquinus* in his pavilion, where *Collutius* was *Tarquinus* the son of *Egerius* sat at upper: there arose among other good table-talk, some argu- ing about their wives: whilst every man highly praised and wondrously commended his own. And growing to some heat and contention thereabout: There need not many words for this mat- ter, quoth *Collutius*, for in few hours it may be known how far my *Lucretia* surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any lincelines and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horse- back, and in our own persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shall be found and taken of a sudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, to let eve- ry man drink well, and were pretty heat with wine: *Mary*, content say they all, and to horse they go, and away they gallop on the spur to *Rome*. Thither were they come by the flurrying in of the evening, when it grew to be dark: and so forward without any stay to *Collutius* they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the Kings sons wives, whom they had surprised and seen afore, passing the time away in feasting and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up far within the night in the midst of her house amongst her maidens, hard at wooll- work by candle-light. Whereupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praise and com- mendation relied in *Lucretia*: Her Husband and the *Tarquin* had a loving and courteous wel- come at her hands. And heagin for joy of the victory, invited the Kings sons kindly and made com- monly friendly cheare. There at that instant *Sextus Tarquinus* was bewitched and possessed with wicked wanton lust, for to offer violence and villany unto *Lucretia*: her passing beauty and her approved chastity set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had disposed themselves all night long like lute and pleasant youths, they returned betimes in the morn- ing to the Camp. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinus*, unwitting to *Collutius* attended with one only man came to *Collutia*, where he was again in good and friendly sort received by them in the house, that suspected nothing less than that whereabout he was come. And being after supper brought up into the guest chamber, when he thought all about him true, and that every body was fast asleep all set on fire and burning in love, he slepeeth with naked sword in hand to *Lucretia*, as she lay sleeping full soundly, and bearing down the womans breast with his left hand. Peace quoth he *Lucretia*, & not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinus* I have my drawn sword in hand that once speak thou shalt surely die. The silly woman thus starting out of sleep, was sore affright, as see- ing no remedy but in a manner present death, in case she had cried for help. Then uttered *Tar- quinus* and confessed his amorous passion, tell to entreat and entreat again, and with his power intermeddled threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all means to try to found and tempt the womans heart. But when he saw her obstinate and unmovable, he did not so much re- lucting one jot: then, besides the fear of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame: pre- tending

Ardea besieged
by the Romans

The story of
dame Lucretia.

The pitifull
plaine of
chaste Lucretia

The pitifull
plaine of
chaste Lucretia

Lus etia
est in
cunctis

The Remon-
strance of
the people
against the
tyranny of
the Tarquins

pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man-
servant with his throat cut: that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthy
adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, see how insatiable lust gat the victory, and conquered
constant chastity: and Tarquinius in great pride and jollity, that he had by assault won the fort of
a womans honour departed thence. But would Lucretia, all forrowing for so heavy a mischance,
dispatched a messenger to her father at Rome, and so forward to her husband at Ardea, with this
errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and truly friend, and
heretof they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a grievous
chance and horrible. So there repaired to her Sp. Lucretius her father, accompanied with P. Valer-
ius the son of Valerius: and Collatinus in the way his wives messenger. Lucretia they found sit-
ting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad: and she at the coming of these her dearest friends,
shed tears and wept apace. How now my dear (quoth her husband) is all well? "No God wot sir,
(quoth she againe) For how can I be well with a woman that is depoyled of her honour
and womanhood? The print, Collatinus, of another mans is to be seen in thy own bed, Howbeit,
"my body only is dishained: my mind and heart remaineth yet unpotted: and that my death shall
"make good and justifie. But give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promise that the
"adulterer shall not escape unpunished. Sex. Tarquinius is the man, he it is, who this night past, en-
"certained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken
"from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me: and to himselfe also no lesse, K
"if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give their assured word, comforted the
"wofull hearted woman, excused her selfe that was forced, and laid all the blame upon him that
"committed the shamefulle adlaying: could be no fault at all. Well (quoth she) what is his due to have,
"was no will and consent there, howsoever I quit and asail my selfe of sin, yet I will not be freed from
"punishment. And never shall there by example of Lucretia, any dishonest woman or wanton har-
"lot live a day: & thus having said, with a knife which she had clole hidden under her cloaths, she
"stabbed her selfe to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yeeld up
"ghost. Out alas, cried her husband and father heret: and whilset they two were in their plaints
"and moans, Brutus drew forth the knife out of the wound of Lucretia, & holding it out afore him, L
"all embrued and dropping with blood. "Now I swear (quoth he) by this blood, by this most chaste
"and pure blood before the villany wrought by the Kings son, and here before the gods I protest,
"whom I call to witness that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main persecute
"and drive the country of L. Tarquinius the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood
"of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to reign as King at Rome. Then
"gave he the knife to Collatinus, and so to Lucretia & Valerius who greatly amazed at this so strange
"occurrence, and wondering how it came to pass, that Brutus should of a sudden be so changed, and
"become so stout of stomack and courageous, took the same form of oath that he swore afore: and
"so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed
"Brutus as their Captain and leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and ut-
"terly to root out their race. The dead corps of Lucretia was had out of doors, brought into the
"market place and there shewed. And thither, what with wondering (as the manner is) at so strange
"a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they raised much people together.
"Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickedness and violence done by the
"Kings blood. The sorrow of Lucretia the father on the one side, the resolution of Brutus on the o-
"ther side, who rebuked and blamed all of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms
"all that were present that like men no better pay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
"gaint them that demeaned themselves no better, nay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
"the bravest and tallest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. N
"The rest of the youths followed straight after. And having left at Collatia the one half of their forces in
"the garrison, toward the gates, and for certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the
"King and his sons of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner,
"followed their leader Brutus from thence directly to Rome. At the sudden coming thither of this ar-
"med multitude: no marvel if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there arose a fear-
"ful and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall Citi-
"zens in the forefront: they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily
"this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no lesse at Rome, than it had before at Collatia. There-
"fore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the market place. And being
"thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appeare before the Tri-
"bune of the Celeres or Captain of the guard: which office haply Brutus bare at that time. Where
"he made an Oration not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that quality of nature which
"unto that day he had pretended, and made shew of unto the world, for he inveighed against
"the violence and filthy lust of Sextus Tarquinius: the shameful villany and not to be named,
"and done upon the body of Lucretia: "he discoursed of her lamentable end and pious death,
"the desolate case of Tricupimus, heretofore now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of
"his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pitifull, than her very death. Moreover he
"said

A "laid abroad the pride of the King himselfe, the miseries, the infinite toile and pains of the Com-
"mons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleanting and calling of ditches, voiding and lar-
"ming of the finks, saying, that the men of Rome which were the conquerors of all nations; about
"them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of stone and day-laborers. He reckoned
"up also and put them in mind of the unworthy death and cruel murder of Servius Tullius: and
"how his daughter (oh abominable act!) rode over the corpse of other father in her charied chariot:
"And herewith he callecth on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents.
"Thus rehearsing these and other matters much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleeve) ac-
"cording as the present indignity at the very time doth minister and give utterance to, not to easily
"B penned and set down by writers that come after. He so mightily inflamed the multitude, that he
"caused them to depole the King, to deprive him of his royall state and dignity, yea, and to decree
"and enact, that L. Tarquinius with his wife and children should be banished for ever. Himselfe ha-
"ving selected and armed the younger gallants who offered their service, and willingly entred their
"names, set forward in person to the Camp lying before Ardea, for to excite the Army there against
"the King: leaving the government of the City unto Lucretia, who had before been appointed
"Deputy and Lieutenant there, by the King. In this time of gabrille, Tullia left the palace and fled,
"and all the way as she went, both men and women curled and cried out upon her and besought the
"ghostly spirits and Inuries of parents to be avenged. When news herof was brought into the Camp,
"and that the King upon these strange tidings made harte towards Rome, to slay and imprecise these
"C broyls: Brutus having intelligence of his coming, turned another way because he would not meet
"with him. And so at one instant in a manner by contrary journeyes came Brutus to Ardea, and
"Tarquinius to Rome. But the gates were shut against Tarquinius, and instead of entrance, warned he
"was and commanded into exile. The whole Camp received with joy Brutus the redeemer of their
"City. From thence were also the Kings sons driven: two of them followed after their father and
"departed into banishment unto Carae, a town of the Tullians: as for Sextus Tarquinius, he retired
"himselfe to Gales as it were into his own Kingdom: where he was murdered in revenge of old
"quarrels, upon malice and hatred of the people, which he had brought upon himselfe in times past.
"L. Tarquinius Superbus reigned 25 years. This continued the Kings Regiment at Rome, from the
"foundation of the City, unto the freedom and redemption thereof 244 years. Then in a solemn
"D assembly and election by the Centuries, he by the Provost of the City, according to the ordi-
"nance of Servius Tullius in his Commentaries, two Conules were created: L. Junius Brutus, and
"L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

Tarquinius the
King banished.

Conules first
created.

The Second Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Second Book.

B Brutus took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to reign King at Rome. He com-
"pelled his fellow Consul Tarquinius Collatinus, a suspected man to take part with the Tarquins, by
"reason of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Consulship, and to depart the City. The gods of
"the King, and his sons he commanded to be seized upon and killed. A field of theirs he caused to be
"Mars, which was named afterwards Campus Martius, or Mars field. He bade a certain young man
"T then of the Nobility together with his own and his brothers sons, for conspiring to receive the King and
"his Complex again into the City. About the bondslave Vindictus, that bewitched the camp, because
"freedom of whom Vindictus took the name. Having led an Army against the King who had usurped
"a power of Veientians and Tarquinius and made war, he died in battle together with Annus, the son
"of Superbus: and for his death the dames of Rome mourned one whole year. P. Valerius the Consul
"proposed and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitol was dedicated, Porci-
"na King of the Clitians, warring in the quarrell of the Tarquins, and being come unto the Janiculum,
"was by the valour of Cocles Horatius, encompassed that he passed not the Tiber: who alone while others
"bowed down the Sublician bridge, withstood the Tullians: and when it was broken down, leapt down as
"he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows. Another example of mischance is reported of Mutius,
"G who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill Porcena, and having slain his prin-
"cipall Secretary whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and trusting his hands to the good of
"the Allys, whereupon they had vowed sacrifices, suffered there to suffer death: and was condemned: and
"withall, that there were behind him three hundred more besides, that had sworn the death of the King
"himselfe. Who wondering in their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and up-taking of ho-
"tages to give over war: amongst whom, one virgin Clodia, beguiled their keepers with a disguise, and
"flew over Tyber to her friends: and being redressed again, was by Porcena sent honourably home and had
"her

her statue or image on horseback; set up for a memoriall. Ap. Claudius abandoned the Sabines, and fled H to Rome, of whom the Tribe Clautia took the name, and was added to the rest. The number of tribes was increased to be one and twenty. Against Tarquinius Superbus, who with a power of Latines waged war, A. Posthumus the Dictator obtained a prosperous battell at the lake Regillus. The Commons rising, for being entrall'd unto their Creditors, retir'd themselves into the mount Sacet, and were by the policy and counsel of Menenius Agrippa, reclaimed from their sedition, and appeas'd. The same Agrippa being deceiv'd, I of Menenius Agrippa, was taken by the valour and industrious means of Cn. Martius Coriolanus, a town of the Volscians was taken by the valour and industrious means of Cn. Martius, who thereupon was surnamed Coriolanus. T. Latinius, a mean Commoner, was warned in a dream to make relation to the Senate of certain religious ceremonies: and for neglecting the same, lost his son; I and felt himself to be lame of his limbs, and being brought in the Senate in a chair, after he had declar'd the same, returned sound on his feet home again. Cn. Martius Coriolanus, after he was banished, became General of the Volscians, and with an Army of enemies approached the City of Rome: unto whom, I st. Eul. affiders were of purpose sent, and afterwards the Priests and whole Clergy perswaded with him, not to make war against his native Countrey, but all in vain. Horben Veturia his mother; and Volumnia his wife entreated him and obtained, that he should depart back again. The Law Agraria, concerning division of lands among the poor Commons, was now first put up and proposed, Sp. Calfurcia, an Alderman, after he had been Consul, was condemned for aspiring to be King, and suffered death therefore. Oppia a Vest. Il Nun was for incest buried quick. Against the Veintians near enemies and ill neighbors, yet indeed troublesome rather than noisome and dangerous, the house alone of the Fabii, required to be employ'd in service: and set out three hundred and six armed men to the field, who every one were by the enemies slain near the river Cremera, and left but one only at home alive of that name, under fourteen years of age. Ap. Claudius the Consul having fought unfortunately against the Volscians, and that, by means of the stubbornness and unwilliness of his Army, engag'd every tenth man of his soldiers. Over and besides (this book) containeth the exploits against the Volscians, Equians, and Veintians, and the seditions discords between the Nobility and Commons.

The Second Book of T. Livius.

NOW will I describe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of L Rome, a free state now from this time forward: their yearly Magistrates and Governours: the authority and rule of Laws, more powerfull and mighty than that of men. Which freedom of theirs, the last Kings pride made more acceptable and welcome. As for the other Kings before him, they reigned so, as that they might be counted all of them; and that worthily, builders of sundry parts of the City one after another, according as they every one by himself added still one new place or other, for the multitude by them encreased to inhabit. Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the very same Brutus, who deserved to great honor and glory for expelling the proud King Tarquinius, should have done the same to the exceeding danger of the weal publicke, if for desire of unripe and untimely freedom, he had wrested the royall cignity and government from any of the former Princes. For what would have come of it, if that commonwealth consisting of herdmen and fugitive strangers, resorting out of their own countries thither to dwell, having under protection of a sanctuary and privileged place gotten liberty, or at leastwise impunity: being now freed and past fear of a royall Majesty, had begun to be troubled and disquieted, with the rustling storms and seditious tempests of the Tribunes, and in a new and strange City town debate, and entertained variance with the Nobility, before that the surest pledges of wives and children, the dearest affection of the very place and soil, which requireth long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certainly, the state not yet come to full growth and maturity, had by discord faded and come to nought, which a peaceable and gracious government cherish'd and fostered, and by cherishing and nourishing brought to that paise, that now being come to ripeness and perfection of strength, it might be able to bring forth and bear N the good and wholom fruits of liberty.

The beginning of this freedom you must account in regard hereof. That the Consulary regiment was annual, and from year to year, rather than that the royall power and jurisdiction that the Kings had, was any whit abated and diminished. For the first Consuls had the same absolute authority, held all the former royalties, and retained still the regall ensignes and ornaments of supreme dignity. This only provided that they should not both have the rods borne before them, for avoiding a twofold fear and dread of their Majesty. Brutus with the good liking and consent of his companion in office, had the preheminence and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone: who had not been aforetime a greater instrument, and more forward to procure and recover the liberty than he was afterward a true maintainer and protector of the same. And first above O all other things, whilst the people were yet greedy of this new freedom, for fear lest they might any time after be won by entreaty or moved by gifts on the Kings part, he caus'd them to swear that they would never suffer any to be King at Rome. After this, because the Senate might be of more power and greater reputation by the frequent company of that degree and order: he encreased their number (which had been impaired much by massacres, committed by the said King) to the full complement of three hundred: by choosing the chief and principall of the degree of

Kings

A Knights or horsemen. And hereof came, as they say, this custom, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobility, and also those that were newly taken for the supply: naming these that were last enrolled, the new Senate. And a wonder it was to see, how much good this did to the concord of the City, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they went in hand with Religion and Church-matters: and for that there were certain publicke sacrifices that had been usually executed by the Kings themselves in their own persons: left therefore they should not find the mixt of Kings in any respect, nor long after them again they create of purpose a King-Priest or sacrificer: which fact, doubtless, might they ordain'd to be under the Arch-Priest, left that this new addition and title of honour, might prejudice their freedom any jot, whereunto they had then a speciall regard above all other things. And I wot not well, but I think verily they went beyond all measure, and were over precise in the maintenance and strengthening thereof every way, even in the smallest trifles, and toys of no moment. For when as nothing else was offensive unto them, the name forthwith of one of their Commons became suspected and odious unto the City, without any other scandal whatsoever. And thus they interceded and said, "That the Tarquinius had reigned over long, and too much already that P. Postumius began, and when after him succeeded King Servius Tullius, Superbus Tarquinius not living in that time and space between, forgot the Kingdom, as seeing another invited therein: by wicked practice and violence claimed and recovered the same again, as the inheritance properly to his house belonging. And now that Superbus is driven out and gone, the rule and government is devolved unto Collatinus, and there reflect. These Tarquinius belike (say they) cannot skill how to live as private men: giving out among, that the very name was dangerous to a free state, and in one word, they could not endure it. These and such like speeches at first were whisper'd abroad throughout all the City by them that under-hand fowled by little and little the hearts and dispositions of men; and when their humies & insinuations were once buzzed into the Commons heads, and they thereby disquieted, Brutus called them to a generall assembly. Where first and foremost he reviveth the oath of the people: That they should suffer none to be a King nor ought die in Rome, from whence might arise any danger to their liberty. "This oath is the thing (quoth he) that with all diligence, & by all means possible is to be maintained, & nothing thereto appertaining is to be defiled and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to speak in respect of the person, neither would I speak at all, but that the love and affection to the Common weal doth overcome me. The people of Rome is not thoroughly perswaded, that they have recovered their entire and perfect liberty. For as yet the Kings blood, yea, and the Kings name not only remaineth still, but also searcht sovereign rule in the City: This is it that hurteth, this is it (I say) that hindered their true freedom. Now (quoth he) I, Tarquinius willingly of my own accord rid them of their fear. We remember well, we confess and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the Kings. Finish therefore and perfect this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the Kings name also. As for your goods and substance, your Citizens and Commoners, if they will be advised by me, shall not only yield unto you again but if ought be thought and wanting, that by my content supply the same to the full right liberally. Depart I say, and bravely take your good leave: sever the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but a vain and needless: Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the flock and home of the Tarquinius, the Kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Consul at this strange and sudden a motion first wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards, as he addressed himself and began to make a speech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers besought the same at his hands. As for all the rest, they prevailed with little time, but after that Sp. Lucretius more grave and elder man than himself, of greater worth and authority, and his father in Law besides, took him in hand and dealt with him sundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perfwasions and reasonings, that he would consent them, that

C he should the City in one general content required: then the Consul tearing left heretofore, being out of his place and a private man again, he should chanceto be forced therewith, with a loss of his goods and some disgrace perhaps besides; resigned up the office of the Consulship, and receiving all that he had away to Lavinium, quit the City and departed. Then Brutus by an act and decree of the Senate, proposed unto the people, That all the race and lineage of the Tarquinius should be exiled. And in a generall session of the Centuries, he created for to be his C. C. legging government. P. Valerius, by whose assilance he had driven out the Kings.

Now man doubted now that the Tarquinius were about to take arms: yet that was hapned not to soon as men looked for: but see (a thing that no man ever J) they had like by fraud and treachon at home to have lost and forgone their freedom again. There was of the flower of Roms, certain youths, & those of no low degree nor base parentage descended, who in the Kings daies had lived like young Princes more loosely and at pleasure, as companions and playfellows with the young Tarquinius, the Kings sons: who seeking to enjoy the time licentious life still, in this equality of estate wherein all others then lived, made moan and complained one to another. That the liberty of others turned to their servitude. The King, say they is a man, at whose hands one might obtain somewhat as need requires, were the cause right or were it wrong: where a man might find favour and friendship, as who could both be displeased and angry, and also forgive and requit a fault,

E ver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but a vain and needless: Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the flock and home of the Tarquinius, the Kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Consul at this strange and sudden a motion first wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards, as he addressed himself and began to make a speech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers besought the same at his hands. As for all the rest, they prevailed with little time, but after that Sp. Lucretius more grave and elder man than himself, of greater worth and authority, and his father in Law besides, took him in hand and dealt with him sundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perfwasions and reasonings, that he would consent them, that

F he should the City in one general content required: then the Consul tearing left heretofore, being out of his place and a private man again, he should chanceto be forced therewith, with a loss of his goods and some disgrace perhaps besides; resigned up the office of the Consulship, and receiving all that he had away to Lavinium, quit the City and departed. Then Brutus by an act and decree of the Senate, proposed unto the people, That all the race and lineage of the Tarquinius should be exiled. And in a generall session of the Centuries, he created for to be his C. C. legging government. P. Valerius, by whose assilance he had driven out the Kings.

Now man doubted now that the Tarquinius were about to take arms: yet that was hapned not to soon as men looked for: but see (a thing that no man ever J) they had like by fraud and treachon at home to have lost and forgone their freedom again. There was of the flower of Roms, certain youths, & those of no low degree nor base parentage descended, who in the Kings daies had lived like young Princes more loosely and at pleasure, as companions and playfellows with the young Tarquinius, the Kings sons: who seeking to enjoy the time licentious life still, in this equality of estate wherein all others then lived, made moan and complained one to another. That the liberty of others turned to their servitude. The King, say they is a man, at whose hands one might obtain somewhat as need requires, were the cause right or were it wrong: where a man might find favour and friendship, as who could both be displeased and angry, and also forgive and requit a fault,

E ver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but a vain and needless: Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the flock and home of the Tarquinius, the Kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Consul at this strange and sudden a motion first wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards, as he addressed himself and began to make a speech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers besought the same at his hands. As for all the rest, they prevailed with little time, but after that Sp. Lucretius more grave and elder man than himself, of greater worth and authority, and his father in Law besides, took him in hand and dealt with him sundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perfwasions and reasonings, that he would consent them, that

Brutus the Consul perswaded Tarquinius not living in that time and space between, forgot the Kingdom, as seeing another invited therein: by wicked practice and violence claimed and recovered the same again, as the inheritance properly to his house belonging.

A conspiracy of young Gentlemen to give over the Consulship and depart.

and

and principals of the Tufcans, one while he challenged them one by one to single fight: other-
whites he rared them all in general calling them the hirelings and slaves of proud Kings and ty-
rants: who forgetting and making no reckoning of their own freedom, were come to oppugnand
impeach the liberty of others. The enemies stood at a bay and in suspense a good while, look-
ing about them: one upon another who should first begin to fight. At last, very shame made the
whole troupe to stir and come forward, and to setting up a loud cry, from all sides they let fire their
javelins at him one man alone and their only enemy. All this while bare he off their shot which
light upon his target, and there stuck, and nevertheless with full resolution kept the bridge still,
walking his flations, and talking like a giant. Then assaid they with all their force to beare the
man down and to turn him over into the water: but by this time they had finished their work, laid
under him, and the shout withall of the Romans, for joy that they had finished their work, laid
with sudden fear their violent assault. Then praised *Cicero* in this wise: "O father *Tiberinus* (quoth
he) O sacred river, with devout heart I thee beseech, receive with thy gracious and merciful
stream these harnes, these weapons, and this thy soldier. And so all armed as he was he leapt
into the *Tyber*: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and scitered another day to talk of, rather
and escaped safe to his fellows. A brave adventure for all security another day to talk of, rather
than to believe. For this so great fortitude and resolution of his, the City was thankfull, and in to-
ken thereof his Image or Statue was set up in their common Hall, named *Comitium*, and as much
ground given him in compais, as he was able to plough with a plough and good wils of private persons
public labours and honours done unto him, the kind affections and good wils of private persons
also well appeared: for in that extreme want and scarcity that then was, every man out of his
house-store and provision spared from himself, and for to give him one thing or another defranded:
his own belly. Thus *Porcena* with the repulse of this his first enterrion in the *Janiculum*, he parted
suing to besieging of the City: and after he had placed a garrison in the *Janiculum*, he parted
himself and encamped on the plain, even upon the banks of the *Tyber*, and sending for boats and
craiers from all parts, both to stop the mouth and passage of *Tyber*, that no corn should come in
and be conveyed to *Rome*: and also that the soldiers, as they saw occasion might cross the river,
and fetch booties in divers and sundry places at their pleasure, in short space he brought the whole
cattel also was slain to be driven out of the fields into the City, and no man durst put any creature
forth out of the gates. The Tufcans were permitted to be thus bold, not so much for fear as for
a policy: for *Valerius* the Consul, waiting for some vantage and opportunity, suddenly to let upon
many of them at once and at unawares, as they straggled abroad disorderly, making little regard to
revenge small matters, kept himself to be revenged of them thoroughly, and to pay them home one
time or other. To the end therefore he might draw forth these forragers, and toll them abroad,
he gave his men in charge, and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they should put
their cattel forth at the gate *Esquilina*, which was farthest from the enemies: supposing that they
would have intelligence thereof, by reason that in this extremity of long siege and pinching hun-
ger, some false knaves and disloyal rogues would give unto them. And so fell it out indeed: For
they had knowledge thereof by a fugitive slave. Whereupon they in far greater multitudes pass
over the river, in hope to make a general spoil and havoc once for all. Then *Valerius* com-
manded *T. Herminius* with a sufficient company to lie close in ambush at two miles end, in the *Sa-
bine* high way, and *Sp. Lartius* with a power of litty lally fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate
Colina, untill the enemy were gone by and past: with direction, then to put himself between the
river and them, and so to intercept them in their returne. The other Consul *T. Lucretius* issu-
ed forth with certain bands of footmen at the gate *Navia*: and *Valerius* himself in proper per-
son set forth from mount *Calvus* certain ensigns of his best and choice soldiers. These first were
defeated and discovered by the enemy. *Herminius* too soon as he heard some noise and stir, arose
and ran at once out of the ambush, and whilst the Tufcans turned to let upon *Lucretius*,
he charged them lustily at their backs: so that on every hand from the gate *Colina* on the one side, and
from the gate *Navia* on the other, the alarm was given. Thus the robbers were slain and cut
in pieces in the midst of them: both for that they were overmatched in fight and also because all
the waies were stopped up, that they could not escape by way of flight. And never after durst
the Tufcans range about the country so audaciously. Howbeit, the siege continued nevertheless,
with great scarcity of corn, and exceeding dearth within the City. At what time one *C. Mutius* a noble
by sitting still, to force it in the end, and be master thereof. At what time one *C. Mutius* a noble
all the while they were in bondage under Kings, were in no war nor by any enemies beleaguered,
should now, being the same still in time of their freedom be of these Tufcans besieged, whose ar-
mies they often had defeated: and supposing that by some hardy and adventurous piece of service
this reproachfull indignity was to be revenged, devised at first on his own head to enter into the
enemies Camp: but fearing afterwards to go without commission from the Consul and the know-
ledge of any other person, lest peradventure he might be taken by the watch of the Romans,
and brought back for a traitorous runnagate, at such a time especially, when the hard estate of the
City was enough to bring him into a deep suspicion, and to be reputed for no better: prefer-
red himself before the Council into the Senate house: "I am right willyng, and I have a purpose
my

• The valiant
resolution of
C. Mutius.

A "my LL. (quoth he) to pass over the *Tyber*, yea, and if I can, to enter the Camp of the enemies,
not in quality of a robber, nor to be revenged for booties from us taken, with doing the tem-
ptable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to perform. The Senators gave
their consent, and approved his designment. Then with a skin, hidden under his garment he let
tether forward. Being thither come into the Camp, he crept in the thickest throng to stand near
the Kings Tribunal. It fortuned that then and there the soldiers were receiving their pay. And
the Chan ellor, or Kings principal Secretary lay together with the King in like array, much em-
ployed and buried in many matters, and the soldiers commonly had recourse unto him. *Mutius*
leaning to enquire whether of them two were *Porcena*, set by not knowing the King he should be-
B way himself who he was hapned (see how fortune in her callnes directed his hand) to kill the
Secretary instead of the King: then as he passed through the thickest multitude, making himself
way with his bloody blade there was a peccent outcry, and thereat the Kings guard came running
in to hold of him, and brought him back before the King his royal Throne: and albeit he was
now forlorn and without all comfort, amidst those threats or throwing stones, yet as a man more
feared (till then fearing: "I am (quoth he) a Citizen of *Rome*, and *Curius* *Mutius* is my name, a
proffessed enemy, I confess, and an enemy would I have slain: as ready and willing am I to dye
myself, as I was to kill another. For, both to do, and to suffer valiantly is the part of a noble
Roman, And it is not I alone that carry this mind and resolution against thee. O King, there is a
long train and cune behind of them that seek to win the same praise and honour: make thee
C re dye therefore, and arm thyself thou thinkest good, against this danger, and to exoner every hour
to be in hazard of thy life, and to have always at the very Court gates thy enemies word,
"This kind of war do we youths of *Rome* denounce openly unto thee: no battle, no light else
start thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all, one by one have to do, and with none o-
ther. Hereat the King incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in, alighted
withall commanded in menacing wise that he should be tried at a stake, unless he would presently
unclod in plain terms, what secret and dangerous practices he meant and threatened unto this cov-
erment of words and intrate circumstancies. "Lo, (quoth he again) how little they let by
this: as that aspire to great glory and aim at honour: and with that thrust his right hand in-
to the hearth on fire that was made for the sacrifice and when he endured the roasting thereof, as if
he had been careless, and felt no pain, the King well nigh astonished at this wonderfull and mira-
D culous sight, start up and leapt from his royall seat and chair of estate, commanding the young man
to be had from the altar. "Go thy waies (quoth he) in peace, thou that hast done thy own kille
more mischief than thou hast attempted against my person. I would lay God bless thee, and
worthy hadst thou been of honour for thy prowess, if it were in my service, and in the behalf
and defence of mine own Country: and now by the law of arms I discharge thee freely, and
give thee leave to depart without any hurt or able offered unto thee. Then *Mutius*, as it were
to requite again his censure and desert, "Forasmuch as (quoth he) thou wast so great for by va-
lour and honour thou wert so high: to the end it may be seen that thou shalt get at my hands
"by course that which by cruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee under-
E stand that there are three hundred of us noble youths, even the very flower and knighthood of
Rome, that have conspired and sworn thy death, and in this manner to assaile thee. My lot it was
to be the first the rest as it shall fall out, will be here shortly, and wait every man his turn and
time: untill they hit right upon thee. *Mutius*, summoned afterwards *Scavus*, by reason of the
main of his right hand, was no sooner dismissed and gone, but there followed straight after him
Rome Embassadors from *Porcena*, and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger past
of the first assaile, (from which nothing preserved him but a small error and oversight of the assai-
lant) and also for the hazard to come, (for look how many conspirators remained behind to give
the like attempts, so often stood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his own accord he offered the
Romans conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article, but
F all in vain of restoring the *Larginus* into their Kingdom. This point the King urged instantly, rather
because he could not well himself deny the *Larginus* so much, than for that he was ignorant,
that the Romans would never yield thereto. But another article he got granted, namely, the restitu-
tion of the Veintians lands again: and the Romans were driven of necessity to give him ho-
tages, in case they would have the Kings garrison to quit the *Janiculum*. Upon these conditions
peace was concluded, and *Porcena* withdrew his forces from the *Janiculum*, disarmed and depar-
ted out of the territory of *Rome*. The Senators bestowed frankly upon *Mutius* as a testimoniall
of his valiantness, a piece of ground lying beyond *Tyber*, which was afterwards called, *Mutius* *pa-
tis*, i.e. *Mutius* his meadows.

Upon this honourable regard and reward of vertue, women were likewise provoked an Len-
G gered to enterprize worthy acts in the service of the Common-wealth. For a young damoel and
Virgin, named *Clelia*, one of those hostages afore said, whilst the Tufcans were encamped (as it
fell out) not far from the banks of *Tyber*, desiring her keeper and leading a company of o-
ther maidens after her, even within the shot and darts of the enemies, took the river, swam
over with them, brought them all to *Rome* safe, and delivered them to their parents, kindred and
friends. Which being reported to the King, he at the first frowned at it, and was all in a rage, and
sent unto *Rome* certain Orators to demand again his hostage *Clelia* by name: as for all the
rest,

Mutius his
speech to King
Porcena.

Porcena his
words to Cle-
lia.

Mutius to Pe-
ter.

Mutius to
Scavus.

Peace betwixt
Porcena and the
Romans.

Clelia's
speech to
the King.

left, he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further consideration he admired H the enterprise, and plainly said, it surpassed far all the adventures of the *Codrus* and the *Amia*: so as he pretended that if the maid were not rendered again, he would take the league as broken, and being yielded, he would send her back to her friends, undefiled, and without any abuse or violence done unto her. On both parts was promise faithfully kept: For both the Romans restored the pledge of peace according to covenant, and seen also it was, that virtue was not only secured safe, but also highly regarded and honoured with the *Tulcan* King. For after he had commended and praised the damsel, he promised to give her part of the hostages, chuse whom he would. And when they were all brought forth before her, he made chuse (they say) of those young boys that were under 14 years of age: which was not only most befitting her virginity, but also by the accord of the hostages themselves best approved: namely, that that age especially should be delivered out of the enemies hands, which was most subject to injury and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed and confirmed, the Romans rewarded this rare valour in that sex, with as new and strange an honour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via sacra*, there was erected her statue, *A maiden sitting on horseback*.

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongst other solemn ceremonies, this one custome receivd from our ancestors, far differing and disagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure of the *Tulcan* King from before the City of *Rome*, and this it is: In the portage of goods they use to proclaim first aloud, *The sale of King Porcena his goods*. This ceremonial custome must needs either begin in time of war, and so was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or else arose from some more gracious and gentle occasion at the first, then this title or outward form pretends, of selling goods by way of hostility, and after the manner of enemies. But the likeliest conjecture, and nearest to the truth of all those that are given out is this: that *Porcena* did lodge from the *Janicle*, gave freely unto the Romans, (the City at that time being after long siege distressed and in great straits) his rich Camp furnished with victual and provision, conveyed thither out of the plentiful countries of *Hetruria* near adjoining: which goods, for fear there should have been some havock and spoil made thereof in warlike wise, in case the people had been let loose to the rifling of the tents, were after sold, and called *Porcena* his goods: which title signified rather their thankful acceptance of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt sale of the Kings goods, which were not so much as in the Romans power, nor at their disposition.

Thus *Porcena* having given over the Roman war, because he would not seem to have brought an host of men into those parts, and performed no exploit, sent his son *Armus* with part of his forces to surprize and assault *Aricia*. At the first this sudden and unexpected enterprize much troubled the *Aricins*. But afterwards when he had gotten aid both from the Latine nations & also from *Cumes*, they took such heart again, that they durst enter into the field & bid the enemy battell. In the beginning of the conflict, the *Tulcans* charged them so hotly that at the very first encounter, they brake the arraies of the *Aricins*. But the troops of the *Cumes* letting policy against them, went a little aside, made way and gave some ground, and when the enemies had outstripped them & were rashly and disorderly passed beyond them, they turned their ensignes, and let upon their backs: so were the *Tulcans*, being in the very train of their victory, beset round about, and slain in the midst between. Only a small remnant of them after the loss of their Captain, because they had no other place of refuge nearer, were fain to trudge to *Rome* without weapons and belovied in several lodgings, both in deed and shew. Where they were kindly entertained home reporting the hospitality & courteous usage they have found. Many remained still at *Rome* for love of their hosts and the City: who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Thufens vicus*, the *Tulcan* street.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created *Coff*. In that year, for a small end, there came Embassadors from *Porcena*, to treat about the restoring of the *Verginius* into their Realm: to whom this answer was returned: that the Senate would send Embassadors N to the King himself: whereupon there were immediately addrested unto him in Embassy the most honourable personages of all the Nobility, who in the name of the people of *Rome* delivered this speech: That the chief of their Nobles were sent, rather than any dispatch given by word of mouth unto his Embassadors at *Rome*: nor for that they could not have shapen their wish in this short answer, "They would no Kings have: But to this end that for ever after there should be no just renewed of that matter, nor in to great mutual benefits, and favours passed between them, some discordant arise on either side, whilst he might be thought to request that which was repugnant and prejudicial to the liberty of *Rome*, and the Romans again, to make they would be executors of their own wrongs, and seek their own mischiefs, to make denial to him whom by their good will they would not seem to deny ought for anything in the world. But as to the substance in the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of *Rome* were not under the regiment of a King, but were a free State: and fully settled in this purpose. To let open their gates to the enemies, sooner than to Kings: and were all generally of this mind and resolution. That look when the freedom of that City had an end, then should the City come to an end also. To conclude therefore they were to entreat him that if he tendered the weal and safety of *Rome*, he would permit them to be free still and at their own liberty.

The Roman
Embassadors
to King Por-
cena.

A The King overcome with very modesty, and much abashed in himself, answered thus again: "Since you are so fully minded and fully bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor shall I your ears with harping still upon this impatient thing, and do no good: nor bear the *Verginius* any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, with nothing at all in my power to perform. Let them from henceforth seek some other pace of exile, either for peace or war, as they shall think more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free course of amity, and alliance between me and you. To their good and kind words be joynd better and more friendly deeds, for all the hostages that remained in his hand he sent home and to the *Verginius* lands which by the covenants indentured at *Tusculum*, were taken away, he restored to the B Romans again. Thus *Turpinus* seeing all hope of return cut off, removed unto *Tusculum*, as was in law *Mondus Octavius* here to live and spend the rest of his daies in banishment, so there continued faithful peace between the Romans and King *Porcena*.

Then were *Coff*, *M. Valerius* and *P. Posthumus*. In that year the Romans fought with the Sabines formatively, and the *Comituli* triumphed. But afterwards the Sabines made greater preparation of war: to withstand whom, as also for fear of some sudden danger that might arise from *Tusculum*, from whence they suspected war, although none was openly seen, were *P. Porcena* the fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the second time created *Coff*. But among the Sabines there grew some civil discord between that part that would have war, and the contrary part that for peace which gained the Romans some strength even from thence. For *Appius Claudius* (who afterwards at *Rome* was intimated *Appius Claudius*) a perwader himself of quietness and quiet-peace, being overmatched and not able to make his part good with the adverse faction that minded and stirred troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from *Rome* did lead to *Antium*, who were enrailed Citizens, and possessed of those lands that lie beyond the river *Tiber*. And from thence came the name of the old trade *Appia*: after that other new Citizens were put unto them, those I mean, that defended of that race and out of the same territory, this *Appia* was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after advanced to be one of the chief men and heads of the City. The *Coff* went with a strong power into the Sabines land, where after they had first wasted the Country, and after in battell abated the strength and puissance of the enemy: so, as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned D to *Rome* in triumph.

The year following, when *Acipia Menenius* and *P. Posthumus* were *Coff*, *P. Porcena* ended his daies in great glory, reputed the only singular man in those times, by all mens judgement, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall feats as in civil affairs: but to poor was his estate that he had not wherewith to defray his funeral expenses, and was therefore at the Cities charge right honourably entred. And the Dames of *Rome* mourned for him as they did for *Berut*.

The same year two Colonies of the Latines, *Pometia* and *Ardea*, revolted to the Auruncs. The Romans first began to war upon the Auruncs. And after they had discomfited a great host of them, who met with the *Comituli* as they entered the borders and fiercely made head against them, then all the Auruncan war was given and translated wholly to *Pometia*. The slaughter and execution E was no less after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them slain outright in the place than taken prisoners, those also that were prisoners, they spared not but murdered every where as they went: neither laid the furious rage of war therewith, but even the very hostages whom they had received, to the number of 500, they put to their sword. In this year also was a triumph at *Rome*.

The *Comituli* *Opter Verginius* and *Sp. Cassius*, that followed the next year, assailed *Pometia*, still by measure to scale the walls, after with pikes, muntrels, platforms, and other fabrics, gained against it. Upon whom the Auruncs sallied forth, rather of a cankered and malicious hatred than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furnished better with fire-works than armed with sword and spear, killed and burned all about them: and in this F thus fired their fabrics afore said, hurt and slain a great number of their enemies, one of the *Comituli* also (but his name precisely is not by any author left down) was sore wounded, (the *Comituli* from his horie and well-near slain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to *Rome*, and were sorely dejected, leaving the *Comituli* behind them amongst many that were hurt, like to die soon after, and no longer than whilst their wounds might be healed, and a new supply of soldiers made, they came against *Pometia*, in more furious manner than before, and also with a stronger power. And when by making of new munitions and other warlike instruments of assault, they were proceeded thus forward that the souldiers were ready to scale and get up the wall: then they with yielded: and notwithstanding the Town was thus surrendered up, yet there was no more harm shewed unto it, than if it had been forced by assault. The chief and principal Citizens of the G Town, and the rest of the inhabitants were sold at the spear in open market like beasts, the Town sack and raved to the ground, yea and money made of the lands belonging to the *Comituli* for that they had so weakened their anger, and sharply revenged themselves, more than for any great war they had finished, obtained triumph.

The year following, were *Posthumus* *Cassius* and *T. Lucretius* *Comituli*. In this year, downe the games and plaies at *Rome*, certain yonkers of the Sabines, went about in a warre on justice, to carry away and ravish the *Curteans* and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people rose together.

The poverty
of *Posthumus*,
gained *Comituli*.

together, and made a riot, grew to words, and from words to brawls, inomuch, as they went to- H
gether by the ears, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which small occasion there was
a rebellion like to ensue, Over and besides the fear of the Latines war, (for to encrease their troubles
the more, news came, and it was certainly known, that by the soliciting and practice of *Ornatius*
Mamilius, there were already thirty nations banded together against the Romans. The City thus
being perplexed for the event and expectation of these so great occurrences, there arose the first oc-
casion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither in what year, nor in what Consuls
time (for that it can hardly be believed, that they should be of the *Tarquinius* faction, and yet that
also is reported) nor yet who was first created Dictator, is it certainly known: However, in the

Dictator first
created at
Rome.

most ancient writers I find that *T. Lavinus* was created the first Dictator, and *Cunctus Cassius* Gene-
rall of the horsemen: and Consular men (such as had been Consuls afore) they were that elected
him: for so the law provided that was enacted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this
inducteth me the rather to believe, that *Lavinus* an ancient man, and one who had been Consul be-
fore, was appointed as a Controller and Master over the Consuls, and not *M. Valerius* the son of
Marcus, and grandson of *Volsus*, who as yet had not attained to the Consuls dignity. For if these
Consular men afore said had been minded to have chosen a Dictator out of that house above all o-
ther, surely they would have made choice rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble personage, of ap-
proved prowess and valour, and one besides that had been Consul, when the Dictator was once
chosen at Rome, and the axes were seen borne before him, the Commoners stood in great awe, and
took better regard to be obedient at every beck and command. For neither could they make ac-
count of any help (as they might under the Consuls who were both in commission alike, and of e-
quall authority, when they had recourse from the one to the other) nor yet appeal unto the peo-
ple: no nor look for succour at all, but in their own double diligence and care of obedience. The
Sabines likewise were afraid of the Dictator thus created at Rome: and so much the more, because
they were verily perswaded he was made of purpose for them: and thereupon they sent Embassa-
dors to treat for peace, who beseeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon so small a fault, and
being but a trick of youth, received this answer: That youth indeed might well be pardoned, but
such old abuses as they might not, who never rested to fow debate, and minister occasion of one
year after another, Howbeit they fate in consultation about a peace, and obtained it had been, if
the Sabines could have found in their hearts and condescended to make good and repay the expenses. I
So defence was sent and war proclaimed. And yet for that year all was quiet, as it were in time of
a secret truce: during the Consulship of *Servius Sulpicius*, and *M. Mamilius* Tullus, in whole year
there was nothing done worthy of remembrance.

* Called *Tullus*,
* *Volturnus*,
and *Monte Ro-*
* *mundus*,
* *Pilestinus*,
* *Orit*,
* *Thursus*.

After them were *T. Ebutius*, and *C. Vatinus*. In their time *Vidua* was besieged. * *Crispumeria*
won and *Pre-est* revolted from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had
been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delayed, but brake forth. *A. Posthu-*
mus the Dictator, and *T. Ebutius* General of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horse, set
forward and advanced as far as the Lake *Regillus*, in the Territory of *Tusculum* and there encoun-
tered the Army of the enemies in their march. And because they heard say that the *Tarquinius* were M
in the host of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and
began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and cost more bloodshed a good deal, than o-
thers usually before: because the Generals and chief Commanders were there present, not only
to give direction by their counsel and advice, but also in person themselves hazarded their own
bodies, and fought bravely in the medley. And not one almost of the principall leaders escaped out of
the skirmish, either of one side or of the other, save only the Roman Dictator.
For as *Posthumus* was encouraging his men, and letting them in array in the vanguard, *Tarquinius*
Sabeus (albeit he was now very aged and unweildy, and not able to bestir himself) let spurs to his
horse, and ran full butt against him. But having caught a thrust from aside, was rescued by his men
that came about him, and retired to a place of safety. And in the other wing, *Ebutius* General of N
the horsemen, set upon *Ott. Mamilius*: but he the Captain I mean of the Tuniclans, was well wa-
re of him, and espied him coming, and ran his horse with full career likewise upon him, and so de-
spicrately they beat their Lances one against the other, that *Ebutius* was run quite through the
arm, and *Mamilius* wounded in the breast, when the Latines succoured and received into the
middle ward. As for *Ebutius* not able any longer to bear his staff, with his arm fore hurt, with-
drew himself out of the battell. The Leader of the Latines nothing dismayed for all his hurt, main-
tained fight still: and seeing his souldiers somewhat distressed, he tenderth for the Regiment of
the Roman exiles, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his son: who thicke more cou-
ragiously into it for anger that their goods were spoiled: and as the Romans from that quarter began
to renew the combat afresh for awhile, And as the Romans from that quarter began
to renew and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publius*, espying young *Tarquinius* vanishing
himself gloriously in the fore-front of the exiles, inflamed also with a desire of domestical glo-
ry of his house: that the same family which had the praise of expelling the Kings, might like-
wise win the honor of killing them, spurred his horse and with deadly spear ran against *Tarquini-*
us who giving way to his mortal enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But *Valerius*
by this time was disbanded from his company, and rashly ridden into the battell of the exiles, and

The famous
battell at the
Lake *Regillus*.

A and there a common souldier hapned to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horie
staid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and so the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the
ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt, *Posthumus* the Dictator, after he
perceived to valiant a man slain, and the banished man advancing lustily forward with full trot,
and his own souldiers distressed, and at point to turn their backs gave express commandment un-
to his own band, which he led to chide them for to guard his person that as many
of their fellows as they saw lie they should take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus
by reason of a counter-let the Romans made head again, and renewed the battell. Then began the
Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with fresh bodies and courageous stomacks, charged upon
B the wearied exiles, and killed them one every side. Whereupon began another combat also between
the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The Generall of the Latines seeing the battellion
of the banished well near environed round by the Roman Dictator, speedily took with him in-
to the forefront of the battell certain squadrons of those that were appointed in the rear-guard to
succour and aid: whom *T. Herminius*, a lieutenant, espied to come marching in good order,
and knowing amongst them *Mamilius* by his gorgeous harness, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater
violence than the Generall of the horsemen a little before encountered the Colonell of his ene-
mies to hotly that both he ran *Mamilius* through his sides, and flue him outright, and also whilst
he was disarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himself with a short javay, and being
brought back with victory into the Camp, and at first dressing yielded to nature and died. There
C rode the Dictator apace to the horsemen, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen
were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their
hands. The horsemen soon obeyed, leapt from horseback, and set forward as if they had flown to
the forefront, where they exposed their targets in defence of them that fought before the engines.
Whereat presently the Infantry began again to take heart, seeing the principal men of arms,
and noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and ready to take
part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put back, and their whole battell began to shrink.
The Gentlemen had their horses brought to them again, and they mounted on horseback to pur-
sue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after. There the Dictator omitting no help of
God and man, vowed as men say, a Temple to *Cassus*, and openly promised and propoed rewards
D to that souldier that made either first or second entry into the enemies Camp. Whereupon they
bestirred themselves so courageously, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquished their ene-
mies, and also were possessed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake *Regillus*.
The Dictator and the Generall of horsemen returned into the City with triumph. For three years
after there was neither assured peace between them, nor yet professed war.

Consuls were *Q. Cloelius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minucius*. Whiles
these two were Consuls, the Temple to *Saturn* was dedicated, and the least called *Saturnalia* in-
stituted. After them succeeded *A. Posthumus*, and *T. Virginius*. And in this year and not before, Hind
in some authors, that the said battell was stricken near the Lake *Regillus*, and that *A. P. Posthumus*
suspecting the fidelity of his brother Consul gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The
E account of times doth to vary and is so intricate and confused, whilst writers diversely set down
the chief Magistrates, that in so great antiquity, not of acts only, but also of authors, man cannot
orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Consuls, and what was done
in every year.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Consuls. This year was famous for the
news of *Tarquinius* his death. He died at *Comus*, at which place after the defection of the Latines pow-
er, he went to *Aspidodemus* the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were well light-
ened the Commons also began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above measure too ex-
cessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the commonalty,
whom until that day they had favoured and pleased to their full power. In the same year
F Volturnus, which King *Tarquinius* had created, was now filled again the second time, and
the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at Rome were now made up
21. The temple of *Mercury* was dedicated in the Ides of *May*. With the Nation of the Volturnians
in the time of the Latine war neither was there peace nor war: for both the Volturnians had levied
a power for aid to lend unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictator had not made good speed an-
also the Roman Dictator halting the more for fear he should in one battell have to deal with La-
tines and Volturnians both at once. Upon this quarrell, the Consuls led forth their Legions into
the Volturnians Country. The Volturnians fearing no revenge for their disengagement (that was intended
only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this sudden and unlooked for a cur-
rent. Not minding therefore to make resistance and forgetfull of warlike prowess they delivered
G 300 of their Noblemens children out of *Coras* and *Pontius* for hostages. Whereupon the Roman
Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volturnians being
somewhat calmed and delivered of their fear, came again to their old bias, and returned to their wonted
nature, and secretly under-hand made preparation anew for war, joyning with them at some
degrees in this quarrell the Hermikes. They lend also their Embassadors all out to move and to
persuade *L. Titus*. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake *Regillus*, took such a spleen and
hated against him wholeover, that should once put into their heads and perswade them to take Rome.

Temple of Sa-
turn dedicated,
Saturnalia
instituted.

Tarquinius de-
ceased.

Wards 21.
15 of May.

L. Titus per-
suaded.

arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadors, but offer them abuse. They apprehended H therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to *Rome*, and delivered them to the *Comituli*: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hernicks were out in arms ready to war upon the Romans. Which being reported unto the Senators, they were well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth pleasant & glad were the Latins then for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They sent moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitol, for a present to *Jupiter*. With these Embassadors, and the present, those prisoners which before were in fetters came in greater number. Who repaired straight waies to every man his house, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like comely and mutual hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publicly and privately, united more necerly to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at discord among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring wile, how that abroad they adventured themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbours they were held prisoners and oppressed: saying that the freedom of the Commons was more late in time of war than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens. This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of it self still kindled more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person chained to bondage, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparel was all so tattered, foule, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so lean withall, as if he had been over-pined and contumace wild and gally. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars: had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the field: and the common people, as pitying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast and fore-part of his body in divers places he had received that might testify his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assembly to hear a solemn Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that while he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continual foraging, and wasting of the Territory, not only lost the revenues and increase of his lands, but also his Mannor-house was burnt all his goods ransacked and spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he ill might he was driven to take up money and run in debt: which growing more and more by payment of interest, first he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all, by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: untill at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption, Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into bondage and thralldom, but also imprisoned and whipped, and tormented in most cruel and but herlike manner. With that he shewed before them all his back lately scourged, with the fresh wales of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the upore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort that as well they that were bound, as they that were loose came forth from all parts into the open streets calling the *Quirites* and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to the part willingly in this tedious rout and N every where in all the streets they ran by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the *Comituli* *P. Servilius*, and *App. Claudius* made the better speed, and come upon them to appeale the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they and all their other shamefull misdeeds and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed. Some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatening wile, rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together, and they the while stood about the *Comituli*, as if they would be judges and moderators of their publick complaint. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to resist, for the *Comituli*: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the *Comituli* house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people, indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with deliaies, furling, that the Senators which were away, absented themselves not by chance, nor for fear, but only to hinder the proceeding of all question cause: and that the *Comituli* themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made

A dangerous
sedition in
Rome.

A made but a torn and game at their miseries. This broil so in-reared, that hardly could the reverence and Majesty of the *Comituli* restrain the peoples rage, But the Senators standing in doubtful fears, whether to tarry behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they resolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at last a full and sufficient house gathered, neither the Lord, there assembled, nor yet the *Comituli*, could well agree amongst themselves what to do in this case. *Appius* a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authority and commandment, saying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on the rest would be quiet. But *Severus* more inclined to mild and gentle remedies, thought it a more late and easy course too, rather to bend than to break their angry and ill stomach. But amidst these troubles there happened a greater and more terrible occurrence: For certain Latins on horse-back rode in post, and brought news in hasty and tumultuous manner, that the Volscians were coming with a mighty and cruel army against the City to assault the same. Which news being heard (see how discord had of one City made twain) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The commons they kept for joy, and said they gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take prettymony, or to enter their names in the matter: matters book-keeping that they had rather dye at once with all, than perish alone and venge them: "Let the Nobles (quoth they) pierce as soldiers; let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the profits, the prizes and rewards thereof. But contrary-wile the Senate perished and discharged with this resolution, as well from citizens as enemy, before the *Comituli* *Servilius* (a man by name more able and powerful) That he would provide for the safety of the Commons-well, be it as it were round with a consular power. Then the *Comituli* dismissed the Senate, and came forth into the assembly of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the City, and that while they were (quoth he) busy in consultation for the greater part of the day, yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the mean while, that the Volscians, who they must see to the whole body of the Commons-well, whereof they stand in extreme fear, seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not possibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there should be any respite and leisure granted) were it either for the commons credit and honesty, nor to fight for their Country, which they had their pay before hand; nor well becoming the Nobles and for their reputation, to look unto and take order hastily, to redress the miseries and calamities of their citizens upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he confirmed with an edict, by virtue whereof, he gave (freight commandment: *Quod* none of his men should keep bound or in prison, any citizen of *Rome*, but that he might be brought before the *Comituli*. Item, that no person should hold in possession, or sell the goods of any soldier, so long as he abode in the camp, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not only the enthralled debtors there present, were joyfully by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them, and came into the market place for to take a military oath of allegiance, to be true soldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of these: neither was there any that more mutually behaved and quit themselves or took more pains in the Volscian war. Then the *Comituli* took his power again, and within a little of them incamped himself. The night following, the Volscians presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romans, assailed the tents, if haply in the night season any of them might have been wrought to abandon the camp and come to them, or to practise any treason. But the Sentinels detected them, and upon alarm given, the whole army arose, and every man made halt to his weapons. Thus came the enterprise of the Volscians to nothing. The rest of the night both parts rested, and were quiet. On the morning by break of day, the Volscians having filled up the trench, assailed the bulwarks and rampiers. And by that time they had on every side planked up the fences, palliades, and other fortifications, the *Comituli* who for all he was called unto instantly on every hand, but of the debtors absented, alpe, alpe, alpe, to give the signal, and to found the battle, made himself on purpose to try the courage of his men: and seeing well now their forwardness and their manly, at length gave them a token to rush forth, and to let forth their loose, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very first onset the enemies were presently discomfited and put to flight: the rout followed hard upon them in haile, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horsemen likewise pursued them even to their pavilions, who still feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very camp also, environed about with the legion, and abandoned of the Volscians themselves for fear, were taken and filled. The next day to following, the legions marched to *Subura* *Pometia*, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few days the Town was won, and put to the sack, and the spoil and pillage given away: whereby the needy soldiers were somewhat refreshed. The *Comituli* in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to *Rome*. In his way homeward the Ambassadors of the *Latines* *Pellius* distrusting their own state upon the loss of *Pometia*, came unto him. To whom after consultation had with the Senate, and a decree passed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabines also put their

Divers opinions in the Senate.

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather than a war. For word was brought in the night season, that an army of the Sabines were come in a rode, as far as the river *Anio* robbing, spoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was sent thither the whole power of horses under the conduct of *A. Posthumius*, who in the Latin war had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul *Servilius* with a chosen regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad foraging in scattering were by the horsemen surprised and indolent. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabines legion, they were not able to resist: for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with plundering all night long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabine war in one night was heard of and ended. The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope that they had peace on every side, behold the *Auruncan* Embassadors came into the Senate proclaiming war, unless they would forgo the *Volsian* lands, and restore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the *Auruncans* abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in fight not far from *Aricia*, raised up the Romans in to great a broil and hubbub, that the Senators could neither be consulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves. So to *Aricia* direct in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battel with the *Auruncans*. And in one day that war had also an end.

Thus when the Roman souldiers had gotten victory within a few days in so many places, and had now defeated the *Auruncans*, they looked for the promise of the Consul, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud stomach, and arrogant spirit of his own by nature, and also to discredit and disanul the word of his fellow Consul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a souldier, whose case it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Consul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at his hands they claimed a promise: every one upbraided and reproached him with their service in war, with their fears there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the Senate, and as a Consul, succour and protect his Citizens: or like a General, maintain his souldiers. These matters no doubt, moved the Consul: but so flood the care that he could neither will nor chuse, but dissemble, deal double, and temporize with them: so fully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus by bearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and base minded Consul, seeking to please all parties, and the Commons for as crafty and false dissembler: in somuch as within a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Consuls happened on a time to strive, whether of them twain should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the people election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals, he should erect and institute a Colledge or fellowship of Merchants, and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the iolemn feasts or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Lehorius*, a principal Centurion of the vanguard: which as it early appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling: as to disgrace and deface the Consuls. Hereat, one of the Consuls, yea, and the *Patricii* stormed and fumed exceedingly against the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course then they purposed at the beginning: for despairing of the Consuls and Senats help, when they saw a debtor sued and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Consuls sentence and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour. And de facto judge what he would, no man would obey. And so violently they went to work, that in presence of the Consul, the creditors were singled out, evil-treated, and misused of the Commons, being many together. So the whole fear and hazard of the main chance, even of liberty it selfe, was now altogether transferred from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of these troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabine war, and when it was determined, there should be a muster of souldiers, no man would answer to his name and be enrolled. All this while *Appius* raged and took on, inveigling bitterly against the nicety and popularity of his brother Consul, who with his keeping silence for dispeacing the people, by his soft carriage of him self, had betrayed the Weal-publick, and over and besides that, he had not ministered justice for the loan of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought the matter for so pass that he could take no multers by vertue of the decree of the Senate. Howbeit (saith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forsaken and forlorn, nor yet the Consular authority utterly cast down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. When as the multitude

Appius his
inveigle
against his
fellow Consul.

A multitude therefore stood thus malapertly as their daily manner was about the bar he commanded one principal Captain of sedition to be attached and hid away; and as he was haled to prison by the Sergeants and Lictors he appealed. Neither would the Consul have given place to the appeal (for he knew the people now they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obstinate it self with much ado been overwayed more through the direct and adiection authority of the chief Nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noise & menaces of the multitude to release him, and his heart so courageous to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus grew the mischief more & more daily, testified not with open mouth & broad speech, but only by also (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by convocations secret meetings, and conferences. At length these Consuls odious unto the Commons went out of their offices, to wit, *Appius* a man wonderous well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons.

After whom *A. Verginius*, and *J. Vatinus* entered their Consulship. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of Consuls they should have began to assemble together by night some in *Effra*, others in the *Aventum*, to the end they might not be unprovided and to seek upon a sudden, what to do in the common place, nor manage their business hand over head and at a venture. Which the Consuls inproving (as it was indeed) a perilous example and of ill consequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not order, ask their advice what was to be done: they took for on and kept such outcry and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and tinning, that the Consuls should lay upon the Senate the burden and heay load of that, which properly they by vertue of their authority and office should execute and perform themselves, and surely if there were any Magistrates in the City (say they) there would not be thus suffered in *Rome* any other comit but publick: whereas now the State is divided into a thousand Confes and conventicles: whiles some have their meetings and assemblies in *Effra*, others in *Aventum*. Assuredly one only man indeed (for that is more than a Consul) such a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would soon dispatch, and in one minute of an hour, after these their unlawful assemblies, the Consuls upon this rebuke and check, replied again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are resolved to do nothing ill, kely and coldly but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon an order passed that they should take muster and levy souldiers with all rigour and severity, adding moreover, that the Commons with idleness and ease were grown over-malpert and too confident.

And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunal & took their places, and summoned by name all the younger sort to appear: and none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as had been to hear some publick Orator, said plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get to much as one souldier, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publicly before was made, and restore to every man again his liberty. Before they came then to take weapon in hand: to the end they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Matters, the Consuls saw well what they had in commission from the Senate & that of all those who within the Council house were spake so stoutly & gave out to great words, there was not one present to take part of this odious malice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good there where they tried the word, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advice of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to see the Consuls fears, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had indelicately weighed and tried both ways this at length began they said, A great sedition and commotion is now ready to rise. To the end therefore that ye pretend no ignorance, and lay another day ye were more told of it, there is a great sedition and commotion toward, we require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our countenances and lack of courage, assist us and sit with us while we take

the matters: and since you will needs have us, we will execute it according to their will, that is, as the most cruel and severest. Then come they back again into the Tribunal, and some of them for purpose, one of them that were there in right to be cited and called by name. But he could not find him, and heid his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, so that he should have some harm or violence done unto him. The Consul then sent a Sergeant to attack him, who being repelled off, then those Nobles which fate there on the bench to sit, the Consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intolerable, and for to down with it from the Tribunal seat, for to rid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the men under who set the Lictor alone, and only they did him from lying hold on the man, turned upon the *Patricians*. So that the Consuls were faine to flee between, and then the tray was appeased. In which there being

no bones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, brow beating and chafing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate house full in great hurry, and with more confusion for the yhere in Council: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and mistreated, required that commissioners should sit upon this riot and make aduication: and as some of them gave their determination, namely, by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion, so some did upon reason. At last when there met was no objection and their heat allayed, and that the Consul hit them in the teem, and reproved them, saying there was a little discretion and gravity in them.

* From a
years of age.

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their Court and Council-house, as in the common Hall, they began in the end to confute orderly H and three opinions there were amongst them, *P. Virginus* would not have a common and general rate (to wit, that all debtors should be released from their creditors) but his advice was, that they should only be constricted, who relying upon *P. Servilius* the Consul his word and faithful promise, had served in the wars of the Volcians, Auruncans and Sabins, *T. Lartius* he supposed and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends only for good defaults, and to respect them alone that had done well, and to recompence good service: but for as much as the whole commonalty was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, unless they were all provided for and good order taken for them every one, there would be no quickness nor end of troubles: yea, and (that which is more so) in case they be not all alike regarded, but some debtors in better condition than I others, the disorder would rather be more kindled than quenched. *Appius Claudius* a man both of natural disposition fierce and cruel, and also by occasion made more outrageous, meddled with the Commons hated against him on the one side, and tickled with the praise and commendations of the Nobles on the other side, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skies, spake to this effect: "There is great stir and mutinous humors, my Masters (quoth he) is not long of this "military and calamity, but only of too much liberty of the Commons: who rather upon fumes "are grown wanton and unruly than for any want impatient and discontent: and all this mischief "no doubt is sprung of this, that they have liberty to appeal. For so long as it is in their power to "file for help unto those that have erred as well as they, well may the Consul threaten and give "out menacing words: as for any rule or command they shall have none among them. Come K "on therefore, let us create a Dictator from whom they cannot make their appeal. Then shall "this furious rage, which now setteth all on a light fire, be soon lust and quite extinguished. Let "me see then, who dare bear a Lictor, when he shall well know, that he alone whose honor "and Majesty he shall offend and abuse, hath power to scourge him and take away his life. Many men thought this sentence of *Appius* to be very hard and cruel: yea, and dangerous withal, in regard of the late precedent of *Virginus* and *Vulturnus*. That other likewise of *Lartius* was thought inconvenient, in taking away all keeping of credit with the creditors. The opinion and advice of *Virginus* was supposed as well in one respect as in another most indifferent and mean between both. But by reason of the faction and regard of private benefit, which always hath done hurt and ever will, to publick Council, *Appius* prevailed, and he himself very little but he himself had been made Dictator. Which if it had come to pass, it would surely have estranged and alienated L quite the hearts of the Commons, in that most busy and dangerous time: when it happened that the Volcians, *Equians*, and Sabins, were all up at once in arms. But the Consuls and elder Senators, had great care and consideration to chuse such a one, as might by mildness of his own nature allay and qualify the exceeding rigour and fierceness incident to Sovereign and absolute authority. They elect therefore to be Dictator, *Marcus Valerius* the son of *Vulturnus*. The Commons albeit they saw well enough this Dictator created for to curb them, yet having got by his brothers law, the benefit of Appeal, they feared no severe and insolent proceeding from that house and name. The Edict besides, that the Dictator set forth, which was welcome all one with that other of the Consul *Servilius* much confirmed and settled their minds. For supposing now, they M had more hold both of the man, and also of his authority, and that they might with more confidence rely themselves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, and entered their names into the muster book: so there were enrolled full ten legions. The like army for number was never levied afore. Of which legions, the Consuls had the conduct of three a piece, and the Dictator commanded the other four: and high time, it was: for the war might not be delayed any longer. The *Equians* had already invaded the territory of the Latins, and their Embassadors were petitioners to the Senate, either to lend succour, or to give them leave to put on armor themselves for the defence of their confines, and frontiers. It was thought the safer and surer way, that the Latins without arming themselves should be defended, than to permit them again to take weapon in hand. So the Consul *Varus* was sent thither, and he stayed them from further foraging and waiting. For the *Equians* were departed out of the plains, and trusting rather N in the vantage of the ground, than in their weapons, stood upon their guard, kept themselves safe from danger, upon the high tops of the Hills and Mountains.

The other Consul who was gone against the Volcians, because he would not allow lose any time, drew the enemy forth (by waiting the country especially) to encamp himself nearer, and to at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the midst between both camps: where each army stood before their rampiers, embattelled, and ranged in array, with banners displayed ready to fight. The Volcians were somewhat more in number, whereupon they began battail dis-deedly and as if they set light by the enemy. But the Roman Consul neither advanced forward, nor suffered his men once to shout and answer again, but charged them to stand still with their javelins fast in the ground, until the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to lay about them lustily with their swords, all that ever they could. The Volcians out of breath with running and shouting, charged the Romans, who seemed for fear to stand motionless: but after they once perceived that they were hotly reconntered by them again, and saw their swords glittering in their eyes, they were troubled therewith, as if they had been entrapped and alien into some trains layed for them, and so turned their backs. And by reason they came running before

The Oration
of Appius
Claudius in the
Senate.

A to battail, their strength would not hold out now to run clear away: The Romans contrary-
wise, because against the beginning of the fight they had stood quiet, were fresh of body, and soon
overtook them thus overtaken, won their camp by force, and after they had driven the enemies
out from thence, chased them into *Vulturnus*, and entered the Town pell-mell one with another in a
medley the Victor together with them that were vanquished. More bloodied there was by execu-
tion of them one with another, of all ages and sexes, as they came in their way than in the very
battail. A very few, even such as without weapon yielded themselves were spared and pardoned.

Whiles these things were doing amongst the Volcians, the Dictator did omit and put to
fight the Sabins, with whom he had much cruel war: yea, and ordered them to abandon and
B quit their camp. For having lent his horsemen into the main battail of the enemies, which they
had but slightly strengthened within, and bestowed the ranks there very thin, and all to stretch
out the wings on both sides more at large, he brake their array: and when they were once dis-
ordered, the footmen came in upon them: and in the same brunt were they Masters of their
camp, and to the war ended. There was not in those dayes a braver battail fought and more re-
nowned, letting aside that only at the lake *Regulus*. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the
City. Over and above the accustomed honors, both he and his posterity after him were allowed
a certain place in the great Race or Theater, called *Circus maximus* to behold it cate the toling games,
and there was set the Ivory chair of estate, called *Sella curulis*. The Volcians thus van-
quished, lost the territory about *Vulturnus*, and new inhabitants were sent thither from the City to
C people and to till the grounds, so that it became a Colony.

Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the *Equians*, but in truth, full against the
Consul his will, for that they were to finish up a steep Hill (to their disadvantage) for to meet
with the enemy. But the Soldiers blaming him for trifling out, and making delays, to the end
that the Dictator might be out of Office before they made return to the City, and for his
word and promise, like the Consuls before him, should come to nothing: drove him per-
force to lead up his army, rashly and at adventure against every well through the cowardice of the
ordered, and an error escaped, fell out notwithstanding very well through the cowardice of the
enemy: who before they were come within fight and the darts cast, amazed at the venturou-
ness of the Romans, forsook their holds which they had in most defendible places, and leapt down
into the valleys over against them. There was booty & pillage good enough, and a bloodless victory.

Having spent thus fortunately abroad in three several wars, the Senators and Commons were
not careless of home-affairs, what would be the issue thereof, the Binkers and Officers, what
with favor, and what with subtil and cautious policy, had devised abroad and wrought forth
by means, as might infringe and disappoint not only the Commons, but also the Dictator, and put
them by their expectation. For *Valerius*, after the return of *Vulturnus* the Consul, dealt first and
had above all other matters and causes at the Council-table, in the behalf of the people that had
achieved such victories, and propounded to know their minds. What should be done with those
"endangered, and imprisoned persons. "Which motion of his being disliked and re-
"jected: I see well (quoth he) that I cannot please you, so long as I perswade to concord and
"unity: with ye will (trust me truly) ere it be long, that the commonalty of Rome had more
"Patrons and Advocates like my self. As for me, I will neither bear my citizens any longer in
"hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vain, to effect nothing. Civil discord at home, and
"forraign war abroad, caused the State to have need of this office. Now, when peace is gotten
"without, behold it is crossed and hindered within: yet had I rather be present at the sight of a
"mutiny and insurrection when I am a private person, than whiles I am a Dictator. This went be-
"out of the Council-house, and yielded up his Dictatorship with grief that he took in his fault, for
"very pity and compassion of them, he gave over the place: for that there was no default in him, but
"it charged himself of his faithful word to them given, (for that there was no default in him, but
"it had been performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his house with hearty affection,
"praising and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to re-
"lect if the army were broken up and discharged, there would be some secret conventicles, and new
"conspiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the matters were taken by the Dictator: yet because the
"soldiers had sworn allegiance to the Consuls, supposing they were still bound to warfare by
"virtue of that oath, and pretending a colour that the *Equians* renewed war, they commanded the
"legions to be led forth of the City.

This hastened the sedition the sooner and set it forward. At first somewhat, they com-
plained and laid their heads together about murdering and making away the Consuls: to the end they
might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better schooled and advised, that
G no mans confidence can be cleared of scruple, and discharged of oath, once taken by committing
a sinful act and working mischief, they withdrew themselves out of the way by the persuasion of
one *Servilius*, and without cause of the Consuls, departed as far as Mount *Sacra*, on the farther
side of the River *Tiber*, three miles from the City. This is the more common report, and seemeth
more current, than that whereof *Pisus* is the Author (namely, that the commons revived them-
selves to *Arventum*). There, without any head or Captain, they encamped and fortified them-
selves within a trench and rampier, and kept quiet for certain dayes, neither taking nor doing
F 3 harm

But,

The speech of
Valerius the
Dictator in
the Senate.

The first re-
volt of the
commons
rose into
Mount *Sacra*.

was *Cæso* with an Army sent, who invaded and overran the very country of the *Æquians*, foraging and spoiling as he went, The *Æquians* thereupon retired, & put themselves into their towns, and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought, But at their enemies the *Veientians* hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashness of the other Consul: and had not *Cæso Fabius* come to the rescue in good time, the whole Army had been utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the *Veientians*: but their dealing was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad, they would leave the field & take to their Cities: when they perceived the Legions were abroad, and gone, they would make excursions and waste the country. Thus plaid they mock holiday, and dallied with them, shifting off war with quietness, and quietness again with war, by turns. So as the Romans could neither all wholly rest careless and secure for them, nor yet with any great peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the mean while elsewhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabii* unto the Senat, in the name of them all spake the Consul in this wise: "My Lords of the Senat, the *Veientian* war had need rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keep the frontiers, than great forces for expedition, As for you see ye to other wars, Let the *Fabii* alone to deal as private enemies with the *Veientians*, We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of *Rome* shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved to our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and manage that war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardness. The Consul being come out of the Senat house, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who stood at the porch of the Council Court, expecting the Senat's decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls door, they departed from thence home to their own houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up to the skies, saying: "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The *Veientian* war now is become (say they) *Ja* privat charge, and requiteth the power and force only that privat persons could make. Or that there were two such families more in *Rome* of that stomach and valour: that one of them might take the *Volscians* in hand, and another the *Æquians*, Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued, and the people of *Rome* sit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the *Rem-zvous* doreside, as they were commanded. Then came the Consul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole blond and lineage armed and marshalled in order and being received in the midst of them, cauked the gasons and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either less in number or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms they were and six, all nobly defended, of one stock, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one that a sage and prudent Senat would have reined at any time as insufficient to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruin and destruction of the *Veientians*. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, calling in their minds no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and furloughing: another of the common people, moved with a careful regard, and attended again in a favourable applause and admiration of their enterprise, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hour: God grant lucky speed, answerable to your magnanimous attempts and designments: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Consulships triumphs all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they paced along the Capitol the Castle and other Temples they besought the gods, as many as were presented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchsafe that Squadron to be attended upon with good success and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again in safety to their native country and loving parents. But alas the while, in vain were all their prayers made. Then set they forward on their journey leaving *Janus* Church on their right hand, taking the more cautious and unlucky way, from the gate *Cementalis*, until at length they came to the river *Cremera*, That was thought a convenient place to fortifie in, and there to plant a garrison. After this were *L. Amilius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls. And so long as they adventured no farther than foraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend their hold and fort: but all their frontier parts and marches were the *Fabii* on Territory adjoining to the Roman they frequented and travelled, between the one confine and the other, that they kept all their own in safety, and mightily endangered the enemies. Then forsook they a while, but it was not long, from wasting and spoiling. By which time both the *Veientians* had gathered

Cæso Fabius
the Consul,
to the Lords of
the Senat.

The lineage of
the *Fabii* offer
to maintain
war with the
Veientians in
their own per-
sons, and at
their proper
charges.

* At this day
Festus Paro.

A power out of *Hetruria*, and assaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and also the Roman Legions under the conduct of the Consul *L. Amilius*, encountered the *Tufcans* in open field. And yet the *Veientians* had hardly time enough to put themselves in order of battle: so suddenly at the very first skirmish, whilst the files were entering into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the tum-cours and supplies a placing and disposing in the rearward, a Cornet of Roman horse charged them so hotly on the flank, that they had not room and space either to begin fight, or to keep their standing fire. Thus were they discomfited, and chased back as far as *Saxa rubra*, i.e. Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (see their inbred infancancy so naturally engrafted) they were weary of it, and repented thereof, before the Roman garrison could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And so the *Fabii* once again skirmished with the *Veientian* without preparation of greater war. Neither made they inroads only, and sudden violent incursions into the Territories but sundry times they encountered with banners displayed, and joined battell in plain field. And that one house and kindred of the Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that most mighty and rich City (in those daies) of all the *Tufcans*. This took the *Veientians* at the first for a foul disgrace and indignity. But afterwards they devited to lay trains, as occasion should serve and entrap their fierce and hardy enemy: and well apaid they were and rejoiced that the *Fabii* upon the good success that still followed them, were become more bold and venturesome. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering they would drive cattle in their way but yet so, as they might seem to light upon them by chance. The ruttish peasants made shew as if they fled out of the Country, and left the fields waste: yea, and the companies of soldiers lent out to restrain and slay their spoiling, made shew of running away, pretending oftner they were afraid than they had cause indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time let to light by their enemies, and thought lo well of themselves, that they beleaved verily their power was invincible and might not be withstood in any ground, or at any time whatsoever. This conceit and hope of theirs let them to aloof, and made them so bold, that clyping upon a time cattle far from *Cremera* (for there was a large plain between) although here and there they might desire armed fouliders of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horse neck, and when unadvisedly without foresight, they were past the ambush, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to pass, and were stragling here and there disorderly, driving the cattle away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be scared and affrighted, then suddenly start the enemies all at once out of the ambushment: so as both before and behind, and on every side they were beset and environed with enemies. At the first the very hunting and oncray they made round about terrified them: afterwards flew their shot from all sides. And as the *Tufcans* gathered themselves together, the *Fabii* were soon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies standing armed thick and close one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them in so much less room were they enforced also to cast themselves into a ring. Which, considering their araises were thrall to thick together in so straight a compals, made their small number appear the less, and the multitude of the *Tufcans* to carry a greater shew. Then forbearing to fight as they first intended, on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Therto they endeavour with might and main, body and armour: and with a pointed patel wedgewise pierced through and made themselves passage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, rising up with an easy ascent, from whence at first they made resistance only and kept their ground: but soon after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to breath themselves, and to take heart again after so great a fright, they forced the enemies also to give back that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were yet by the benefit of the ground they had gotten the better if the *Veientians* had not set a compals about the hill side, and gained the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And to were the *Fabii* slain every man, and not one of them elaped, yea, and their fort overthrow. The *Fabii* all

F and raled, Three hundred and six there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the *Veientians* name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encrease, as out of a stock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to provide in time to come the great prop and pillar that the people of *Rome* should have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and abroad.

But ere this heavy loss and overthrow hapned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Consuls. *Menenius* was lent forth with against the *Tufcans* pushed now up with pride for this their victory: with whom then also he fought unfortunately and sped but ill, for the enemies surprised and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had surely been besieged, (considering that besides war they were greatly distressed for want of victuals, for the *Tufcans* were passed over the *Tiber*) but that *G. Horatius* the Consul was called home from the *Volscians*. And so near approached the enemies in this war and pressed to the very walls, that first there was a skirmish even hand at the Temple of *Spes*: and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very small odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wonted courage prepare the fouliders to better service in the battels ensuing.

Now were *A. Verrinius* and *Sp. Servilius* created Consuls. The *Veientians* after this late defeat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and wasted still, And from the *Janiculum* from

from a fortrels and place of safe retreat, they would make excursions out into the Territory of the Rome all about, and neither cattle nor country people could any where be in safety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themselves in the same wile that they had caught the *Fabii* with. For as they followed after certain cattle, which were driven forth here and there of purpose to draw and train them abroad, they were plunged themselves headlong into an Ambuscado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their slaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occasion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having crossed the *Tiber* in the night sea on they gave the attempt to make an assault upon the Camp of the Consul *Servilius*. But being discomfited, and many of them slain the rest retired themselves from thence, and with much ado recovered the *Janicule*. The morrow morning by sun rising, so venturesome he was by reason of his fortune to fight the day before, and more for the scarcity of corn and victuals, which drove him to take he cared not how rash and dangerous courtes, so they tended to more quick and speedy expedition) full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the steep hill of the *Janicule*, and charged the enemies hold : but being set back himself from thence more shamefully than he had the day before repelled the enemies : yet by occasion that his fellow Consul came in the while to rescue, he and his Army both were saved : and the *Tuscan* enclosed between both hosts, were forced to turn their backs both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers son. Thus by a rash enterprise (which as good luck was) sped well, the *Veientian* war came to an end. The City then, as it enjoyed peace, so it came again to be better stored of corn and victual : both for that there was some grain brought out of *Campania*, and also because the old store that was hoarded up came abroad, by reason that no man now stood in fear of death to enlue.

Afterwards upon plenty and ease they began to be buse again, and their heads to work, seeking to broach old troubles at home, since they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to sollicite and infect the Commons with their venom and poyson, the Law *Agraria*: inciting them against the Nobles that gaind it: not in general terms only, but also by touching particular persons. For *Q. Confidius* and *T. Geminus*, who were for the Law *Agraria*, framed an inditement, and sued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loss of the fort and garrison at *Cremera*: for that, he being Consul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he soon stopped the course, both because the Nobles laboured and took his part, no less than he had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and also the affection and favour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worn out, and clean forgot. The Tribunes used moderation therefore in the penalty, for having commenced a capital action against him, and convicted him thereof, they set a fine on his head of 2000 Asles. Howbeit this cost him his life: for he grew, men say, in to such a melancholic fit for shame of this disgrace, that he fell thereupon from grief of heart unto a pining sickness, which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accused and brought into trouble, to wit, *Sp. Servilius*, so soon as he was out of his Consulship at what time as *C. Nautius*, and *P. Valerius* were Consuls. In the beginning of whole year the Tribunes *L. Caudinus* and *T. Statius*, called him straightwaist to his answer. Who sustained the violence of the Tribunes, not as *Menenius* did, by his own inrecreancy and the prayers of the Nobles, but bare himself confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grace wherein he stood. Blamed he was likewise, and charged for the barrel with the *Tuscan* at *Janiculum*. But being a man of an hot spirit and stout courage, as he carried himself before in the publick danger, so now in his own private peril, by refusing in a bold and stout speech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but also the Commonalty, and calling in their reerch and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whose fathers means the Common: being in times past restored, had obtained first those very Magistrats and Laws, whereby at this day they exercise such rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldness avoided the present jeopardy he stood in. The testimony of his Colleague *Valerius* stood him in great stead, who produced forth as a witness, N made him partner with himself in all his worthy acts. But that process of judgment which passed against *Menenius* (so altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and struck it dead inure.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the *Veientians* war began abroad: to whom the *Sabins* also had joyned their power. Whereupon the Consul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the *Lutines* and *Hernicks*, was sent out with an Army to *Veii*: and incontinently he set upon the tents of the *Sabins*, as they lay encamped under the walls of their confederates, and put such a terror amongst them, that whilst they ran forth scattering by bands and companies, some at one gate some at another, to repell the violent assault of the enemies, it hapned that the gate which he first advanced his ensigns against, was won. And within the trench small fight there was, but O more manly laughter. The tumult and noise hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City. And the *Veientians* in great fear ran hastily to their weapons, as if *Veii* had been surprised. Some make speed to incoor the *Sabins*: others do what they can to assail the *Romans*, who were wholly busied about the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, diffidly subdued the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, diffidly subdued the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, diffidly subdued the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, diffidly subdued the pillage of the Camp.

A broke the *Tuscan* array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were defeated, two most puissant nations, and nearest neighbors to the *Romans* vanquished. Whilst these exploits were performed about *Veii*, the *Volskians* and *Aequians* had encamped themselves in the Country of *Latium*, and harried the marches thereof, Whom the *Latines* on themselves, with the help only of the *Hernicks*, and without any Leader or aid at all from the *Romans*, forced to abandon their tents: and besides the recovery of their own goods again, achieved a great and rich booty. Notwithstanding all this, the Consul *Nautius* was sent from *Veii* against the *Volskians*. They were not well pleased, I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies should wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of the *Romans*. He spared not to work all the mischief he could, all abuse and spiteful posture against the *Volskians*: yet could not they be brought to fight a field. Then succeeded *L. Junius* and *C. Maenius* Consuls. To *Maenius* fell the charge of the *Veientian* Province. Howbeit war there was none at all. But at their own sute, a truce was granted unto them of forty years. And they were enjoined to find corn and soldiers pay. Peace was not so soon procured abroad, but pockitly enured difford at home. For at the intigation of the Tribunes, by occasion of the Law *Agraria*, the Commons were set a madding. But the Consul, skared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the peril wherein *Servilius* stood, redressed all they could. And when the Tribunes were ounce out of their Office, *Geminus* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arrested them: and *L. Aemilius* with *Opter* *Virginis* enter their Consulship. In some Anna's or yearly records I find *Papirius* *Julius* Consul instead of *Virginis*. But in this year, whoever then were Consuls, *Favrus* and *Marcius* being indicted before the people, went about arraid in the apparel and mournful weed to the younger sort of Senators, as well as the Commons perswading, advising, and warning them to forbear and refuse all dignities and offices of state, yea, and all charge of Common-weal. And as for the Consuls rods, born afore them, their purpled robes with purple, and chair of state, they should esteem no otherwise of them than of the pageants carried in a funeral pomp. And that with these gorgeous ornaments and ensigns they were but destined to death: much like to beards adorned with faced white ribbands and labels, appointed to sacrifice. But if the tweneens of a Consulship were in their consideration now withal and periwade themselves, that it is become private and overwaded with the power of the Tribunes: and that the Consul, as if he were the Tribunes serjeant, must do all at his beck and command. For if he quethched never so little, if he seemed to regard the Senators, or make account of any thing, he in the whole State but of the Commonalty, let him set before his eyes the exile of *C. Manlius*, the judgement and death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incited with these speeches, from thenceforth began to consult and confer together, not openly and in publick council, but privately, and apart from the privacy of many. And when they were resolved once upon this point, that those accused parties now in trouble should be enlarged one way or other, by hook or ruse: then the cruellest advice, and hardest course that could be delivered best pleased them, and for to put in execution the most audacious designments whatsoever, there wanted not one or other to give counsel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the E Forum, in great expectations of the sequel and issue, they began at first to marvel much, that the Tribunes *Geminus* came not down in place: and suspecting somewhat because of his long tarrying & delay they imagined that he durst not for the great men and chief Magistrats of the City: and so they complained that the common cause was forlorn and betrayed. At the last, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his house, brought word that he was found at home stark dead. Which news being once noised through the assembly, mark how an Army is dispersed and scattered when their General is slain, even so in all the world the Commons flit aside every one from one way from another. But above all others the Tribunes were in bodily fear, being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their sacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not dissemble their joy, nor use it with moderation but shewed it expressly, and for so little repented any one of them of the last committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not seem culpable in the action: but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by lost means were to be tamed & their wings clipped in a mischief. Upon this their victory, so shameful a precedent in times to come there were out an edict for the publishing of a statute: and whilst the Tribunes were in this feare damed the Consuls without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes licence and sitting still then at the Consuls rule and impious government: saying, Farewell freedom, now farewell liberties and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is both dead and buried together with *Geminus*. Now they were to go in hand and bebind themselves of some other counse, how they might withstand the Senators proceedings: and seeing G they were destitute of all other help to rely themselves upon, the only way was for the Commons to trust to themselves, and stand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave attendance upon the Consuls 24 *Liberes* or *Vergers*. Commons all and no better, none more contentible and best-minded if they met with those that would let them at naught: they might thank themselves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that in things were so dread and terrible, thus having animated & provoked one another with these speeches there was a Sergeant sent from the Consuls to one *Petron* *Publius* a Commoner, who because he had been

Sabins and
Veientians
vanquished.

Latines and
Hernicks.

Their Roman
franceses and
many Nobles.

Geminus a
Tribune of the
Common people
was murdered
in his house by
the practice of
the Patricians.

Lefforius con-
cedeth the
prefering of
Publius his
Law.

A Officer to the Confil: the Confil likewise, a Licitor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he was but a private person without command, without Magistracy. And doubting the Tribune had been hardly used, but that both the assembly rose up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune against the Confil: and also there was a con.ourse of the multitude, raised out of all parts of the City into the Common Hall, *Appius* notwithstanding flood thither to it till, and abide the bunt of this tumultuous storm: neither had this broke it till without some bloodshed, in the *Quæstion* the other Confil: form: nor let yet some of the Aldermen that had been Commons, to get his *another* Confil: by force. (If otherwise it might not be) out of the Hall, whiles blood was in hand, "one while with the Commons, to appeale theiriury, by way of intreaty and with soft words, B" otherwhiles beought the Tribunes to break up the assembly, persuading with them to take more leisure in this their heat and anger: for that time and space would abide nothing, but if it power, but would joyne counsel and advice thereto: on finding with that both Nobles should be ruled by the people, and the Confil ordered by the Nobles, hard y and with much ado were the Commons quitted by *Quæstus*, but far more trouble had the Nobles to till the other Confil. At the length, when the assembly of the people was dimissed, the Confil: called the sent together, Where after much variety of opinions proceeding from fear and anger according as the one or the other swayed among them: look how much longer time they had to reclaim their mind from violent courses, and eagerly with deliberation to consider of the matter: to finish the more their hearts went against all contention, and further thier: infinitely, as they yeelded *Quæstus* hearty thanks that by his travel between parties, the discord was well allayed. And to *Appius* they were petitioners, ~ That he would be content, that the majesty of the Conill might be more glorious than would stand with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For while the Tribunes for their part would needs have all and the Confil on the other side draw all to them: between this this pinking and having there was no strength left in the midit: and to conclude the Commons, as well was rent, torn and dismembred between the rulers: the one of who gave neither for the managing nor rule, than for the safety and preservation of the State. Against whom *Appius* replied with a solemn protestation before God and man, and said, ~ That the weal publique was abandoned, forsaken, and betrayed by nothing else but foolish fear: that the Senat wanted not a Confil: but the Confil wanted Senators: who now yeelded to harder conditions than they had before time in mount *Sacer*. Howbeit or overweighed at length by the general consent and accord of the Nobles, he was content: and to the law passed quickly by royal consent authorized. Then and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their offices, *Piso* wroth, that there were three more made to the other as if there had been but twain before: and he nameth also the Tribunes, to wit, *Stevius, L. Nævius, M. D. natus, Sp. Julius, & L. Mælius*. Then had the Volians and Aquilans, between the civil edition of the Romans, and the beginning of war harried & walled the country: that in all the Commons had made an inheritance, they might have retired to them as to a free place of retreat and refuge. But when it was that all matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons: they removed their camp towards, *Appius Claudius* was sent against the Volians: and to *Quæstus* fell the Province of the *Equines*. The fame rigorous severity continued *Appius* still in warfare that he made at home in the City: but to much more freely for that he was not curbed nor hindred by the Tribunes. The Commons he hated more than his father had done, for seeing he was over swayed and had taken the foil at their hands: and being the only Confil opposed against the Tribunes power yet more his head, the law passed clear a way, whil the former Confils pride, selfs, with little ado, nor with to great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hindered and delayed. This his envy and indignation gave an edge to that fell blow: for his by kind for to plague and punish his enemies with imperious and lordly command. But so it they were to quarrel again and disobey, that by no forcible means they could be tamed doing all things that they did truly flowly forwardly, and stubbornly. Neither baffled they for shame, nor flooded in awe for fear. If his will was they should march on apace, they would on set purpose go far and fully: If he enragged them in proper person to attend their business they would all of them slack their former care wherein they were content of themselves: whiles he was in place they would hang down their heads and look on the ground as he passed by they would readily curse him in their hearts. So as that invincible storm of his against all hatred of the Commons, was known and they grieve hereat. And when he saw that all the shrewdness and rigour that he used was in vain, and that now he could do no good with his soldiers, he fell to the kin the Captains and Centurions, trying. They had spoiled and mard the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and otherwhiles in taunting, wile knowing them *Volians*. At all these doings were the Volians aware of, and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* should find the Roman Army as froward and disobedient, as they had been against *P. Clodius*. And to say truth they were more crooked and unruly with *Appius* than with *Clodius* a great deal. For they were not only unwilling to have the victory as *Clodius* his Army was, but also desirous to lose the victory, and to overcome. Being brought forth and set in battle array they shamefully took their heels and fled into their tents: and never mid head and resistance, before they saw the Volians with banners displayed, advancing against the munitions of their Camp, and a foul slaughter committed upon the tail of their reeward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for very necessity, that

between, wherein they rested quiet as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. H In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Aequians repaired to the Camp, thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. *Quintus* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden alarm arose, and given commandment that the founders should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Hermines to guard the gates, and caused certain cornetiers and trumpeters on horseback to wind and found before the trench and counterscarp, and so to hold the enemy in suspense and expectation until day-light. The rest of the night all was to quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing steeds, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the found also of their trumpets and horns that made them to let up their ears, and to stamp and fume outrageously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and flesh, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattelled themselves, and at the first shock discombed the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched with all. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certain hills, whereunto they might retire behind the *Principia*, and not break their ranks, and so save themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, K made a stand. The footmen hardly would be slain, calling and crying to the Consul to follow upon them seeing they were discombed. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the ensigns. Whiles the Consul held off in aammerling what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his footmen, so he little trusted the ground: they all at once let up a shout, that they would let forward, come what would: and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins fast in the ground, that they might more nimbly get up the steep place, they took their full career, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other sort which they had let fly, and made no spare, took up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they bestowed them that they annoyed them L and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near overcharged, and had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their rashness, and then for their cowardice, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First they stood to it stoutly, and kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to let foot forward, and won ground with a fresh front and outcry. And taking their career again the second time, they strain all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back, while they ran on heap to the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as M once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to *Antium*. And to *Antium* likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few daies siege, was furnished upon no fresh and new force of assault but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and loss of the Camp their heart were done, and utterly failed.

The Third Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation N of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the third Book.

SEditions about the Laws Agraria. The Capitol taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were flung and recovered. A survey and census was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman Citizens 124,714, besides orphan children. And such as had no children at all, as well men as women. In the other following there were 132,419. Upon a great overthrow received in the war against the Aequians, L. Quintus Cincinnatus was made Dictator: and being in the country at his farme busie about his husbandry, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to consist six years after their first institution. The Laws of Athens were fit from thence by Embassadors, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof there were ten personages elected in the room of Consuls which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and this happened in the three hundred and second year

A year after the foundation of Rome. And as the Government of the State was translated from King to Consuls: so was it now from the Consuls to the Decemvirs. They having propounded tables of Laws, and born themselves modestly in that high dignity were therefore by the consent of the people, permitted to remain still in office the second year. But after they had committed many useless parts they would congeal over their room of Magistracy, sent into a still the third year: until such time as their offence and intolerable rule came to an end, increased by the filly lust of Appius Claudius: who being named upon a very sordid one to make claim unto her at his house, whereupon her father Virginius was driven of necessity to catch up a knife from a butchers stall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other means to save her from the hands of him that purposed to abuse her body into a filthy Libe Commons. B Upon this foul example of filly lascivious, made a full surrection, and took the main Avenue for then held, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their place, and give over their government. Of whom Appius and one of his Collegues (which two had principally deserved punishment) were committed to prison, and there kept the rest were driven into banishment. This book containeth besides the editorious wars against the Sabines, Volscians, and Aequians. And the unbecom arbitrament or award of the people of Rome, who being chosen Arbitrators between the Atridians and the Atridians, awarded to themselves the Land whereabout the strife and controversy was.

The third Book of T. Livius.

AFTER the winning of *Antium*, *T. Aemilius* and *Q. Fabius* were created Consuls. This was that *Fabius* that only remained alive of all the name that perished at *Cruciana*. Now had *Aemilius* in his former Consulship perswaded to distribute certain Lands among the Commons. And therefore in this so like, both the favorers of the law *Agraria* were in good hope of the foretold law: and also the Tribunes supposing verily that now by the help of a Consul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterprised against the pleasure of the Consuls: took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Consul still continued in the same mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding themselves grieved, and complaining that the chief and head Magistrat of the City buied D himself with the Tribunes suits, and was by large giving away of other mens possessions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heavy load of this action from the Tribunes upon the Consul his head. And a cruel broil was toward, had not *Fabius*, by a device and policy to neither party offensive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the year before under the conduct of *T. Quintus*: "There might (said he) a colony be brought to *Antium*, a City near adjoining, very commodious, and leared by the Sea side: so should the Commons without any grudging, or complaints of the possessors or Land-lords, be seized of Land, and the City rest in quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three especial officers or Triumvirs for the division of the said lands, to wit, *T. Quintus*, *Ant. Fannius*, and *E. P. Fannius*. Then proclamation was made, That whosoever would hold any of the Land, should give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, soon caused loathing for there were so few that preferred themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were faine to adjoin unto them certain Volscians. The rest of the multitude did rather, as it seemed) to keep a calling for Land at *Rome*, than be possessed of Land elsewhere. The Aequians craved peace of *Q. Fabius*, who was come against them with an army: and they themselves by making a sodain inroad into the territories of *Lavinium*, cancelled the land and made it void. But the year next following, *Q. Servilius* (for he was Consul with *Sp. Postumius*) being sent against the Aequians, kept a standing camp in the Country about *Lavinium*. But by the reason of a contagious disease or a plague, that raged in his army, they were of necessity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was decreed unto the third year, when as *Q. Fabius* and *T. Quintus* were Consuls. And for almost as *Q. Fabius* had upon his victory before granted peace to the Aequians, he had an extraordinary commission directed unto him for the rule of that Provin. Who being thither gone with full assured hope that the very time of him and noise of his army would quiet the Tribunes, sent Embassadors to the Council of that Nation, with this message: "Q. Fabius the Consul saith, that as he craved before peace from the Aequians unto *Rome* to be brought now war to the Aequians from *Rome*; having now his sword in the very same hand, which he gave unto them before in friendly manner unarmed. Whole treachery it is and perjury that is the cause of this. Gods can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he or his part, however the case standeth, desireth that the Aequians would yet beark themselves to their own accord, and repent rather than stand to the extremity and abide those calamities on their sides that follow wars. If they would come in therefore and be sorry for that they have done, their submission should be received, and they taken into the safe protection of his clemency. Where a ready they had experience. But in case they persist still in their disloyalty, and take pleasure in being tormented by they well assured that they should have the ire and wrath of the Gods more than their enemies to fight against them. These words so little or nothing at all moved any more there, that the very Embassadors had like to have been very hardly used and evil entreated. Yet

and an army withal was sent forth as far as *Algidum* against the Romans. When these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the indignity of the thing and the shameful manner thereof, rather than any fearful peril otherwise, raised the other Consul out of the City. So two Consular or royal armies approached the enemy in order of battail, ready to try it out presently by the dint of sword. But the day being (as it fell out) wellnigh spent, there cried one aloud from out of the place where the enemy kept ward: "This is to make a shew of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed: ye let your battalions in array against night forlooth, that now draweth hard on: we had need of more daylight I wis, for the business in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore at sun rising, let ye come again into the field, ye shall have fighting fear not, your hands full. The soldiers metled and galled at these words, retired back into the camp until the next day. I thinking the night was long, that kept them from battail and so for that time they refreshed themselves with food and sleep. On the morrow to soon as it was day, the Roman host being stirring somewhat more early, stood ready arranged in array: and at length the *Æquians* likewise flowed themselves in field. A sharp fight there was on both sides, by reason that both the Roman soldiers fought in anger and deadly hatred, and also the *Æquians* upon prick of conscience, that bare them witness how they embarked themselves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be trusted again, were forced to hazard all upon a cast, and venture the utmost. Yet were not the *Æquians* able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were discomited and put to flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unruly multitude for all this, were never the more inclined to peace, but reproved and blamed their Captains, "That they put the trial of the issue to a set field, in which kind of fight the Romans had singular skill, and surpassed them. As for the *Æquians*, they were better at robbing, spoiling, and foraging, in making incursions and inrodes: and a better and safer kinde of service it was, here and there in sundry places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all into one grois army, and to pitch a field. Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with such a tumult invaded the confines of *Rome*, that the very terror thereof reached unto the City. This ill, especially coming so suddenly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who would ever have doubted and suspected, that their enemies so lately vanquished, and in manner besieged within their own camp, could possibly think upon entering into the lands of others, and to drive booties. Besides, the ruttal peasants came in at the gates, crying and laying, that they were not petty companies, and small handfuls of thieves and robbers, but (such was their foolish fear, augmenting and making every thing greater) whole armies & legions of enemies were at hand, and marshed up with banners displayed full against the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report unto others: & as they heard news from them they knew not whom, so they let them abroad they cared not how, but ever in the carriage they added somewhat of their own, and coyned lies good store. Here was running, there was crying alarm & generally such a confusion every where, as if the City had been quite lost. By good hap *Quintus* the Consul was returned from *Algidum* to *Rome*. That remedy cured all and layed the fear. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked the people for fearing those enemies whom heretofore they had vanquished, and placed good guards over the gates. Then he assembled the Senate, and by the authority and assent of the Nobles, proclaimed *Justitium*, or a general cessation or vacation in all courts of law: and went himself forth in person with a power to defend the marches, leaving *Quintus Servilius* Provost of the City: but the enemy he found not in the territory all about. The other Consul performed his affairs passing well: who having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, let upon them laden with prey, and (by that means marching more heavily in disorder) made it a dear booty unto them even as much as their lives were worth. For few of them escaped the Ambush, and all the pillage was recovered. So the return of *Quintus* into the City, made an end of the publick Lawless, or above-said vacation which lasted but four dayes. Then was a Censé or Assesment for of mens goods and a muster or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a solemn purging of the people, or called *Lustrum*, celebrated by *Quintus*. And there were numbered of Citizens 1542744 polles, or N above men and women that lived single, or had no children, and all orphans besides. And among the *Æquians* afterward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they betook them to their strong Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be consumed with fire, and spoiled. Thus strone Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be consumed with fire, and a huge booty, then the Consul, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wasting and spoiling as he went, returned home to *Rome* with great honor and a huge booty. Then were *Coili*, *Antus* *Posthumus* *Albanus*, and *Sp. Furius*. Some have written them *Fufii*, who indeed are rightly named *Fufii*. Which I note, lest any man should think they were sundry men, whereas the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the *Coili*, would war with the *Æquians*: and therefore the *Æquians* sought for aide of the *Eccene* Volcians. Which being gladly granted and sent with speed, (such a perpetual hatred bore these Cities always against the Romans) there was great preparation for war in most forcible manner. The *Her-nicks* having an inkling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the *Æquians* were revolted and banded with the *Æquians*. The Colony *Antium* likewise was had certain in jealousy, for that when the Town was lost, many people fled from thence to the *Æquians*, who all the time of the *Æquian* war, served in the field, and proved the most hardy soldiers and fiercest of all others. And now when the *Æquians* were driven into their Towns, that multitude

A multitude being slipped away and retired to *Antium* withdrew from the Romans the allegiance of the Colonies and inhabitants there, who were already of their own in imitation unbound and not to be trusted. But before the matter was come to ripeness, and they entered into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended soon, and were upon the point to revolt, gave the *Coili*, in charge to lend for the chief men and head persons of that colony to *Rome*, and to enquire and learn of them in what terms *Antium* stood: who being come wisely enough, without any great intreaty, and convinced by the Councils before the Senate, made answer to their interrogatories in such manner, that they were sent away more suspected, than at their first coming: whereupon they revolted fully of war. *Spurius* *Postumus* one of the *Coili*, to whom that province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the *Æquians*, found the enemy pouring and waiving in the territory of the *Her-nicks*: and being ignorant what means they were (for that in no one place they were all dispersed together) he rashly joined battel, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was driven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not put at danger and in peril there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was so strongly beset, and so holily assaulted, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to *Rome*. The *Her-nicks* sent word both of the importunate fight, and also how the Consul and his army were besieged. With which news they certified the LL. of the Council, that they granted *Postumus* the other Consul the solemn commission, *To save the State, that he might overthrow and overcome*. The order of which order and decrees, hath been always accounted to signify some great extremity of the Common-wealth. And thought best it was, that the Consul himself in person should abide at home to enrol in the muster books, all those that were able to bear arms: that *Postumus* should be sent as *Pro-consul* or *Vice-consul*, with a power of committate *Al-lies* to the siege and reduce the camp: and for the furnishing of this army, the *Laines*, the *Her-nicks*, and Colony *Antium*, were commanded to send unto *Quintus*, Subitary soldiers (for so they termed it at that time, the aids and supplies taken up in haste and on a sudden). Many attempts were made, and sundry assaults for certain dayes on each side were attempted. For the enemies being more in number, assailed in divers places and sundry wayes to cut off and diminish the power of the Romans, as not only sent and able to make head at all times. For at one time they both made an assault upon the camp, and withal sent out certain of their force to waste the territory of *Rome*, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City, if they could enjoy any good opportunity to offer it self. *Postumus* was left behind to defend the City, and *Postumus* the Consul was sent out to restrain and withstand the waiving of the marches. No point of care or travail on any hand was slack, watch and ward both night and day was let in the City, a good number of guard appointed after the Gates, and soldiers bestowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in so great a hurry) for certain dayes it was no Term, or intercession of Law was observed. In this mean while, *Furius* the *Coili*, who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at un-awares sallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and where as he might have chased them, he made some stay of that, for fear lest on some other side, they would have given assault upon the camp. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who also was the Consul's Brother) engaged himself too far, and upon a short desire of pursuit and following the state, neither saw his fellows as they retired, nor yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the back. Thus being shut out from all the refuge, after many essays made (but all in vain) to make way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was slain. The Consul likewise hearing that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight: but as he ran more rashly than warily into the midst of the skirmish, he was sore wounded, and being hardly and with much ado saved by those that were about him, he both disquieted and daunted the hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, intire, and courageous. Who were so animated and set on fire, both with the hurt of the Consul, and also with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no for as was able to stay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were besieged afresh being now both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that their main State thus lying a bleeding, had utterly perished, but that *Postumus* with a supply of strangers, namely, a power of *Laines* and *Her-nicks*, came to the rescue in time: who charging the *Æquians* behind, whilst they were wholly united in assailing the camp, shewing them within the Lieutenants head in a great bravery and pride, at the same instant caused a fall out of the camp, by a signal that he gave them a shout, and so incited round about a great number of the enemies, so full of the slaughter, but great was the flight and scattering of the *Æquians* in the territory of *Rome*: upon whom (striding here and there and driving their booties after them) *Postumus*, who in divers convenient places had bestowed certain companies and bands of soldiers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in dismay, they lighted upon *Quintus* as he with the hurt Consul returned with Victory. Then the Consul's army bravely did their endeavour, and had a good day of victory: and was revenged both for their Consul's wound, and also for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrons with him. Many losses and overthrowes were given and taken on each side for certain dayes. But in so ancient

"selves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all freight and dreadful Laws: yea, H
"and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But let this their licentiousness should
"continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publish a Law, by virtue whereof there should
"be five men created, who should set down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority
"of the Consuls: and look what authority and commission the people granted out over them, the
"same should the Consul exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and the Nobles to ring,
"will and licentious lust in stead of Law. This act being once published, and the Nobles to ring,
"left whilst the Consuls were away, they should be taken down and yoked, *Quintus Fabius* Presi-
"dent of the City, assembled the Senate, who so bitterly and sharply inveighed against the Law and
"the Law-giver himself, that if both the Consuls themselves had feared about the Tribunes purpose
"to contradict and cross his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for
"them, to have thundered out. For he laid fore unto his charge, that he had lay in wait, and now
"having spied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to assail the C.W. and the State.
"And in case the Gods in their wrathful displeasure had lent among them such a Tribune as he the
"year before, together with war and pestilence, there had been no remedy then, but he must have
"had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Consuls both were dead, and
"the City lay bed-ridden as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made laws
"then indeed, to the utter abolishing of the Consuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and
"been a ring-leader to Volcians and Aequians both, for to have assaulted the City. For what
"might not he have lawfully done by virtue of his place? If the Consuls had either promptly or
"cruelly proceeded against any one Citizen, he might have entered an action against them, and
"commented there forthwith before those very Judges, of whom peradventure some one had been
"by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the course and end of it. And he that thus
"did, should not cause the Consuls authority and rule, but the Tribunes power to become odious
"and intolerable: which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began
"now afresh to come unto the old bias, and to be troublesome again. Neither intreated he him
"not to go on still as he had begun. But yet my Matters (quoth *Fabius*) that are the rest of the
"Tribunes, we would request you to consider well this one point especially: That this power you
"have, was brought in for the succour and relief of every particular person, and not to the general
"prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribunes of the Commons, not enemies
"of the Nobles. A heavy and lamentable case it is to us, odious and hateful unto you, and will
"breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C.W. now forlorn, should thus be invaded
"and assailed. Ye shall lole nothing of your own rights, I assure you, nay, you shall avoid much
"mislike and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribunes, to put off
"this matter and defer it wholly until the Consuls coming. Why, the very Aequians and Volci-
"an themselves the last year, when both our Consuls were dead of the plague pressed not hardly up-
"on us, to prosecute any proud and cruel war against us. So the Tribunes commended and per-
"suaded with *Terentillus*: and this his commended suit or action being adjourned in outward show,
"but in very truth let full quite and disannulled, the Consuls forthwith were sent for home. *Lucretius*
"returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. Who at M
"his very first coming was himself more glory, by laying abroad in *Marsfield* all the prizes, that
"every man for three dayes space might know his own and have it away. All the rest, that had no
"owners to come forth and make claim, was sold in port-sale. By all means consent, the Consul
"was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off by reason that the Tribune had
"not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Consul thought meet should be first re-
"garded. The matter was debated and treated for certain dayes, both in the Senate and also before
"the people. At last the Tribune yielded to the Majesty of the Consul, and gave it over. Then was
"due honor rendered both to the General and also to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the
"Volcians and Aequians: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other
"Consul granted it was that he should in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the City, but N
"without his soldiers. The year next ensuing, the Law *Terentillus* was by the whole College or
"fellowship of the Tribunes revived and propounded again: which put the new Consuls P. *Valerius*
"and S. *Sulpicius* to some trouble. And in the same year likewise seemed to be on a light fire,
"and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto,
"was now for truth believed, to wit, That a Cow did speak. Among other strange wonders it
"ruined itself: during which shewre, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to
"have much it and carried it away as it was falling. But that which fell down and escaped their talons,
"lay scattered here and there for certain dayes in fitch fort, as the fowls changed not at all,
"nor the flesh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the books (of *Sibylla*) were perused by the Du-
"mivir deputed over matters of Religion: who fore-told of some dangers to ensue by a Company O
"of strangers, and gave warning to look lest haply some assault should be made upon the highest
"places of the City, and thereof a slaughter and massacre ensue. Amongst the rest, warning was given
"to abstain from civil discord and mutinies: which the Tribunes found fault with, as a devised
"matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention: was like presently to grow.
"But behold, (that the revolution and course of troubles might turn about every year to the same
"point,) The Herniks bring news that the Volcians had Aequians for all their wings were well-
"ped,

The Orator
of Q. Fabius
against the
Tribunes of the
Commons.

Prodigious
signs.

A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began together and levy new armies: *Item*, That in *Antium*
"lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and depended upon it: That the An-
"tiat coloners held their councils and had their meetings in open show, at *Antium*, but *Antium*
"was the principal seat of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatsoever.
"As soon as the news were reported in the Senate, order was given to mulier foindies: and that
"the Consuls should part between them the admittition, and managing of his way, so as the one
"should have the charge against the Volcians, and the other against the Aequians. But the Tri-
"bunes rung it out openly in the common Hall before the people. That this was but a medita-
"tion of the Volcian war, and a tale devised by the tribunes, who were informed and framed to
"play their parts in the Pageant, and to reverse the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the
"freedom of the people of *Rome* was not oppressed or endangered by plain provokes & virtue,
"but finely fluted off and dallied unmanly withal, y flye and crany inventions. And forasmuch
"as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volcians and Aequians after so great
"slaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of
"themselves to wage war, there were forthwith new enemies sought out: A famous Colony near
"adjoining, was now flandered and defamed: war was pretended for a show against the guidicks
"and innocent Antiats, but in truth, intended with the very Commons of *Rome*, whom they
"meant to drive out of the City in all haste headlong, hurled with heavy armor, and to cry
"turning out their poor fellow citizens into banishment, and sending them away. God knows
"whether to be assayed at length of the Tribunes. And thus the Law (say the Tribunes) for they
"must think their drift is to this end and to none other) should be trodden under foot, unless
"whies all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whies they remain at home in their houses,
"whies they be in their gowns, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not dis-
"possessed of the City, and take the yoke of servitude upon their necks: alluring them that if
"their heart only feared, they should want for no help: and that all the Tribunes agreed and were
"of one mind, that there was no cause of fear abroad, no terror war to trouble them: but of all,
"that the very providence of the Gods the year before assured them that their liberty might with
"safety be defended. There and such like Remonstrances, gave the Tribunes out. On the other
"part, the Consuls casting their chairs of estate to be seen, even in their fight and presence, began to
"D mulier. Thither ran the Tribunes down in all haste, and drew the whole assembly of people with
"them. And, to make it were a proof and trial, some few by name were called, and right-
"ways began a stir. For whomsoever the Sergeant by the Consul his commandment arrested, the
"Tribunes charged again that he should be let go. And neither sides obtained within the limits and
"compuls of their commission and rightful authority, but preformed of their might and show,
"hand, to attain unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribunes had denounced themselves in
"forbidding the mulier, scemably the Senators bestowed themselves to stop the law for going for-
"ward: whies it was propounded every Court day, and when the people might assemble. And ever-
"more the brawl began, when the Tribunes commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the
"Parity would not endure thus to be let out and so hindered. Few or none of the ancient would
"E be present at these troublesome stirs, being such as were not to be managed and ordered by sage
"Council, but wholly left to the rauciness and boldness of young and green heads. The Consuls also
"were much absent, and forbore to be in place, for fear lest in such a confused hubbub their Ma-
"jesty and dignity, might have been subject to some shameful contumely and disgrace. But there
"was among them one *C. Cassius*, a lusty young Gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his
"noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and length of his body. Besides these good
"parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had won himself many ornaments by industry and
"achievement in wars: He had withal an eloquent speech and good grace at the bar, as in one
"word throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in counsel, or
"taller of his hands. This *Cassius* standing in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the
"F rest, as one that in his speech and strength carried above him the countenance and authority of all
"Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the brunt of the Tribunes, and from of the
"common people. Many a time were the Tribunes driven out of common Hall, the Commonalty
"defected and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whosoever came within his reach, it
"was sure to go away thoroughly beaten, and clean tripped. So as it is idly spread, that when all
"this commotion might have been allowed, the law had soon been the laid and overthrown. Now when all
"the other Tribunes besides were herewith dismayed and well-nigh cast, *Antius* was in a capital crime,
"being one of their fellowships, was so bold, as to enter an action against *Cassius*, of a capital crime.
"By whies he died of his, he either died, thus heared his hot and furious nature. For to much the
"Tribunes eagerly withstood he the Law, counselled and troubled the Commonalty, and persecuted the Tri-
"bunes as it were with open war. The plaintiff in the mean time, suffered the defendant to run on
"G and fill, and with many outrages to kindle more coal of ill will, and hatred upon his own head,
"to minister further matter of crime to be charged with. And all while while he could not respect
"the Law afore said, nor to much of any hope to bring it to pass, as to provoke and for ever, as the
"giddy head and humorous vein of *Cassius*. Whereby it came to pass, that many foolish common times
"were committed both in word and deed, by the younger sort: and evermore the blame light upon
"poor *Cassius*: he alone was always charged, because he had been once intreated. But nevertheless
"he

The Tribunes
oppose them-
selves against
the Nobles.

Cassius being
driven out of
the Commons
Hall.

hee gain'd and cross'd the Law, And *Aulus Virginius* ever and anon would entertain the Commons with these and in like speeches, "See ye not already (quoth he) O *Quintus*, that it may be "not now have *Cæso* your Carizen, and the law which you desire both together, But what mean "I to speak of your Law? It is your liberty that he in ringeth and letteth himself against, and in "pride and arrogancy he exceedeth all the *Quintus* that ever were. But wait, ye were bell-until "he be made Consul or Dictator, whom ye see already, being but a private person to hear him, "felt to greatly of his strength and boldness, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many loo- "th'd the Tribune and said the like, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and beaten "at his hands: and were forward enough of themselves to let the Tribune on, to proceed in "his commended action against him.

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it seem'd abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their liberty consisted in the condemnation of *Cæso*. In conclusion, driven he was with much indignity and shame, to creep and crouch unto every man, humbly craving their favor one after another. There followed him his kinsfolk and nearest friends the best men of the City, *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consul, spake in his behalf: and after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own and a fo of his family, affirmed, that neither in the house and race of *Quintus*, nor yet throughout the City of *Rome*, was ever seen so great towardsness, no such show and likelihood of piety and perfect virtue and prowess as in *Cæso*: saying, that he had been first his soldier, and served under him, and that with his own eyes he had seen him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again *Sp. Fufius* made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himself was in great distress and extremity, *Cæso* was sent unto him from *Quinctius Capitolinus* to help at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whose good service, as he thought, the *Weal* publick at that time was more relieved and restored, then by his. *L. Lucretius* the Consul last year before, glittering in his bright glory to fresh and new, joined with the rest, avowing *Cæso* partaker with him in his praise-worthy acts: he recomended his brave combats, rehearsed his noble exploits, both in his robes, and voices, and also in the plight field, advising & counselling them that in any hand they would retain him till for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furnished with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a singular stay of the publick affairs, unto what City and State soever he should come. As for that best and halfeless (quoth he) I which was in him milked and offensive, age and time would daily diminish, and become him of use: grave and sage counsel, which now was wanting, would come on apace every day more then other. Seeing therefore his faults waxed old and faded, his virtues now were in their growth, flourish'd, and grew ripe unto perfection: they should permit so brave, so rare a person, to live till among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the rest, *L. Quintus*, furnished *Cæso* with another way to work: who not by iterating till his praises, for fear of heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his wildness and youthful demeanor: besought them for his sake at least, to give the son as a present to his father, who neither in word nor deed had ever offended any person. Some took no heed and gave a deaf ear to his prayers, either for modesty and reverence, or for fear. Others complaining how they and theirs had been beaten and hardly used at his hands, bewailed and shewed plainly by their shrewd and churlish answers what their judgment was. Besides, the common dislike and malice conceived against the defendant, there was a perilous matter and crime above all, that touch'd him very near. And that was this: *M. Volscius Fictor*, who certain years before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in against him as a witness, and depol'd, how that not long after the plague was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youths, as they made a riot and robbery in the *Subura*: where there arose a brawl and fray, in which his elder brother, a man well in years, and not thoroughly recovered of his sickness, was with a buffet with *Cæso* his fist fell'd to the ground, and lay there for dead: so as he was fain to be had home between mens arms: and as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he as hairous as the fact was, bring his action and prosecute the law, for fear of the Consuls of these last years. As *Volscius* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in so much that *Cæso* elapsed hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginius* commended to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to prison. The *Parian* again by force resisted, *T. Quintus* cried out, That he who was under arrest for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who shoud fly should come to his trial, and be judged, ought not before sentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himself, thus violently be mislead. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not to punish him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leave he would be so bold as keep him fast in prison, to be forth-coming at the law day: that he who had killed a man, might suffer therefore, as cording as the people of *Rome* shoud award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their help, why by the means of an indifferent decree then made, shoud their lawful favours with speed, by verine whereof they forb'd expressly, that he shoud not be imprisoned, but pronounced that it was their will and pleasure, that the defendant shoud personally appear, and a piece of money be promised unto the people, in case that he made default and failed of his appearance. Much question there was what sum of money shoud be thought reasonable to be appointed. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whilst the Senators fate

Cæso recom-
mended by
many of the
Nobility.

A thereupon the defendant was kept still in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought good and set it down that he shoud put in mecties, And they bound each him by the neck of his tunic. But how many of the shoud put in bond was left to the will and discretion of the Tribunes, who assigned and determin'd ten and no more. With so many mecties, they came bound the defendant perionally and peremptorily to appear at his day. This man was the first Roman that went under special bail, and put in good pledges to make his publick answer. He being contrived out of the common Hall and dimitt'd the next night following, unawares to the Commons, he departed to the *Triclin* into exile. Whence the day of this judgment was come, and that it was assigned for his exile, that he was out of the town, and gone into banishment. *Virginius* assembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their help, dimitt'd the Court and licensed every man to depart. But the federal money was exactly exacted at his fathers hands, so that he was driven to sell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a person banished, on the other side of *Tyber*, in a poor blind cottage out of the way. This process of judgment, and the peccing of the law above stand together, built the City and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like Conquerors, seeing the Nobles appall'd at the banishment of *Cæso*, imposed no laws their law was in manner fully established and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had dispossessed themselves, as it were, of the Common-wealth, and made no new parts with the State: the younger sort, and in chiefely as were of *Cæso* his crew and acquaintance, were kindled the more against the Commons, and abated not their courage: namely, this good thereby was done upon them, that in some measure they temper'd and milled their furious affections and violent outrage. Thet at time after the exile of *Cæso*, that the law began again to be propoled, they being well appointed, and banded together, backed all with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, set upon the Tribunes: taking the occasion when they charged them to depart out of the hall in such manner, that no one of the moveable fellows was singular, or carried home with him any special price or blame more then another: for the Commons complained that for one *Cæso*, there were now half a thousand: that the law began again, wherein the Tribunes moved not with their law, none more quiet, none more peacable then themselves. Courteously they would salute and speak unto the Commons, at all other times they would invite them home to their houses and make them good cheer, assist them and be present with them in the common Hall, suffer the Tribunes themselves without any interruption or impeachment to keep their counts and hold their assemblies whatsoever: shewing themselves, at no time to any of them either publicly or privately fierce and cruel, but only when they went in hand with the law, for otherwise the young Gentlemen were popular enough. And not only in other causes made the Tribunes good dispatch, and went quietly through all their future business, also the same men were chosen again for the next year following without any tumult and words: so far were they from being offered any forcible violence: and thus they lost handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little and little won the Commons, and made them as it were contented. And so by these fine fetches and devices, for one who yearly the law was fluted off, and E prettily avoided. The City being now in more quiet state, *C. Claudius* the son of *Appius* and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, came to be Consuls. And no news this new year: for the same year neither about peccing or admitting the law, held the City occupied. As much as the young Nobles imagined themselves more into the favour and familiarity of the Commons: for many a more eagerly again on the other side, did the Tribunes labour and endeavor with complaints and handers, to bring them into suspicion and jealousy with the Commons: saying, that there was a conspiracy intended and contrived: that *Cæso* was in *Rome*: that there were plots laid to murder the Tribunes, and to massacre the Commons: that they were let on work by some cats on, even the Ancestors of the Nobles, utterly to abolish the Tribunes authority out of the C. V. and to bring and lead the City to the same pals again, as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the Mount *Sacra*. Besides all this, war was feared from the Volscians and *Equians*: so contrary it was, and so only once every year it came about, yet and with all, and yet their ready rings and unlooked for.

A rabble of dishonest persons, Outlaws and Bondslaves, to the number of persons having to their Captain one *Appius* a Sabin, surprised in the night the Capitol and *Cæle*, and were masterful by the force thereof, who immediately killed in the cattle as many as would not be of their conspiracy. And they took arms with them. The rabble and this hubbly rather being on down to the *Forum*, and placed a fear. The alarm was given on all hands: and no cry heard but *Liberty*, *Liberty*, *Liberty*. The Commons were afraid to put the Commons in arms, and they doubting also to let them be unarm'd, not knowing what sudden occurrence this shoud be, they were hindred and hindered the city: whether it were foreign or domesticall, arising from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treachery and faithlessness of their servants: Yet they devi'd to speak the up roar: and as they were hindred to repress it, the more other while they fired up new: so the frightened and amled multitude, could not be ordered by any commandment. Howbeit at length they resolv'd to suffer them to take arms, and in all ingeneral, but only (not that they knew not what their enemies were) to have a sufficient and trusty guard about them, ready at all stages and dangers whatsoever. In this careful silence and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their

9th. b. 6.
d. 41.

The Capitol
was fortified by
the force of
the army.

The Oration
of *P. Valerius*
to the people.

their number was, they pass'd the rest of the night, disposing along watch and ward in all meet H
and convenient places of the City. But the day light disclosed the war and the Captain there
of *Appo Herodotus* from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would
come and follow him: taking upon him to uphold to defend the cause of most miserable captives:
namely, to restore home again into their native country all such exiled persons, as had been
unjustly expelled, and also to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which
thing he could wish it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping
hand of the people of Rome. But in case there were no hope & comfort there, then he would al-
lay the *Volsians* and *Aequians* yet, and procure what means he could, by all hard courtes and
extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and Coss, began to be more into the matter: and
besides those dangers that were in view, and presently threaten'd many enemies in the City, the legi-
ons the *Veientians* or the *Sabines*: and left, there being already too many enemies in the City, the legi-
ons and *Tuscan*s should combine together, and come upon at once, not, as aforetime, invade
enemies and perpetual, the *Volsians* and *Aequians* should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade
their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in
some part, taken and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other
the dread and jealousy of their own bondslaves presented unto them most imminent and present
danger: for fear, lest every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither
he could trust securely, nor yet mistrust without some jeopardy: fearing lest being once disre-
dited, he might prove more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such thoughts they
were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the
matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those
that presently appeared and were in sight, that no man feared either Tribuns and Commons,
That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising alwayes by occasion of
rest from all other. seemed then by reason of a forceterror, stifled clean and brought asleep,
And yet, that was the only thing in manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to bear down
to the ground their state, which they now began already to shrink and reel. For so seriously and mad-
ly were the Tribuns bent, that they thought they would stand to it, and bear men in hand, that it was
for no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had seized on the Capitol; for
nothing else but to withdraw the clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentry were
Law: and that a sort of clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentry were
gathered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the
they had made, took no effect, would slip away soon and be gone, in more silence I say, than they
thither came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and sum-
moned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the
mean time the Coss, held Council fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribuns than
the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid
away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters wherthey were left in guard, then the
leaving his colleague to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight
into the Temple to the Tribuns, What work is here my Masters (quoth he) you hath are Tribunes
to the Temple to overthrow the State indeed under the conduct of *Ap. Herodianus* and who was
Are ye able to foil it and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his lap for good as to
to notable to foil it and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his lap for good as to
corrupt and inveigle your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, which is
is over our heads, to have our arms laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to
the whole multitude: I say take no regard nor are (O *Quirites*) of the City if ye pass not for your
elves, yet have reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native country, which by
your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captive: *Sep. Op. Max.* that most bountiful and Al-
mighty God, *Queen Juvo* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of Gods, Goddes, (and heavenly
and spirits) are belagued: Outlaws and bondslaves are encamped about your Tutelar Gods, and
have in possession the Protectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wife
and well governed City? Is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies not
only within the walls, but also in upon the cliff within the Castle, overlooking and comman-
ding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assembled in the Hall. Senators sit in
the Council borne as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senators sit in their kinties and giving their
voices, And had it not been more meet and decent that should set to their helping hand, should
run up into the Capitol to deliver, save and set in quiet that mind and that courage unto of
Op. Max. O Father *Romulus*, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto of
in cuffs and possetry, whereby sometime thou didst recover and win again this fortress from O
these false Sabins betrayed and sold by corruption and for a sum of gold, command them to en-
ter even that way whi, thson first led, and thy valorous arms followed after, Lo, the Con-
sul, so far forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee, himself in arms, in all the Romans
steps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, in all the Romans
shall do the like, And in case any man went about to hinder this, he would without regard of Con-
suls rule and dignity, or Tribuns authority & might, pass for no sacred or: inviolable laws; but what
or

A or wherefore he were in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal accordingly. Let the Tribuns (for almost as they forbade to take arms against *Ap. Herdonius*): command hardly, and spare not, to arm against *P. Valerius the Consul*: It should be well seen that he by the K.K. A great host was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone together by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a goodly spectacle to the enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the Consul go up into the Capitol. The night at length itayed these brails begun, and hinfilt all. The Tribuns fearing the armed forces of the Consuls, yielded to the darkness of the night, and gave over. Now

B When the principal Authors of the discord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went a-ghost: where they would enter into talk and discord with them, according to the present occasions and the time, amending them to take heed into what danger they brought the State. Forasmuch as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Commons: but both Senate and Commons, the Cattle and strongest hold of the City the Temples. Whiles these things were a practising in the common place, for to appeale the diffention: the Consuls for fear, left the Sabins or the Veientians, enemies both, should trife and rife: were gone to the gates, and all about the walls. The same night came tidings also to *Tufcanus* of the taking of the Cattle, the furling of the Capitol, and likewise of the troublesome State wherein the City stood. At that time was *L. Manlius*, Dictator of *Tufcanus*: he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in his Messengers of the related news, and thought it very expedient and needfull not to wait until there came Embassadors from *Rome* to crave their aid: for that the present peril it self alone, the urgent necessity, their focal Gods, and the faithful bond of league, required no lets at their hands, than to lend succour: adding moreover, that the Gods would never give them the like occasion and opportunity again, to gratify the Romans: to bind and oblige unto them by a sound benefit and pleasuredone, to mighty a City, and to near a neighbour. Whereupon it was decreed, to succure them with all speed. The able men of service were taken up and enrolled, munition and armor given them in their hands: who advancing toward

D Rome by break of day, seemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the *Aequins* or *Volscians*. But afterwards, when this foolish fear was overblown, they were received into the City: and marched down in order of battell to the marketplace. Where, at the very same time *Publ. Valerius* having left his fellow Consul to guard and fortify the gates, was letting his men in array. The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised and assured them, that if the Capitol were once recovered, and the City set in quiet, if they would suffer him to be informed what frauds and secret mischief was undertaken and practised by the Tribuns under colour of this Law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, and of his surname (which in regard of the affectionateness he bore the people, by a special care, as it were by inheritance, from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and assemblies of the Commons, nor cross and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their march up against the rising of the Capitol Hill. The *Tufcan* Legion fluck close unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Associates both did their best, and strove who should regain the Capitol first, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men, then began the enemies to fear, and with all well what to truft unto, but only the situation of the place. The Romans and their allies feeling their fear, came forward and advanced their standards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the Temple. Where *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the foremost in the vanguard, was slain. *P. Valerius* a Consul slain, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and let himself into the Consuls room, and fought in his stead. The soldiers for heat and excess of fight, took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this great mischance, but got the victory, they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there slain, and polluted the Temple with their blood: Many taken alive Prisoners, and *Herdonius* himself was slain outright. So the Capitol was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bound or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The *Tufcans* had thanks reported, call'd Quadrans or mites into the Consul his house, that he might with greater pomp and

E When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribuns were earnest with the Nobles to perform the promise of *P. Valerius*: they were instant also with *Lucius*, to allow the foul, and keep it forward. The Consul denied to suffer them to meddle with the law, before he had substituted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the second Election for the Nobles, was *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cassius*, created Consul, and presently to enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and trucken dead, now that

Herdonius the son, and his companions decapitated.

* Quintus, a piece of cloth, being the fourth part of a denarius, is almost as good as a denarius.

and encamped himself not far, either from the town, or the standing camp of his enemies: where the Volscians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the Æquians, had no heart to fight, but made preparation how they might keep themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and rampire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled together, but three battalions severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & ranged them along all about the counterscarpe and trench of his enemies. Himself was in the midst with the Roman legions, and gave commandment to observe heedfully and mark the signal: that the Allies also should both begin battell and also retire, when he sounded the retreat. In like sort he placed the horsemen behind the *Principia* at the back of each battell. Thus in three sundry parts he assailed the camp, and invincibly it round about, and charging lustily hard upon them on every side, he beat the Volscians down from their rampire, for they were not able to endure his violence. And having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearfull multitude clean out of their hold, that now were retired to a side and corner of the camp. The horsemen might not easily get over the trench, and flood still of purpose to behold the fight, and to mark them when they should flee: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chased them as they ran away on heaps: and by killing them in their fearfull flight, deserved their part in that victorie. Great was the execution both within the camp, and also without the rampire, as they fled; but greater was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them, and but that they throwed themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perished every man. During these exploits about *Antium*, the Æquians having sent before them the tallest and lustiest young men they had, surprised the castle of *Tusculum*, upon a sudden and at unawares in the night seasons: and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the walls of *Tusculum*, intending to intercept and slay the army of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in post to *Rome*, and from *Rome* to the camp before *Antium*: which troubled the Romans as much as if news had been brought, that the Capitoll was taken. So fresh in remembrance was the late desert of the Tuiculans: and the like jeopardy seeming to challenge and redemand semblable aid and succour. *Fabius* seeing all other things aside, caused the booty in all haste to be conveyed out of the camp to *Antium*: where having left an indifferent guard, he hasteneth space in order of battell to *Tusculum*; by reason whereof, the soldiers could take nothing with them, but their armour, and such baked or boyled meats were at hand ready. The Consul (*Cornelius*) sent a convey of victuals unto them from *Rome*. Thus for certain months continued the war at *Tusculum*. The Consul (*Fabius*) with one part of his host assailed the camp of the Æquians: for the other part he let the Tuiculans have, to win again their fortress. Against all force it was impregnable, but in the end famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being at length driven, they were by the Tuiculans disarmed and compelled to passenaked under the yoke. Who, as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken of the Roman Consul in *Algidum*, and put to the sword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of his army at *Colanum*, for to the place is named. The other Consul likewise, seeing that there was no danger threatening the wals of *Rome*, now that the enemy was discomfited & repulled, departed himself from the city. So the Consuls entering two waies the borders of their enemies, made sharp war and spoiled the Volscians on the one side, and the Æquians on the other. I find in most writers that the *Antium* in this year rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Consul managed that war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any ancient writers, I dare not avouch it for a certaine truth.

This war was no sooner brought to an end, but the domestical Tribunes war at home put the Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to disappoint them for publishing the law. Yet nevertheless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and see an end. Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, president of the city for the time, prevailed thus much with them, that all Tribunitian affairs should hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Consuls. There was besides a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* * Quæstors, gave summons to *M. Volscius* to make his answer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without all doubt, had born false witness against *Cæso*. For by many presumptions and evidences it appeared, that neither *Volscius* his brother, from the first time that he fell sick and took his bed, was at any time seen openly in the streets, or to much as to have sit up, and mended any whit, but of that disease which held him many months, he languished and consumed away to death: nor at that time, wherein the deponent supposed the deed was done, was *Cæso* once seen at *Rome*: it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the wars, that he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any paupor or licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privily challenged *Volscius*, and offered to traverse the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent judges. But when as he durst not abide the trial and to be judged, all these things put together and to consequent one to the other, made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Volscius* then of *Cæso*, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of *Volscius*. The Tribunes were only the stay; who laid plainly they would not suffer the Quæstors to hold any sessions or judicial court, for the trial of the defendant, before they had a solemn assembly about their law. So were both these

matters

A matters put off unto the Consuls coming. Who being entered with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribunes were clean dazed and stricken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hot contention for the law, and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrates. And albeit the Consuls had bent all their might and main against the continuity of the Tribunship, as earnestly, as if a law had been promouged, tending to the impinging and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribunes the mastery, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon request and petition, unto the Æquians. And the Sessing, which the year before began, was now finished. B And this was counted the tenth general survey and solemn purging of the citie from the foundation thereof. There were numbered in the Censie-book of citizens 132,119 polles. A glorious and honourable year it was until the Consuls, both at home and in war. For they not only procured peace abroad, but also the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unity, yet in little trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *T. Nautilus*, that there were created Consuls, entered upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one sort, as the Consuls crossed the going forward of the law, so the Tribunes hindered the judicial proceeding against *Volscius*. But the new Quæstors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with *M. Valerius*, the son of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Volscius*, was *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* created Quæstor, a man that had been thrice Consul. Forasmuch therefore, as *Cæso*, the wealthiest gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of *Rome*, could not be redressed again, neither to the house of the *Quintus*, nor the commonweal, he pursued of more pectie, with just & lawful war, and false witness, who would not suffer on anyhand the innocent person to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when *Volscius*, most of all the other Tribunes, was earnest to publish the law, the Consuls had two months secretly given time to consider thereof, and look into it thoroughly: to the end, that when they had advertised the people what secret fraud and inconspicuousness was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed and assempne, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet state.

But the Æquians would not abide, that long it should continue; Who having broken the league, which the year before was made with the Romans, chose *Gracchus Clitius* for their governor and general, who was in those daies the greatest man among the Æquians. Under the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter first in warlike manner the country of *Luvicinus*, and from thence into the territories of *Tusculum*, spoiling and ransacking as they went: and being laden with preys and booties, they pitch their tents in *Algidum*. Thither repaired from *Rome* into their camp, *Cæso*, *Fabius P. Valerius*, and *P. Posthumius* as ambassadors to complain of wounds received, and to demand redress and satisfaction according to covenant. The General of the Æquians seemed to grant them audience, and wished them to declare what message and commission they had from the Senate of *Rome*, unto the cake; for that himself had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mighty great Oake hard by the General his pavilion, spreading his boughs even over it, and the shadow thereof served for a cold sitting place. Then one of the Embassadors, as he went his way, "Let both the sacred Oake (quoth he) and what divine power forever is seated in this place, heare and know, that by your fault the league is broken, who nevertheless gave our present complaints, and shortly assist our valiant armies, when we shall prosecute and revenge at once the disloyall breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So soon as the Embassadors were returned to *Rome*, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Consuls should lead forth an armie against *Gracchus*, into *Algidum*, and the other have in commission to wait the borders of the Æquians. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindered the matter and peradventure had staid it altogether, but for a new fearful accident that suddenly came in the neck of the other. For a mighty power of Sabines were approached well neere to the wals of the citie, robbing, spoiling and destroying all a fore them with sword and fire. The territory was pitifully roud about

laid desolat, and the citie therewith sore terrified. Then the Commons themselves came down and gently they took weapons in hand: and (say what the Tribunes would against it) two great armies were enrolled. *Nautilus* had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at *Ereuntum*, with rides and incursions, and thole for the most part by night, made such foul work and waile in the Sabines country, that in comparison thereof, the lands about *Rome*, seemed as if they had not been once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good success, nor yet equal courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemy, and received no great foile and losse at his hands to speak of, yet he kept himself for fear within the camp. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the cowardice of one increaseth the courage of another) and assailed the camp in the night season: but seeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raised mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires stopped up all passages, five horsemen being even amongst the guards of the enemies, brought news to *Rome*, that the Consul with his armie was besieged. Nothing could there have hapned to little thought of, and unlooked for, whereupon there was such fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the camp, but the very citie, *Nautilus* the Consul they sent for, and because they thought him like to doe but small good, they agreed therefore to create a Dictator, who might

* Requet del Papa.

* A kind of gallows made with two javelins pitched ending in the ground, and a third fastned overthwart to the other.

* Treasurers of Generall Receivers of the city

L. Quinctius
narrated
Dictator
founddigging
his ground
with his own
hands,

might restore again the distressed state of the C. W. And *Quintius Cincinnatus* by content of all men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches despite all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and virtue, but where wealth and riches do flow in, excellently. This *L. Quintius*, the only hope of the Romans, the man who was to let upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a piece of ground, to the quantity of four acres, called at this day *Quintia prata*, *Quintius* his addow, on the other side of Tyber, ever against that very place, where now the Ardenal and Shipdocks are, and there was he found digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or else a plowing the ground, I wot not whether, but huffe and earnest about some useful work, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed on both sides, between him and the Embassadors that were sent, he was requested by them, that he would put on his best gown, and (that which might turn to the good of himself and the commonwealth) hear a message from the Senat. First, he marvelled what the matter should be & very often asking of them if all were well; the willeth his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe straightway, out of his torie cottages which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly) and then came forth unto them, who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation, stiled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard upon him to repair unto the city, and declaring in how doubtfull termes the arrieve flood. Then was there barge provided ready for *Quintius*, at the cities cost: and being ferried over the river, his three ions met him and received him first, then others of his kinsfolk and friends, and after them the more part of the Senators. Thus attended with this frequent company, and with the K Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Commons: but nothing to joyous were they, to see *Quintius*, supposing that government of his over great and absolute, and himself a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verily, nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morrow after, the Dictator being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed Generall of the horse, *L. Targuinius*, of Noble blood descended: a man who for mere poverty had ever served on foot, but of all the flower of Rome was reputed and taken to be a brave servitor, and an excellent fouldier. Then *Quintius* with the Generall of horsemen, mounteth into the pulpit aloft: proclaimeth a publicke vacation or Lawfeed: commandeth all shop windows through the city to be shut, and chargeth that no man should follow any private businesse of his own. Then as many as were of age to fight, were willed to shew them selves in their armour, before the sun set in *Mars* field, every one with victuals dressed for five daies, and with twelve forked staves a peece for to pitch in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unwey, and not meet for service should dresse and provide victuals for the next fouldier unto him, whereas himself made ready his armour, and sought for staves aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to and fro, to furnish themselves with staves, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, according to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of footmen, the Master of the horse likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and away, as might not only serve for a speedy march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. "In M" both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their fouldiers, according as the present time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed, that by night time they might reach to their enemies: & not (say they, before there was great need, for that the Roman Consul and army were besieged, and had now three daies already been pent up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for often times in the twinkling of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, here fall out accidents of right great moment and importance. On aforesaid, Ensigne which one follow fouldier another. Thus went they also lustily forward, and all to pleasure and gaudie then captains. So that by midnight they were come into *Algidum*: and so soon as they perceived their enemies to be near at hand, they pitched down their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as far forth as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, coaling and allision of the camp, commanded the Marshalls and Colonels to give direction, that all the carriage and baggage, should be laid up together in one place, and that the fouldiers with their armour and staves only, should come again unto their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the same order that he marched, he dreweth out his host in length, and compacteth the camp of his enemies, and commandeth them all, (upon a signall or watchword given) to set up a shout, and presently upon the shout to call a trench, & every man stuck down his pale in the rampier. Having given this charge, straightwayes the signall followed. The fouldiers do that which they were bidden: the shout was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Consul his camp: causing in the one great fear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoicing one with another to hear the shout of their fellow-citizens and countreymen, with a conceit of their coming to release, begin of themselves from their sentinels and *Campi de grand*, to threaten and terrifie their enemies. The Consul let them forward and said, there was now no staying for the matter, nor delays to be made: for that it appeared by that alarm, that not only their friends were come with succours, but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing, that their enemies camp was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon, he commanded his fouldiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish,

and

A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification that the enemies on that side also were driven to their shifts and in great hazard. By this time the *Agrius* had addressed themselves to impesch them in their trenching and making of their rampire: to the end that they might not be compassed about: but the alarm was given and the Romans already begun by their enemies within: fearing therefore, lest they would break through the midst of their camp, they turned from the piones and workmen without, to them that fought within, and thereby gave the other leave to ply their work and labour all the night long at their pleasure: and to they maintained skirmish with the Consul untill day-light. Now by the break of day they were entrenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out battell with one of the armies. Then the host of *Quintius*, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their weapons, entering of the mines and rampires of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict again, and yet the former nothing altered. The enemies then seeing themselves thus distressed and to hardly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to intreating: they besought the Consul on one side and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victory by effusion of blood and cruel massacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The Consul he posted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and displeasure, would not be content without their shame and ignominy besides. But commanded that *Cicilius* their generall with other Colonels and Captains should be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoyed them to abandon & quit the town of *Corbio*: as for the *Agrius* blood, he sought neither it, he had no need thereof: they might depart with their lives. However, because he would have it now at length, manage their heads, confessed, that the nation was vanquished and subdued this will and pleasure was, they should pale all under the yoke or gallows: the manner whereof is this. They took three spears or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their overthwart fastned unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the *Agrius* to go. Thus having goter the tents of the enemies full of all kind of store (for asked he lent them under the yoke) & the whole pillage he bestowed upon his own fouldiers only: and rebuking sharply the *Comus* army and the *Cicilius*, yet that (quoth he) fouldiers go without your part of booty? "won" of the enemies, whose booty ye had like you selves to have been. And as for these, O *L. M. Cincinnatus*, until thou begin to have the heart and courage beleeving a Consul, thou shalt be a Lieutenant only over such legions. So *Cicilius* being discharged of the Consulship, remained still D as he was commanded, with the army. But to well were men content in those daies, willingly to yield obedience: to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof as of a favour received, rather than of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictator a coronet of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of their Patron. At Rome the Senat being assembled together by *Q. Fabius* Provost of the cities, decreed that *Quintius* should enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battall array, as he came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the engines are carried aforesaid, then followed the army laden with spoil and pillage. Great cheer and banquet were let out, men lay upon tables at every mans door. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with songs of triumph, with sports and merry conceits, as they are wont to do at their great and solemn feasts. The same day *L. Mamilius* the Tuscan, with the approbation and good liking of all men, was enfranchised citizen of Rome. And forthwith would the Dictator have resigned up his office, but that the Consul, held for the trial of *M. Volscius*, indicted of bearing false witness, staid him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindered the judicial proceeding against him, if they had not stood in awe of the Dictator. But *Volscius* was convicted and had sentence, and departed to *Lavinium* in exile. And *Quintius* having taken the Dictatorship for six months, gave over the sixteenth day after he entered into it. About the same time the Consul *Nautius* fought valiantly with the *Sabinus* at *Fretrum*: who besides the walling of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. *Fabius* was let into *Algidum*, to proceed in the roome of *Mamilius*. In the end of the year, the Tribunes presented their law: but because the two armies were absent, the Senator prevailed so much, that no bills were propounded unto the people. The Commons likewise obtained, that they might create the self-same Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were seen in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange sight, the Capitol was purged. And these were the acts of that year. Then followed Consuls *Q. Minucius* & *M. Horatius Pulvillus*.

In the beginning of which year, whilst all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same law ended contention and feare on at home: which would have grown to a further mischief, if such had been brought, as it were of set purpose, that the legation at *Corbio* had arrived to the night by the *Agrius* and put to the sword: whereupon the Consul G called the Senate together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitary army and to the same camp invade *Algidum*. Then was the line about the law laid aside clean, and away contention arose about the matters. But the Consuls with all their auctorities were overthrown by the heep and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time anew trouble and contention came, that a power of *Sabinus* were come down directly into the territories of *Rome* to fetch bodies and make spoil: and from thence advance against the city. Upon which hear, the Tribunes were content that fouldiers should be sent, yet not without this caveat and intendment: that for as much as they had now themselves three five years been ruled off

Ten Tribunes
of the Com-
m. first created.

and deluded, & that this proferorship of theirs stood the Commons in little stead, in regard of their small numbers, therefore, there should from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Commonalty. The Nobles were to now driven and to such straits, that will they, will they, yield they must thereto: with this proviso, that they should never after Elect the same men Tribunes twice. And for fear that this act should after the war was once past turn to nothing, like as others had done before, they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. year from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten created: out of every Classis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The multitudes then being taken and soldiers enrolled, *Minutius* went with a power against the Sabines, but found not the enemy. And *Horatius*, because the *Equians* after they had put the garison at *Corbio* to the sword, and won *Horatiana* besides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he slew, and drove his enemies not only out of *Algidum*, but also out of *Corbio* and *Horatiana*. As for *Corbio* he utterly raised it, for betraying the garison there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcity there was of corn, by reason of the untemperat and unreasonable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the mount *Aventine* should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made again: who, all the year following, when *T. Romulus* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, in all their Halls and assemblies, still published the law: saying, it was a shame, that their number was thus increased to no purpose, in case their affairs should lie dead in their two years, as they had done in the whole 5. years past. Whiles they were earnestly debating these things, fearful messengers came in from *Tusculum*, with news, that the *Equians* were in the territory of *Tusculum*. The in all haste of that nation would not suffer the Romans to defer their helping hand. Whereupon both Consuls were sent with an army, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountered and struck a battell: in which were slain about 7000. enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which the Consuls sold out-right, by reason of the want of money in their common treasury. But this caused the soldiers to repine and grudge, and in the end ministered matter to the Tribunes, to accuse the Consuls unto the Commons. As soon therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternus* were Consuls, *Romulus* was arrested and put in suit by *C. Claudius Cicerio*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewise troubled by *L. Halerius* an Edile, or L. Warden of the Commons, who were both the one and the other, to the great indignation of the Nobles. *Romulus* was fined at 10000 Asces. *Veturius* in 15000. But for all this hard hap and calamity that befell to those former Consuls, the new were never a jot more remissive and cool in the quarters: saying, Well may we also be calt and condemned, and both Commons and Tribunes never the nearer to compass and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding only to oft, was waxen stale and old, began more gently to deal with the Senators, praying them to make an end once of all strife and contention. And in case that the laws of the Commons so disliked and displeased them, they requested them to suffer certain Law-makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty; as well as of the Nobility, who might devise such commodious & profitable, to both parts and of the equal liberty and freedom of all. As for the substance in itself of this motion, the Senators refused not: but they finally said, that none but of the Nobility should have the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws, & differed only and quarrelled about the law-giver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpicius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplify and copy out the famous and worthy laws of *Solon*: to search out and learn the ordinances, customs, and rites of other Cities in *Greece*. For any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year following more quiet, when *P. Crassius*, and *Sext. Quinctilius* were Consuls, by reason of the continual silence of the Tribunes: which as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to Athens, and of strange and human laws, first and principally procured: to two mighty great calamities that rofe both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noisome and loathsome both to man and beast, afterwards continued. By means whereof, the fields lay waste and desolate, the city dispeopled with continual burials: many right worshipful and honourable houses thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamin of *Quirinus* dyed thereof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went off likewise: in whose room the Augurs (his Associates) chose *C. Veturius*: and the rather, because he had been condemned by the people. *Quinctilius* the Consul departed also this life, and four Tribunes of the Commons, so that this was a year, with manifold losses and calamities sorely distressed. But for enemies all was quiet. After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* made Consuls. In which year likewise returned with the Athenian laws. And therefore the Tribunes were so much the more exact and urgent, that once at length they would set on, to deliberate and put down those laws. And agreed it was, that there should be created Decemvirs above all appeal: & for the year ensuing that should order Officers and Magistrats in place. Now, whether any of them might be of the Commons or no, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and controversy continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles went away with this, that the preeminence, upon this condition, that neither the law *Leius*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other sacred laws should be repealed. Thus in the 30. year after that Rome was built, was the form of the new government changed the second time, and to the Consuls from the Decemvirs, was the sovereign rule transferred, like as before, from the kings to the Consuls. This

* 32 lib. 8. ff.
* 46 lib. 17. ff.

Embassadors
sent into Greece
for an abstract
of their laws.

Ten Magistrats
called Decemvirs
instituted by
the commons
in the 30. year
after the founda-
tion of Rome.

- A This change was lesse notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magistracie was fair and goodly to see to, but grew too rank, and exceeded in overmuch licentiousness. The sooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conserced upon again. The Decemvirs created were these: *Ap. Claudius*, *T. Genucius*, *P. Sestius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Julius*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Crassius*, *T. Romulus*, *Sp. Postumius*, *C. Claudius* and *Genucius*, because they had been Consuls elect for that year, had this dignity bestowed upon them in lieu of the other. And *Sestius* one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, against his fellow Consuls will. Next to these were chosen the three Embassadors that went to Athens, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embassy into so far & remote a country, & also because men were persuaded that by reason of their insight and skill in foreign ordinances of strange nations, they might be well employed in setting down, and making of new; The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last licentiousness and licentiousness at this Election, choice was made of those that were more aged, and farther spent in years, to the end they might not so fiercely and stoutly gain say and crosse the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest broke, he ruled the royl and swayed all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people. He had altered his nature, and became such a new man, that all on a sudden, of a cruel and terrible persecutor of the Commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and courier of the Commonalty, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one far his tenth day in place of judgement, and ministered justice in their severall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knights of *Equos* were chosen by the Licitors before the sovereign judge: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one fellow to give a sentence. In this agreement among themselves, which secured otherwhiles when they were private persons, had been hurtful unto them, redressed only and wholly the greatest equity towards others. A proof and argument of this their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and instance of one only matter: for whereas they were created absolute, and put all appeal, it turned, that in the house of *P. Sestius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publicke assembly of the people. The thing being no lesse apparent in view, than heinous and horrible in fact, *C. Julius* a Decemvir, brought *Sestius* in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintiff unto the people, and accus'd that delinquent, whose competent judge he was by order of law. And so he yielded of his own right, adding to much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was found and uncovered, & far as it was set for to rise, and went about the making and giving of laws, and with great exactionment of men, they set out Tables, and calld the people to a general assembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go & that which might turn to the good of the bench, and happiness of the Commonwealth, themselves their children & posterity to read the law there published: protesting that so far as ten men could with all their wisdom foresee & provide for had devised indifferent laws, and equal for all sorts of callings, as well the best as the meanest. But for as much as the wits and heads of many men, were of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave to call in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular year, and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was short and wanting, or what was superfluous, in every article, and look what laws the content of all men seemed to bring in doubt should the people accept and none other, that it might appear they were not so much to approve of them and give their assent after they were proposed, as to propose and prefer them to their own views. And when as they were thus far industriously corrected, according to the speeches of men, and as every one spake to the severall titles and chapters of the laws, as they were set forth: then in the high court of Parliament, assembled of all the Consuls & degrees of men, the names of ten Tables were named and established. Which even at this day, among that infinite number of Statutes, heaped and huddled one upon another, are the very well-spring and fountain of all justice both publick and private. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, they might the complete body of what were of the whole Roman law be finished and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great task was almost at an end for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs again the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the very name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, thought not greatly for the protection of the first ones, seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yielded in their prerogative, and admitted in some sort the appeal.
- B But after that the means allyably for the choosing of Decemvirs, was abolished against the first dignity, yet more than the very children, and principally by reason of the City (so scarce, & therefore, left the possibility of to great a government, in case they were not well settled themselves in the place, to make one unto some unmet and unworthy persons, even as our and made out to every man in noble manner to those very commons, with whom they had been at strife & variance, for that honour and dignity, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthiness and reputation of men of those years, and having born and gone through

Thirteen tables
of Roman
laws.

That is the 30.
day following.

through such offices, being now come in question, and submitted to the choice and judgement of others, pricked on *Ap. Claudius*, and let him forwards. So as a man could hardly know whether to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or those that stood by the Decemvirs again. For otherwhiles he was more like one that sued for an office, than him that presently bare office: blaming persons of best quality in the City, and laying hard to their charge; but extolling the vainest & basest of the Competitors. Himself in person sorting among the *Dulj* and *Lej*, and such like as favoured the Tribunes, went swarming and squaring in the common place, using them as instruments to vendicate himself to the common people. So long, as at length his very brethren in office, who until that time had been regularly addicted and affectionated unto him, cast their eyes upon him, and began to mark, & marvel much what his meaning was reasoning thus among themselves: I Surely there is no soundness nor goodness herein, but all meer dissimulation and hypocrite. Certainly, it is not for nought, that in such pride of his, there should appear so much courtesy. What? to force his own nature too much within compass: to debate himself, and suffer privily what to be his fellows, was a signe of one, that made not too much haste to forgo a dignity and promotion, as sought means to keep it still. Openly they durst not presume to check and withstand his ambitious desire, but assayed by pleasing and soothing him up, to repress and bridle his foolish affection. And seeing he was the younger of his company, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policy was, that he should not Elect his own self a thing, which unless it were the Tribunes again, and that was a most dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had done before. And he with all his heart accepting thereof, made profession that he would be president of that honourable Court and Session, and prayed to the gods that he might perform it for the benefit of the well-publick. And to took the vantage of that opportunity, to let forward his own design, which they meant should have stopped and crossed the same. And after he had by secret packing and consaving with the other competitors, and given the repulse unto the two *Quintus Caputinus*, and *Cincinatus* (and put beside the Cushion his own Uncle by the fathers side (*C. Claudius*, a most stout & resolute champion of the Nobility) with other citizens of like mark and quality: he cleaveth Decemvirs, such as were not for worth, port, and behaviour, to them comparable and his own sweet self with the first. Which as there was no man thought the ever would have done, to all good men misliked when it was done. With him were elected *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Q. Postumius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, *C. Duilius*, *S. P. Oppius Cornicen*, *M. Rabellius*. And there's an end of *Appius* playing another mans part. Off went his mask and visage now, and so from thenceforth, he began to shew himself in his own likeness, and to live in his kind: yes, and to frame his companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entered into office. Day by day had they their secret meetings by themselves apart from all other: and being once hereby furnished with ingratiations and proud designments, which they had closely compassed together, they could no longer hold & dissemble their pride. Few might have access unto them: seldom would they be spoken with, shewing themselves strange, surly, & churlish to those that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the 15. day of May, which was the usual and iolemn day then of entering into offices of government. In the very beginning whereof they made the first day of their magistracie noted by an intimation and evident shew of exceeding terror. For whereas the Decemvirs their predecessors had observed this order, That one alone should have the rods of State born before him, and that this regal ornaments should passe round through them all in course one after another: Behold, there came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods carried before him. So that these Lictors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, falned within the way: they were created solitaires, or their commission ran without all appeal, and thus was there a shew & representation of ten K.K. And this terror grew more and more, not with the meanness and baseness of the Patricians: supposing that they fought to pick a quarrell, and minister occasion and overture to some massacre: that if any man should offer either in the Senate or among the people to speak one word concerning liberty, forthwith there should be no remedy and incour to be had, by reason that the appeal unto them was quite disannulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themselves drew to all in one line together and were so combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thwart and cross that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and sentences should be confuted and corrected, by the appella lions or appeal to one of their brethren in commission: yes, and in some cases put off some matters from themselves to be decided by the people, which seemed properly to belong unto their own jurisdiction. For a while, the fear was to all indifferent: but by little and little the Commons only began to feel the smart. The Nobles were forborn and escaped clear and leaveth: the meaner persons went to the walls, and with them they dealt according to their lust and pleasure right cruelly. The person wholly they regarded, and never respected the cause, as with whom favour and friendship prevailed as much as equity and right should have done. At home in their houses, they determined of matters how they should pass: and in open place they pronounced sentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him unto

15. day of May

unto

A into whom he fled for relief, he went his waies again by weeping crosses, repenting that he stood not to the order and injunction awarded by the former. It was thought and spoken also abroad, but the first author would not be known. That they had conspired together, not for the present time only to do wrong and injurie, but also were confederate between themselves privily, and had bound it with an oath, to call no assembly at all for the electing of new magistrates: but being now once involved in the towne sign, to hold the possition of the Decemvirs for ever. The Commons then began to look about them, to behold and advise well the counterances of the Nobles, to see if they could from them catch some good sale of wind, some hope again of liberty, at whole hands they bearing bondage, had brought the common weale to this desperate. B The L.L. of the Senat hated the Decemvirs, they hated also the Commons. They liked not of things as they went, and yet were periwaded that the Commons were well enough favored, and deserved no better: who gaping greedily after liberty were now fallen and plunged into servitude and thralldome. Help they would not with the least of their fingers, but rather heap more wrongs upon them: that having a wearisome and tedious loathing of the present state, they might fall to a longing desire after two Contuls, and with the old would were come again. By this time now was the better part of the year gone and past: and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former year: which if they might be once affirmed and ratified by a Parliament of the Centuries, they retained nothing behind, for which the common weale should need their magistrates: but expected it was certainly, that the assembly for Election of Contuls should come of hand be published and proclaimed. Marry, there was one thing hammered to the Commons heads, by what means they might revive again the Tribunes authority: the very grand linkwork of their freedom, and the thing that now had discomfited and benighted. But all this while there was not a word of the new Election. And the Decemvirs, who at the full presented usually unto the Commons fight, a crew of those that favoured the Tribunes, to attend upon their persons (a thing right plausible and pleasing unto the people) were galled now, with certain tall positions of their Nobility: whole troops of them stood out their Tribunal seats and places of judgement. There made havoc and spoil of the Commons and their goods: and so to what the mind of a mighty man should unto and lusted after, was his hap to have it whatsoever. Nay, there was no spare now made of their backs and sides: some were scourged with rods, some lost their heads by the ax. And because this cruelty should not go unwarded, lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobility, by this kind of hire well belted: not only spoiled not themselves to withstand these wrongful dealings & hard confusions, but carried it before them, openly protesting & avowing that they wished rather their own licentiousness, than the liberty of all. Thus of May were now come about, and no new magistrates elected in the other toome. Forth came the Decemvirs, (who to say a truth and to give them their right, were no other than private persons, not their with minds abated for the exercising of their imperious rule, nor with fewer regal confusions to set out and shew their honour & dignity. When the people saw that they made no other reckoning but this was plain usurping of the kings government, and no better: And now farwel freedom for ever and a day. For neither had they presently, or hereafter were they like to have any more to recover it again. So that now, not they only lost their hearts and were discouraged in themselves, but also grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour nations who esteemed lightly, that they should have sovereignty of rule who were not free themselves, nor enjoy their own liberty. For the Sabines with a strong power invaded the Territories of *Rome*: and when they had foraged far and near, and driven away the flocks both of people and of cattle, with out imp-achment, they gather their army together again, that had hanged here and there up and down, and entered into *Eretum*, where they encamp themselves, laying this for a promise, and building their hope upon their discord at *Rome*, that it would stay their murthering. Not only the news that came hereof, but the flying of the country peasants, put the whole city to great fear. F The Decemvirs fall to consulting what were best to do, And whilst they were to seek what to do to disengage between the hands of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorn and distressed, they had also another fearful trouble in the tail of the tomes. The Achaians from an other side were encamped in *Argilus*. And from *Tifetum* Embassadors brought this news, that their country was vexed with excurions from the thence, whereupon they desired their help and aid. These fearful occasions so troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that considering the city was now beset at once with wars from two places, their itemacks were come down to consult with the Senat. They came indeed therefore the Senators to be summoned, to the *Curia*. And with they went, with a great ire and storm of anger, displeasure and blame was towards them, much that they would smother them. As to their charge, how they were the only cause both of their country walled already, and G of the pains they presently to endure: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt at this end path, to abolish utterly their government, and which they stuck closely together to, and by extending their authority fluxily upon some few of the itonally, quail and crush the attempts of others. After the voice of the Bell was heard in the Forum or common place, citing the Senators to repair into the Comitiasthose to the Decemvirs thenoverly and arrogantly: then they had laid down for a long time the manner of calling them to Comitiasthose) caused the Commons to marvel and mune what was betwixt them, that they should after such discontinuance, take up a thing so odious and out of use. And thus they conceived oft,

They could not be so bold as to do so much.

They could not be so bold as to do so much.

*Leilius his
speech to App.
Clandius.*

Appius had passed an order and decree already, and put *Leilius* back: who cried out aloud, (for so it manifest and horrible a wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and set on fire a right mild natured person.) "Nay, *Appius* (quoth he) thou hadst more need to let me back with thee, for 'tis of arms, if thou wouldst go clear away, and not be spoken to, for that which, thou wouldst do in hither mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean that go with me: I purpose to have her to my self, an honest and pure virgin, and enjoy her lawfull marriage, as my wedded wife: call therefore unto thee all the Licitors besides (thou were best) that belong unto thy company: once: caule both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Leilius* his eponied wife, shall not abide in any place without her fathers house. What? although ye have taken from the Commons of *Rome* the Tribuns assistance and protection and the privilege of Appeal, yet principal I bulwarks of defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannize, and to fulfill your lust upon our children and wives too. Exercise your rigour and cruelty and spare not, upon our backs and sides in scourging us, yea, upon our necks and heads also, in striking them from our shoulders: so ye forbear to assault our chastity and honesty. Whereunto, if any violence shall be offered, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here present, in the behalf of my spouse: and *Virginius* for himself will call to the soldiers, in regard of his only daughter: we will try for help of God and man: and call it shall our lives before thou go away with this decree, and put it in execution. I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore, to be well advised, and look how far thou dost proceed. Let *Virginius* when he is come, let to his daughter, how he dealeth about her: and let him know thus much for certain, that if he give place to this plaintiffs assertion, and forgo the present possession of her, he shall go free his estate and propriety that he hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the freedom of my spouse, I will lose my life, before I fail in my faithful promise to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was moved, and like it was, that some mutiny and fray would presently have ensued. For the Licitors had hemmed in *Leilius* on every side. Howbeit they proceeded no farther then to big words and high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Leilius*, "That he did not thus to much in the behalf and defence of *Virginius*, as, (being himself an unruly person and even already breathing forth a Tribuns spirit) sought means, and picked occasion of an uproar and sedition. Howbeit for his part he would not that day minister unto him any matter thereof, And that he might now well know, that he did not this to feed his malapert fancie, but in regard of the absence of *Virginius*, and for the name of a father, and the tender respect of freedom, he would not that day fit to hear and determine the matter, nor award a definitive judgment in that case: but would request *Marcus Clandius*, to suspend his action, and to forbear and yield to much of his own right, as to suffer the maid to be bailed and go under sureties, and to be at her liberty until the next day. But in case her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he gave *Leilius*, and such as he was, to wit and understand, that neither the law should want the patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvir fail in courage and resolution: neither would he call together his fellow officers and sergeants, for to keep under such seditious and turbulent spirits as he was: but would content himself with his own Licitors, and do well enough. The time now of effecting this injury, being thus deferred, and the maids Advocates gone aside, they agreed first of all upon this point, that a brother of *Leilius*, and a son of *Numerius*, two lusty and nimble young men, should be dispatched straight from thence to the gate: and that with all speed possible *Virginius* should be sent for home from the camp: for that it stood the maid upon as much as her whole estate and life was worth: that he would be present and ready in due time the day following, to preserve her from this hard course, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were bidden, they set forward, and spared no horseflesh, until they brought tidings hereof to her father. All this while the plaintiff that made challenge to the maid, was very impatient with *Leilius* to bail her, and put in sureties. And he again made answer, That he went about it as fast as he could, and did nothing else: but indeed trilling out the time on purpose; until the messengers that were sent to the camp were got afore wel onward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all sides held up their hands, in token that they offered themselves every one unto *Leilius*, ready to become bound. Whereupon, he burst out into tears for tender heart. Gramercy (quoth he) my masters ill, to morrow I will use your helping hand: for this time I am sped of sureties enough. So was *Virginius* set at liberty, and bailed by the suretyship of her kinsfolk. Then *Appius*, after he had stayed a while, because he would not seem to have fat for that matter alone, when he saw all other suits and canes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for justice, he arose, got him home to his house, and wrote unto his brethren De envoirs into the camp, that they should not give *Virginius* his passport, but keep him fast in durance, and in ward. This wicked practice (as God would have it) came short. For *Virginius* already had got his discharge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the setting of the first watch. And very early in the morning came the letters for to fray him, but all in vain. For *Virginius* by break of day was arrived: by which time the whole City resorted into the common place, standing and waiting earnestly for his coming. And thither he himself being in soiled and simple array brought his dearest in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of Adversaries and friends. Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not only besought their assistance by way of intreaty and prayer, but also required it as due and delivered: saying, that he stood daily in field ready to fight in defence of their wives

A wives and children: neither could there be reported of any man more hardy efforts and valiant pieces of service in war, then of him self. But which brother or sister all this (quoth he) to have the City from enemies, in case our children be forced to abide the utmost extremities, that befall unto Cities taken by the enemies? thus went he about preaching, as it were from one man to another. Likewise *Leilius* cast forth and rebuked like pieces of justice, and spared not. But the train of women, with their still and silent weeping, moved men more then any words uttered. All this notwithstanding, *Appius* in his obstinate mind (so disquieted was he and wholly possessed with a horrible spirit of humorous madnes rather then of honourous passion) that ended up into the trait' un. Where, as the plaintiff first of himself was railing some of their complaint, that by reason of partial favour and making of great friends, he could not have law and justice: the day past, before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given leave to *Virginius* for to put in his answer accordingly: *Appius* interrupted the speech, and began himself. What preamble it was that he made before his decree, peradventure some ancient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I cannot any where find, in so shameful a decree, that will be carried but a shadow and foundered like a truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought best to see down, even the sentence barely without any preface at all: namely, *That he judged by the half of the Plaintiffs to be his bond-servant*. First, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and foul act: and being then taken therewith attuned, for a good while after, stood still and held their peace. But afterward, when as *Marcus Clandius* went to lay hand on the maid, among the dames that stood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women: Then *Virginius*, beckning with his hands and shaking them at *Appius*: To *Leilius* (quoth he) have I betrothed my daughter, and not to thee O *Appius*: brought her up I have to love and cherish: and shall wedlock is not for uncleanness and filthy whordom: to be a wile another day, and not an harlot. Is this the manner of it, like brute and wild beasts without all regard, to leap and run upon you, are not whom and to fill your fleshly lust? How in that that before will suffer such pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp with sword in hand, I hope, will never put them up. Now when as he that, challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that stood about her repelled back, then proclaimed the Bed and commanded silence. And the Decemvir having his head intoxicated, and altogether carried away with unbridled lust, brack forth and said, That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifest and abused evidences (and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of *Leilius* yesterday) and the violent proceedings of *Virginius*, whereof he had the people of some to bear witness, and which might give some light and preimptions. That the night past, there were meetings and commotions in the City, and all to raise a mutiny and insurrection: and therefore he being ignorant of such a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt any one that would keep the peace, but only by virtue of the necessity of government and authority, to repress his troubled the peace-fick state of the City: therefore it were best for them to be still and quiet. So Sergeant (quoth he) cause the people to avoid the place, and make room for the matter to be by hand upon his bond-servant: for what shall I do but these words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themselves gave back and made way to the poor wily, wench to hold all to order and let as a prey to their impurities, shut his. Then *Virginius* seeing all past help and no other remedy: Well *Appius* (quoth he) pardon me, if I do catch thee in upon a fatherly affection and love of heart: I have let tell some of my friends and kinsmen against thee more then was becoming: Then give me leave here before the judges to enquire or hear more the truth of this matter: that if I have fathered her untruly, I may go hence better pleased and satisfied in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the wile apart from the rest, near to the Church of *Veius Cloacina*, hard at the shops, called at this day *Veius Cloacina*, i.e. the new shops or standings: and there having caught a knife from about her, he spake: My sweet daughter, no other means have I but this only to let thee free, and to be true to the damsel to the heart: and looking presently to the judgement seat. Here with the blood of his own blood he cut the throat of the Devil. *Appius* with the cry that proceeded so horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded *Virginius* to be apprehended: that he with some of his men, made way where he went, until with a number that followed him came to be in his company, he recovered the gate. *Titus and Numitorius* took up the bloodied corps and held it aloft to the people, blaming, and cursing the wickedness of *Appius*: pitying the misdeed and untimely cut of the damsel: and bewailing the hard exigent and extremity of the father. The Mothers followed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children? Is this the hire and reward of chastity and virginity: with other like speeches which in such a case, women in their great disdain me to utter: while to morrow as it is common to see, proceeding from weak and tender hearts, to it yield and afterwards in some pitiful and lamentable words, as they make their plaints and dolours, as moans. But the men and *Leilius* above the rest had no other talk but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal unto the bos of the people, how they were taken away from them, and of other public kindred and common discontent. The whole multitude partly upon the humours of this wicked act, and partly upon hope by this occasion to recover again their liberties, we all up on a man and upon a man, while commanded *Leilius* to be called, another while for his disobedience, and some more to be attached and converted before him. At the length, seeing no way made unto the Apollos, he

*Virginius his
words to App.
Clandius.*

*Virginius his
words to App.
Clandius.*

The remembrance of
Horatius and
Valerius, with
others in the
Senate, against
the Decemvirs

and none to be seen in the public place, besides a few of aged men: and when the Senators were called into the Senate house, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there were more besides *Horatius* and *Valerius* that cried out and said, What look you for fill my LL of the Council? What? and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their perverseness for wardens, will ye let things run at six and seven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what goodly dominion is this, that you embrace to in your arms, that you clip and hold too fast? Will ye minister justice and give laws to empty houses and bare walls? Are ye not ashamed and ashamed, that there should be seen in the Place, a greater number well near of your Lictors, and officers, then of governed Citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies should come against the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should march in arms, seeing we weigh their infurrection and departure too lightly? Will ye, together with the ruin and downfall of the City and your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plain, ye must either have no Commons at all, or else allow them to have their Tribuns again: there is no mean, there is no other remedy. Sooner shall we want our Magistrates of the Nobility, than they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commonalty. They wroing and wretted from our torchbearers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no proof and experience: how think ye then, that having tasted now the fierceness of it, they will endure the want thereof? especially seeing, that we our own selves are not of so temperate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of some place of court and relief. And when these and such like reasons were on all hands, often alleged and laid abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general content and unity of the house, promised: That seeing it was so thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators. This only they besought at their hands, and admonished them of, by way of a proviso, that they would take order for the safety and security of their persons: and not by shedding their blood, to flesh the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with exercising cruelty upon the Nobles and Senators. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* lent with commission to reclaim and call home the Commons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should think convenient: yea, and to let all things ingoed order and make a final composition, with a special charge to provide for the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude. These mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the Commons, as being doubters, their very favours and redemptions, approved both in the beginning of their troubles, and now also at the very end and upshot of all. In regard whereof, they were welcomed with thanksgiving, *Julius* was the mouth of the multitude and their prolocutor. Who when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenants, and that the Delegates and Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they stood upon? Being already provided beforehand of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions, as it was well seen, that they repelled more hope, and relied themselves rather in equity, and indifference, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribuns power on foot again, and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been the only help and succour of the Commons. *Item*, that no man should be called in question, nor any way touched in line limb, or goods for gathering the soldiers of Commons together by way of commotion, for recovering again their liberties and franchises. Only, their demand concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of cruelty. For they deemed it meet and reason, that they should be yielded into their hands, and then they threatened to burn them quick with fire. To these Articles the Committees spake in this wise, As for those capitulations, which upon counsel and deliberate advice ye have articulated, they are so reasonable and indifferent, that without your fault, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and freely: for ye request to enjoy such things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and maintain not your liberties, to the offence and hurt of others, but as to your ire and wrath, it is to be pardoned, rather than to be followed and yielded unto: as who, under colour of N hatred and detestation of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty, and before, in a manner, that ye let free your selves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adversaries. Alas the while, and will our City never be at rest, and cease from punishing: but that either the Nobles will scourge the Commons of Rome, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you ye had more need of a shield than a sword. Humbled he is enough and too much, he humbled, who lived in a City on every hand, and equal with others, under the same laws, neither doing nor taking wrong. And if ever at any time you mean to shew your selves dread and to be feared, when you have once received your Magistrates and Ordinances again, when ye have the law in your own hands, to censure and judge according to your own discretion, then may ye give your doom of our lives and goods, as each can require. Now for this time it sufficeth, that ye claim and have your freedom again. Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the deputed Delegates, permitting them to do what they would. Who seeing they had brought all matters to good a conclusion, promised to return with all speed. So they took their leave. And when they had declared to the Senators the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at all made of their punishment (a thing more than they looked or hoped for) deemed no one point thereof, but *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was most odious, lay open to the malice of the people, and measuring the hatred of others toward himself,

The demands of the Commons in mount Sacer.

The answer of Valerius and Horatius to the Commons.

A self, by his own spleen that he bare against other men: "I wot well (quoth he) what it became will betwix me shortly: and I see plainly, that our adversaries hold out to wrangle and contend with us no longer than until they have weapons given in their hands. To falsify this their make and hatred, we must part with our blood: nothing else will content them, for mine own part to renounce my Decemvirship I weigh not: neither pass I how soon I do it. Then was an Act made by the Senat, that the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: and that *Quintus* the Arch-Bishop or High Priest, should create Tribuns of the Commons: provided always expressly, that the mutiny of the soldiers, and infurrection of the Commons should find no man to discipline and harm. These Acts being passed, and the Com. Election, the Decemvirs came abroad into the open place of assemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they resigned up all their power and authority. Tidings hereof were aried to the common, by the mediators abroad: and look what people forever remained behind in the City, went now forth to accompany them. As this multitude passed along forward they were encountered upon the way with another joyful company from out of the camp. Who rejoiced mutually one in the behalf of the other, that both freedom and concord were restored to the City again. Then the mediators in the general assembly of them all spake and said: "To the great good, happiness and felicity of you and of the C. W. be it spoken, Return in Gods name into your own country, to your houses, wives and children: but see that as ye have demeaned your selves modestly in your way hither, hurting and spoiling no mans lands and possessions, notwithstanding the many ye were driven into: of to many things: so ye carry the same moderation and stay of your selves hencward into the City. Go into the *Aventum* from whence ye came: and there for good luck take, where ye laid the first foundation & ground-work of your liberty: create ye that your Tribuns of the commons, There, will the high Priest be ready and give attendance, to call an assembly for the grand Election. Great was the accord, alacrity and cheerfulness, that they shewed in approving all that was propounded. So from thence they turn their standards and ensigns, and as they moved to *Rome*, they strove with all they met on the way, who could then most joy and gladness: they pass on through the City armed as they were, yet peaceably and without noise, until they came into the *Aventum*. Where the chief Priest immediately held the *Comices*, in which they created for Tribuns of the C. first and foremost *L. Virginius*, next after him, *L. Julius*, and *P. Numerius*. The latter by the mothers side of *Virginius*: all authors of their inurrection and depuration: that *C. Sicinius* descended from him in right line who was the first Trib. of Comiti, created in manner *Sicinius* (as we find in records) and *M. Duilius*, who before the chiding of Decemvirs, had right worthily and notably born the Tribuneship, and in all combats and commotions with the Decemvirs, stuck close to the Commonalty and never failed them. After these were elected, moreover hope then any former deler, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Julius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Julius* immediately in the very entrance into the Tribuneship, presented a bill unto the Commons, and the Commons enacted it. That the depuration and inurrection of the common people against the Decemvirs, should not be laid to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then a wisdom farther delay *M. Duilius* went through with an act of his own to wit, That there, then the *Comices* created, with relevation of liberty to appeal unto the people. All the thing, passed in the *Comices* of Commons, assembled in the meadows named *Flaminia*, which now they call *Forum Flaminium*.

Then, by an Inter-regent were Consuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who presently began their government. Whole popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Senators and Nobles, so it was without offence committed of their part: For what ever was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they supposed it abolished somewhat of their power and authority. And first and foremost, whereas it was a question and controversy, well cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to stand to the Acts of the Commons: they made a law now in a general Session by the suffrages of the Centuries. That what ordinance the Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should compute and bind the whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribunes acts were armed with a most sharp and keen weapon to strike withal. Moreover, The other Conular law concerning *Appius*, the on y fort and strength of liberty (which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been so wronged, they not only revive again, but also fortify the same for the time to come, by making a new law, forbidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate, abolish any without the liberty of appealing: and whosoever should create any such, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and that murder should not be counted a capital crime. And when they had industrially strengthened the Commons on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the other side with the Tribunes power in favour of the Tribunes themselves, that they might seem to be comforted and insolated: they then now almost grown out of remembrance, they renewed that high privilege, with certain solemn ceremonies which having been of long time laid aside & neglected, were now brought up again and put in use. And they ordained them to be inviolate as well in a reversion of religion and a ripple of confidence as also by a special law in that behalf provided: namely, that whosoever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons: Adversaries Judges or Decemvirs, should be cursed and decreed to *Interitus* and his family sold in port to be at the Church of *Ceres* & *Liber*. By virtue of this Act, the great Expositors of the law deny that any man is a saint or inviolable: but (say they) it is enacted only, That whosoever hurt any of them, shall be accursed.

Decemvirs resign up their government.

Tribuns of the Commons created again. A general assembly for election of Magistrates.

Consuls elected.

The day of the consulship.

And therefore an *Edile* may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates, Which if although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an *Edile* is not inviolable. Marry, as for the Tribunes, they were indeed by virtue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority inviolable: as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Other: have been that this ought to interpret the law. That in this last *Act* of *Horatius*, the Consuls also, and Pretors too, (because they are created by the same *aspici* or bird-signs that the Consuls be,) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a Consul is called by the name of a Judge, but that exposition is confused, for that in those days it was not the manner to commit the Consul a Judge, but the Pretor only. And thus much concerning the Consular Laws. I

The time Consuls also brought up this order and custom, that all the *Acts* of the Senat should be brought into the Church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the *Ediles* of the Commons: which aforcetime were suppressed and smothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the Consuls. After all this, *M. Duilius* a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it, That whatsoever should leave the Commons destitute of their Tribunes, or create any Magistrate without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these *Acts*, as they passed against the wills and minds of the Nobles: to they went clean without their contradiction: for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them, But afterwards, when as both the Tribunes power, and also the Commons freedom, were once well and surely grounded: Then the Tribunes, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the oneperson upon them, severally one by one, made choice of *Virginius* to be the first accuser or plaintiff; and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant. And *Virginius* had not long been arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* come down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renewed. Then *Virginius*: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful

"causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whose cruelty ye have by force of arms delivered your selves: nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as touching all other lawful parts of thine and wicked designments, O *Appius*, which thou hast for these two years ungraciously and impudently enterprized and practised one on the neck of another, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst acquit thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the Judge, against all order of Law, didst not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the suit depending, until she might bring proofs of her freedom: for this, I say, I command thee to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the Tribunes helping hand, or in the doom and judgement of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the Tribunes for succour: and also seeing himself tugged and baled away by the officer, and no man to stay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedom being heard to come out of that mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bonds, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wise: "How well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as neglect not the affairs of mortall men, Pride and cruelty (although it be long first) at length will surely have a fall, and thoroughly be punished. Lo, how he is now faine to appeal, who aforcetime abolished and took away all appeal: he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and deprived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded and adjudged a free body to bondage and servitude. Amidst these words I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly, *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of *Rome* for relief and mercy. He reckoned

upon what, the defects of his ancestors in the behalf of the C. W. both at home in the City, and abroad in the wars: he alleged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Communion of *Rome*, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the Nobility he resigned up his Consulship, and all for to bring in and establish equal and indifferent laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws which notwithstanding they remained still in force and strength, he the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his own proper parts and dejects good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he should be permitted judicially to make his defence: as for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speak for himself, and stand to the doom of the people: neither feared he the hatred & malice of men so much as to repose no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once again call upon the Tribunes of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribunes will be known and avow that they are linked in the same bond and covenant to avouch and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation against which they have charged & blamed the Decemvirs for plotting & agreeing together: then he said, that he appealed unto the people,

and

A "and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tribunes, that present year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have benefit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned nor attained, and have not pleaded for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if *Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule or equal liberty be established: whether the calling for help by way of mediation & intercession, or by plain appealing against the wrongful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in every deed, or but oncey pretended in bare show, under vain colourable pretences and trifling Letters Patents. Against all this, *Virginius* made his

B rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and excluded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look back toward the tribunal seat the veddy well-head, as it were, and respectacle, the tortures and hold of all wickedness: whereon that perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens, menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons: a contemner both of God and man, guarded with a crew of executioners and butchery tormentors rather then sergeants, proceeding on from spoil and bloodshed to pierce his hart on leachery & carnal lust: led a maid by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if he had been taken captive in war: and that, in the sight of the people of *Rome*, and gave her away to one of his followers even to a groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter: where he commanded, the espoused husband and the wife of the Virgin (that took up her body halldred, to be had away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him beside his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder, upon her by them committed. "Adding moreover and besides, That and therefore, pleaded he ever and anon, and on and dwelling house of the Commons of *Rome*, And therein, he pleaded he ever and anon, and as oft as he will his appeal. I will not give over (quoth *Virginius*) but as oft tender a judge between, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, & pronounced her free, but bought: but in case he will not abide to be censured by a competent judge, then I command him to be carried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there was no milk of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit to see to great D "a personage punished, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & excessive. The Tribunes let him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer. Amidst these affairs, there came to *Rome* Embassadors from the Latins and Hemicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the Nobles and the Commons: in token whereof, they brought as a present unto *Jap. Opt. Max.* a crown of gold, not very massive in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet unvaluable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those days, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also that the *Aequians* and *Volscians* prepared war with all the power they could make.

E Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces between them, To *Plautius* the Sabines, and to *Alernus* the *Aequians* and *Volscians*. And when they had proclaimed matters against these wars, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not only the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were denied penic with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their penions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter their names into the muster: Matters took: whereby the army was not only in number greater, but also for the goodness of men, more puissant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced soldiers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemviral laws (which now are known by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in brass.

Some writers have delivered, that the *Ediles* performed this office, as they had in charge from the Tribunes, *C. Claudius*, who upon a declaration and deep hatred of the Decemviral laws, and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brethren, which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to *Regillus*, his old native country. He being now a very aged man, returned to line and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose vices he abhorred: and in fulfilled weed and poor attire, accompanied with those of his lineage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common places, and laboured every man one by one, "Receiving them not to let that breed of iniquity, and bring such a stain upon the house and name of the *Claudii*, as that they should be thought worthy of imprisonment and irons: nor suffer a man of most honourable quality, a singular pattern of Nobility to try to his posterity in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in chains among fellows, night-thieves and robbers: by a one regard and consideration of matters minds a while from anger and wrath, and incline to a more regard and consideration of matters: and rather at the suit and earnest petitions of so many of so many suppliants, As for himself, he professed that he did this much for kindred and names sake. Neither was he reconciled unto him and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adversity fortune and poor condition were relieved, considering with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again, by virtue & proofs, so the concord of all degrees & estates might be established sure by clemency.

Sicent

Virginius his
accusation of
Appius.

Appius moveth
the people in
his own behalf.

The replication
of Appius
in answer to
Virginius.

Appius com-
mited to pri-
son.

The Lawes cal-
led the twelve
Tables.

C. Claudius his
petition in the
behalf of App.
Claudius.

Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindness and love, than in any respect of him for whom he spoke. But *Virginius* prayed them, "To take pity and compassion rather, of him and his daughter, and to give ear to the prayers and supplications, not of the *Clau-*
dis, who have had the day, and tyrannized over the Commons but to the merest friends of *Vir-*
ginius, the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and incoor of the Commons, do now
 Appius killeth himself.
 themselves implore and beseech the help and assistance of the Commons. And verily these tears were thought more reasonable, and like to speed. Thus when *Appius* law all means of hope cut off, before the foretold day appointed was come, killed his own self. Soon after this, *Sp. Oppius*, of all the rest next unto *Appius*, was most hated: for that he was in the City at the very time when this unjust doom and sentence of his Colleage hapned to be pronounced, was attached by *P. Numitorius*. But *Oppius* was the worse thought of and more prejudiced, by occasion of an injury by himself done, then for stopping the wrong intended by *Appius* to *Virginius*. For a wretchedness was produced to depose against him, one, who having served in the wars even and twenty years, had been rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant servitor, thus adorned with those gifts and marks of valour, in the view and sight of the people of *Rome* rent his garments, and shewed his back and sides, and the skin all broken with scourging: beseeching no other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accused, could justly charge him with any trespass and offence by him committed, he should not spare him, but now a private person as he was, exercise and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewise was had to prison: and there before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribunes did confiscate. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were banished, and all their goods also were forfeit and confiscated. And not so much as *M. Claudius* the party that laid claim unto *Virginius* escaped, but he was arrested to answer at a certain day, and was condemned. However *Virginius* of himself related him his life, and would not take the extremity, so he was sent away and confined to *Tibur*, as it were into banishment. Thus the poor spirit and ghost of *Virginius* more happy after her death, than fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted for many houres for due revenge of her adventures: at last, when there was not one guilty person of them left unpunished, gave over her walking and rested quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the same countenance already in the Tribunes, which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, wisely and politically refraining and keeping within a mean this excessive power of theirs: "We have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and also of revenge of our enemies: and therefore I will not suffer for this year, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned. For I do not like that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and raised out, should be revived again, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath been made for the new and the continual care and diligence of the Consuls both twain, for the maintenance of your freedom assure me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the first hand of the Tribunes, put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Consuls to be thought the worse of, (for that they had been so addicted wholly to the commonality in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more regard of the safety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobility: and because the adverse part had their rule of revenge and punishment of the Nobility: and because that the Consuls would on them to stop the course and torrent of their licentiousness, and many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remiss and slack in the matter, and little respected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved and confirmed the Acts that were propounded by the Tribunes. And no question, troubled as the state was then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the necessity of the time.

When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the City, and fully grounded the state of the Commonality, they went either of them into their own Province. *Faleria* against the armies of the *Æquians* and *Volscians*, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where full politically he led off, and stood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard of a battle, cannot tell, but I greatly doubt, considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies both, were affected presently upon the infamous conduct of the Decemvirs, it would have turned to their great loss and cost: them an overthrow. The enemies ranged in battle array took up the whole ground between both camps, and when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them again. At length the *Volscians* and *Æquians*, weary with long standing still, and in vain expecting battle, thinking verily that the honor was in manner yielded unto them, departed: foment into the country of the *Hernicks*, other some to the territories of the *Latins*, for to raise booties and make spoil: leaving behind them rather a competent guard to defence of the camp, than a sufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which when the Consul perceived, he paid them again with the like measure of fear, as they before had from them received: and with his army ready embattled, hid them behind: who being privy to themselves what forces were wanting, forbore to fight: whereupon the Romans presently took a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in such a fear within their rampart. When they had stood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreshed their

A their bodies and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing to hearty and courageous, send out messengers every way in fearful haste, to call again the forrager. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp: those that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was once day night, the Romans issue forth of the camp, intending to give an assault upon the Rampart, unless they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth day and the enemies stirred not at all, the Consul commanded to advance with their engines, The *Æquians* and *Volscians* seeing their battle coming forward, began to chafe and take foul dislike, for very shame that their rampart and trench should protect victorious armies within this camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earnest likewise themselves with their Generals for the signal of battell, and at length after much importunity obtained it. Now were some of them lifted out at the gates already: and other followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Host, before the battell of the enemies stood fully furnished with their full strength, came on full and gave the onset: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and ere they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: and to amaze their troubled heads the more, he assails them with a great shout and main violence. At first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come again to themselves, and that their Captains on every side rased them, and asked them whether they would yield unto them, whom before they had over come, the fight began again to be renewed. The Consul on the other part, wiled the Romans to remember, that this was the first day, wherein they being newly set free, were to fight likewise for the freed City of *Rome*: and therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and command of *Appius* but of the Consul *Falerius*: who as he was descended from the deliverers of the people of *Rome*, so he was one of them himself: exhorting them to shew now, that in former battells of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the fonderers, that they achieved no victories: saying, it were a foul shame for them, to have had more stomack against their own neighbours and citizens, than heart against their enemies: and to have stood more in fear of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginius*, he was but one whole honesty and chastity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in regard of his unbidded and dissolute lust, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war should fail on our side, and go against us, then shall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abused and spoiled at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Unwilling I say (quoth he) to prelude in his milities and to prognosticate to the City those calamities, which both *Appius* and our flock-father *Marius* forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon to lucky signs and happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Æneas* Vile, and Mount *Sacer*: that where within these few months you recovered your freedom, thither you may carry back again your Empire, life and soul, unincensed and unviled, that all the World may see that Roman soldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the banishing of the Decemvirs: as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equat and indifferent Laws, the manhood and prowess of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor diminished. Having uttered these words among the engines of the footmen, he made speed to the corners of the Horsemens, Go to, brave gallants (quoth he) exult the footmen in valour and chivalry, like as ye exulted them in honor and degree. At the very first shock and encounter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hands, let spurs to, gallop after them apace, and chase them out of the plain field: they will never abide your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and hand rather at a stay, than make any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lustily, and run their horses among the enemies, disorderly ordered, and in disarray by the service of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and passed forth even to the rearward: certain of them cast about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to fly, they turned most of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and forced them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Consul himself, with the whole strength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, assailed the tents with them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

When news of this battell was brought, not only into the City, but also to the other army into the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and totemicity: but in the camp it set the soldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them with desire for the like honor and reward. Now had *Hernicus* already partly by lending his soldiers forth to make inursions and marches, and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, engined and acquainted them to trust to themselves, and have confidence in their own good service, rather than to remember the shameful disgrace and foil received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even whole multitudes of them had done them much good already: against they should encounter on a field and learned them in assured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, still sadly upon their growth, since the year before ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies: very often asking them what they meant after the guile of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, to do little more

The Creation of Falerius the Consul to his soldiers.

Having the
Consul to his
soldiers.

the time, and thus by piece meal to make of one entire battell many petty and small skirmishes? Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a call, and commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to see unto what use the will inclineth. Then the Romans besides that of themselves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with the indignity of this challenge also set on fire: considering, that when the other army was at the point now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to insult and crow over them with reproachful taunts: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when should they ever be able to make their parts good? So soon as the Consul perceived the fondlers thus to mutter and mumble within the camp, he assembled them all together, and thus bespake: "Sirs, (quoth he) what incets hath been, and how the service hath sped in *Agrippa*. I suppose you have already heard, namely, such as befel the army of Africaine and people. By the policy of my fellow Consul, and the manhood of his soldiers together, achieved is the victory. As for my self, that could will I take, and that resolute mind will I carry, which you my soldiers shall afford unto me, The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be also dispatched and ended speedily: If protracted it shall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the same discipline till I will exercise you and bring to pass, that your hope and prowels will encrease every day more then other. If your hearts now serve you well, and that you like to fight it out, Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous prowels, now let up such a cry and shout, as you will make when you first join battell, and give the charge. After that they had exceding cheerfulls shouted aloud: God bleis us all (quoth he) I will fulfil your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the rest of that day was bestowed in making their harness and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the Sabins so soon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battell array, came forth also themselves, as ready and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battell (frank, such as might becom two armies, that trusted on both sides in their own valour, and made full account of that high honour. The one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wonted evermore to have the upper hand, the other proudly bearing themselves, upon a new victory lately achieved. The Sabins besides, mended their strength with a stratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions every way, they reserved two thousand drawn out of the rest, extraordinary without the ranks apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, should hotly charge the left point of the Romans: they advancing overthwart with their engines, & flanking them on the one side, pressed surewily upon that one point, and overcharged it, well near environed all about. Then the horsemen of two legions, six, almost in number, alight on foot from their horsebacks, and as their fellows were even now ready to retreat, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withal, made head against the enemy. And first, they put life unto them again, for that they centred equally with the footmen into a danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more boldness and animated them to fight. For abashed they were, that horsemen should be put to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foot: and professed footmen not able to countervail the horsemen, who had taken them to their fier. So they advance forward to the battell, which on their part was abandoned, and make haste to recover the ground which they had lost. And in a trice, at once, not only the fight was renewed, but also a battalion of the Sabins began to shrink. The horsemen closely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat again to their horses, and from thence red speedily unto the other side reporting to their fellows the victory: and withal, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, because the stronger wing of their side was discomfited: neither were there any in this battell also, that were seen to perform better service then they. The Consul, as an over-seer, beheld all the manner of it, praising those that stood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so soon chastised and reprov'd, but presently they bare themselves like hardy men, and did fight good service: and look how much that praise excited some, so much shame stirred up others. Then with a fresh shout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the enemies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The Sabins scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoil to their enemies: where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies as before in *Algidum*, but their very own, which they had lost by the foraging and spoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victory achieved in two sundry battels, the Senat right sparingly (such was their misery) decreed in the name and behalf of the Consuls, one days thanksgiving and procession, and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from authority solemnized the same in great numbers. And this popular procession, disorderly as it was, and without formality, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the other. The Consuls of set purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compass of those two days into the City: and summoned the Senat to assemble in *Mars* field: where, as they were about to make some speech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the Senat, complained and shewed themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled on purpose, among the soldiers, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Consuls, because they would give no occasion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into *Prata Flaminia*, where now the Temple of *Apollo* stands, a place which even then they called *Circus Apollinis*: whether they being denied triumph with one voice and general consent of the nobles, *L. Julius* a Tribune

A Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls triumph. And among many that stepped forth to cross and disswade the bill, *C. Claudius* above all others cried out aloud that the Consul intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their enemies: and that they sought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the Tribune, and not for an honorable reward, for any virtue and worthy act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred to the Senate, to consider and determine of that honour. Neither had the Kings at any time, impaired the Majesty of that highest Court and degree: what should the Tribunes then meddle to much, and have their hand in all matters by virtue of their authority, as to suffer no publick Council at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free nor Laws equal and indifferent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own privileges, and hold their proper pre-eminence. When the rest of the principal Senators had spoken much to the same effect all the Tribunes notwithstanding in general, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribune had propounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voices of the people, without the authority and assent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribunes and the commonalty had like to have turned to a dangerous mischief of it, untions liberty by reason that the Tribunes conspired together and were fully agreed, to be chosen Tribunes again: and to the end that their own ambition should be less seen above others, they alledged to the Consul, for a sufficient reason (that they likewise should once more still in place of government) the agreement and consent of the Senators: through whose holding together and drawing in one line the liberties of the Commons, to the great disgrace and reproach of the Consuls, were in mingled and undimmed. For what would come of it, say they, if before the late Laws were fully established, the new Consuls with their factions banding, should set upon the new Tribunes: for we must not look to have always such as the *Horatii* and *Valerii*, to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own woe before the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to *M. Duilius* his lot especially, to be chief President of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wise man, foreseeing the heart-burning and hatred, like presently to ensue upon the continuance of the same Magistracies still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribunes he would not propound any one: and when his brethren in office laboured earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free Election or else yield up the charge to him alotted, of holding the assembly unto his brethren, who would keep the same and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and pleasure of the Nobles: *Duilius* then, seeing their earnest contention, canied the Consuls to be called into their own pines and seats, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Consuls: and when they answered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth together with them into the assembly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out into their presence, and were asked the question what they would do, in case the people of *Rome* should elect them Consuls the second time and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for their good service in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them constant in the same mind still, and nothing altered from their resolution: after he had commended the Consuls, for their steadfast perseverance unto the last (as altogether unlike to the Decemvirs) went presently to the new Election. And when he had created five Tribunes only, seeing there were no other competitors enough to reach unto sufficient voices of the Tribes, in comparison of the other nine Tribunes his colleagues who openly stood to be chosen again: he brake up the assembly, and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled the Law in that behalf, which without setting down any precise and definite number of Tribunes, so that there were some left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to those that were created, to chuse and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he revoked the words of the Law, which run in this form, If I shall propound ten Tribunes of the Commons to be created, and they shall the present day make fewer then ten: they by voice of this Law, shall be accounted Tribunes, whom those elected shall chuse and take unto them for their fellows, and as long as they be held, as those whom this day ye shall create Tribunes of the Commons. Thus when *Duilius* perswaded still resolute unto the end, saying, That in any case the state might bear five and twenty Tribunes, and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great joy and the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tribunes now in the electing and making choice of their companions, carried favour with the Senators, and framed themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them two of the Nobility, and those that had been Consuls, to wit, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *An. Sulpicius*. And Consuls there were created, *Sp. Herminius* and *Titus Virginius Celsinus*. Who bearing themselves in a mean between Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other, had peace as well at home as abroad. *Lu. Trebonius* a Tribune of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators and spitefully bent against them, and saying withal, that in the captation of the rest of the Tribunes, he had been cunningly over-raught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, propounded a Law. That whosoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribunes to be elected, should not give over, but still propound, until he made up the full number of ten. Thus continued he all his Tribunship in persecuting and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be quiet: whereupon he was fit named *After*.

After this, *M. Geganus Macrinus*, and *C. Julius*, being created *Consuls*, appeased the contentions. Orations of the *Tribuns*, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the Nobility, so as without any bitter invectives against that authority of the *Tribuns*, they prevailed (till the sovereign Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of decreeing musters against the wars of the *Volscians* and *Aequians*, stayed the Commons, and kept the City from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citizens, forrainers took heart, The care likewise of outward peace, was the cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation of the other: for whilst the Commons were still and in good temper, the piny *Senators* began to offer them wrong, and hard measure. And when the *Tribuns* would have assuaged the weaker side, at first it booted little, and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter months, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that toward the end of the year, the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and growth feeble and weak. So that now the Commons had little or no confidence at all in the *Tribunship*, unless they might have such as *Isidius* to be *Tribuns*: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side, as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: so they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trepasts and excess, they had rather those of their own degree and coat should exceed measure, and have greater stomachs, than their adversaries. So ticklish and dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whilst under a colour of withholding and desiring equality, every man advanceth and lifteth up himself, so as that he thrusteth and beareth down another: and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off and turn from our selves, we impose upon others. As if there were no remedy, but that we must either do, or suffer injury.

Then were made *Consuls*, *T. Quintus Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furinus*: who found neither sedition within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand. For now could no longer the diffention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out. And both *Tribuns* and Commons rose against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings of the people, one or other alwayes of the Nobles and *Senators* were served with process whereupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battel had been given, and the alarm stricken upon, the *Aequians* and *Volscians* took arms: and withal, their Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and persuaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go through with their musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to obey, and brake their allegiance: which was the only cause that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides say they. The rule and manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious looseness, discontinued and clean decayed: *Rome* was now no more a common wealth and country to her citizens: For all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against forreign nations, was now turned upon their own selves: so that at this time they had fit occasion and good opportunity to surprise them, blinded as wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joynd their whole power, and first wasted the country of *Latium*: and afterwards fixing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and spoiling all the way to the very walls of *Rome*, even before the gate *Esquilina*, there braving and vaunting in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid their fields and territories waste. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and loss, driving their booties afore them, and marched along to *Carbia*. *Quintus* the *Consul* seeing this, assembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise, "Albeit

"I am not privy to my self, and my confidence accuseth me not of any fault. O *Quirites*, yet am I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you should know, or the posterity hereafter understand, how the *Aequians* & *Volscians* (who of late dyes were hardly comparable to the Hericks) came when *T. Quintus* was the fourth *Consul*, in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of *Rome*, and went their wayes again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shameful dishonor, if I had known it, would have light, so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath to grieve, and guilt hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no goodness toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death: if there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have *Rome* been taken in the time of my *Consulship*, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valorous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already, then had I lived long enough, and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time *Consul*, But who were they? I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours despised and set so lightly by? Were they that are your *Consuls*, or you (*Quirites*) the people of *Rome*? If we were in the fault, take from us as insufficient & unworthy persons our rule and government: and if that be not enough, let us over and besides be well punished, and abide the smart. But if the blame be in you *Quirites*, let neither God nor man chastise your trepasts and offence, only do you repent

"your

A "your selves, and be fofore therefore. It was not your cowardie that they scorned and despised neither was it their own valour wherein they trusted. For why? they have been too often deceived, and driven out of the camp and the field, lined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the gallows, and brought into servitude, knew very well both themselves and you also. No, no, the variance and discord between our own states and degrees, is the only blame, and nothing else, of this City: the jures and debates, ifay, between the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither we have any grace or stay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty: while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and likewise of the Commons' Magistrates, they gave gotten heart, and wax bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would you have? *Tribuns* of the Commons yelonged and fought after: for quietness and concord like, B we let you have your longing, Deceivers you had a great mis of, and them you desired: we granted, and permitted them to be created. Weary you were alone, and all too weary of Deceivers: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued still against them, being become private persons again, we suffered to be put to death, and to be exiled, most noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect anew your *Tribuns* of the Commons, you chose them at your pleasure. To create *Consuls* from out of your own faction, although we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we seen that dignity proper to Nobility, given away as it were, and made common with the Commonalty. The ambition of *Tribuns*, the appealing to the people, the Laws and Acts decided by the Commons, to be considered and imposed upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that under the pretence, to censure of *Immunis*, or equal and indifferent Laws, our own rights and privileges should be overthrown, we have abidden, and do still endure. When wit, there be an end of old order and diffention? Shall we never have one City or City? Shall we never have this to be the common Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished than whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you that you are dread and feared of us? but still you seek for more? Against us it was, that you took the Mount *Aventinus*, against us it was that you held and kept the Mountain *Sacra*. For when the gate *Esquilina* was well-nigh pierced by the enemy and when the *Volscians* our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and to scale our walls, none of you there was to be seen for to remove and let them further off. Against us ye play the men against us ye can be armed, Well then go to! When ye have here betwixt the Senate-house, taken up the market place and common Hall with soldiers, filled the goal with Noblemen, and those of the theft and best quality, then with like courage and stoutness of heart (till forth of the gate *Esquilina*, Or if you dare not venture to much behold and view all afore you from the walls dis over your Lands and territories with fire on a sword waited & consumed, your goods and cattle had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houses burning and smoking in every quarter. But all this time the Commonweal only (you think) by this means is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired the City besieged and the enemy goeth his way with the honor of the war, And in what taking, I pray you is your own private estate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly from out of his own things and possessions of his proper losses and what have you at home (if a man may ask) to make happily away? Will the *Tribuns* make you restitution, and amend for all your damages? You shall have words of them your fill. They will not fluck to speak to rail and scold by the river side before you against the heads of the City. Laws upon Laws you shall have heaped thick and thickfold. Assemblies convocations, and seditions investive good store. But from these their attentions, never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one gray gown or single denier nor in better state to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from them, except to his wife & children but hatred and malice, displeasure and rancorous grudges and heart-burnings both publick and private: from which at all times ye have been shielded and defended, nold if not with your own vermine and innuency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye served in wars under the conduct of our *Consuls*, and followed not the leading of your *Tribuns*, when you served I say in camp and not in the Hall and common place, when inhibited your enemies quaked to hear you shout and not in your assemblies the Romans were in dread of your men, and outcries: then you won prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home with triumph to your homes, full of riches and wealthy full of honor and renown as well publick as private. Whereas now, you suffer your enemies to depart, triumph and taken with your goods. Sit to your Ward Leets, as if you were nailed and fast pinned to them: dwell still in your Hall and lead your lives continually there: yet must you needs war when all is done, from it as fast as you can. Grieved it you is indeed, and thought you it a trouble and painful thing, to take an expedition so far as into the *Volscians* and *Aequians* country: For the war is come even unto your gates: it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will take the Castle and Capitol it will follow you, even into your houses. Two years ago the Senate gave order and commanded that there should be soldiers mustered and an army conducted into *Adriaticum*. But we sit still at home & do nothing, but hide & God, as it were, one at another like, until and shrewd women contenting our selves and joying in a present peace: and little fearing that there shall more will come sundry wars again, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are speeches more pleasing & pleasant to the ears, But to speak the plain truth for your good rather than to flatter and looth for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not reach and

The Oration of Quintus the Consul, to the people of Rome.

admonish me, even very necessity doth force and constrain me. Willing would I be, and most willing O Quirites to please you: but much more would I have you to be in safety, think what I see, or ye will of me. It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who I speak to a multitude in his own cause, and for himself, is better liked, and heard with more applause, than he whose mind smiteth at nothing else but a publick weal, unless peradventure you think these common flatterers, these clabwacks, and men-pleasers, which give you no rest, neither in war nor peace, do stir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the truth? ye being once solicited and pricked on by them, serve their turns in good stead, either for their honor or gain. And because they see themselves to be of no worth and regard, while the states do agree, they desire to play small game, rather than to sit out: to be Captains of millions and legions, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders of troubles and distractions. Whereof, if you be so blest and happy, as to be weary now at length, and will brake your selves to the ancient manners and fashions, both of your own, and of your ancestors, in lieu of these new fangles, I will refuse no punishment: nay, let me be put to the most shameful death that is, if I do not before many dayes pass over my head, defeat, and overcome them that fight these robbers and destroyers of our fields, and send them packing out of their own camp, and finally translate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are so affrighted and affonied, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities. Seldom at any time else had there been a speech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable unto the Commons, than was the sharp Oration at this present of a most severe Consul, Yea, and the very youth, which amid such terrors of war, had been wont to refuse soldiery, the only keen and sharp weapon they had to fight withal against the Nobles, now desired war and to be in arms. Over and besides, the country kerns that fled (to Rome,) such also as were spoiled and wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were presented unto their eyes, and set all the City in an hot an angry broil. Now when the Senators were assembled together in the Councell Houle, then verily they all cast their eyes upon *Quintus*, beholding and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majesty of Rome: but the chief peers and Lords of the Senate spoke out and said: That he had made an Oration, becoming the sovereign Government of a Consul, becoming so many Consulships by him already born, becoming the whole course of his life, that had passed off through many honorable dignities, and yet always deferred more. As for other Consuls, they either in flattering and soothing up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or else in seeking by hard courses to maintain the rights, preeminences and royalties of their state, and to tame the multitude, have thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintus*, he hath made a speech, respectful and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States, and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would request him therefore, together with his brother Consul, to take in hand the care of the Common-weal. They would request the Tribunes likewise, to joyn in one accord with the Consuls, and shew themselves willing and forward to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in so fearful and dangerous a case, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: saying moreover, that the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribunes and craveth their aid, now that the territories are wasted, and the City at hand to be assaulted. Whereupon they all agreed generally to decree a mulct, and presently to make a levy of fouldiers. And when the Consuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there assembled, that it was no time as then to hear excuses, but that all the younger sort, should become the next morning by day-light, be ready to attend in *Mars* field: and that after the war was ended, they would find out and appoint a time to enquire into their allegations and reasons, that entred not their names: and that he should be taken for a traitor and rebel, whose excuse they allowed not: the whole manhood and youth of the City flew themselves the morrow after in readinesse. Each cohort or regiment chose their Centiniers or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their Provoct Marshalls. All this was performed (by report) with such speed and expedition, that on the very same day, the standards and ensignes were by the Quæstors had forth of the Armory and Chamber of the City and brought into *Mars* field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the same day, set forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old fouldiers, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and rested, at ten miles end. The day following they discovered their enemies, and at *Carbio* encamped close unto them. And by the third day, there was no flay on both hands, but they must needs encounter and fight. For why? The Romans for anger were sharper: the enemies again, upon a guilty conscience that they had so often rebelled, were grown desperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two Consuls were unequal commission, yet gave *Arrippus* place unto his brother *Quintus*, and yielded unto him the entire and absolute command. A course most profitable in the managing and execution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again courteously answered and requited the others Gentlest, and in inclination to submissiveness, in this wise: by inspiring unto him all his Comrades: by parting with him all his honor and praise, and by making him his equal, who was indeed his inferior and underling. In the battell *Quintus* commanded the right point, *Arrippus* led the left: *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct of the main battell. And *P. Sulpicius* the other Lieutenant, they set over the horsemen. The footmen

A men of the right point fought most valiantly, and the Voltians received them with equal valour. *Sp. Sulpicius* with his men of arms, brake through the main battell of the enemies: albeit he might have ranked himself the same way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring their ranks again into order, that he was dismayed: yet he thought it better to charge them upon their backs. And in one moment he had discomited and quite dejected his enemies: by affrighting them behind, and thus affrighting them on both sides, but that the Voltian and Equian Horsemen recharged him, he left him play in his own fight, and to keep him occupied a good while. Thereat, *Sulpicius* said it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to befor themselves, crying out aloud, that they were environed round, enclosed within their enemies, and excluded. B From their own fellows, since they set to, and bent their whole force quickly to outpitch the Horse-fight: and that it would not serve to put the Horsemen to flight and leave their wives: but kill both horse and man, that none might escape back again from thence into the battell to renew the fight. And to make head and resistance against him and his horsemen, they were never able, since that the main thick battell of footmen had given him ground already. Good cause they gave to his words, and soon harkened to his direction: and with one entire assault they gave a large charge, and deleted the whole power of the Cavalry, unhorsed and dismounted a number of them, and with their javalins goaded both them and their horses. And there's an end of the horse-fervice. Then they set upon the battell of the footmen and dispatched messengers unto the Consuls with news, what they had done: where also by that time, the battell of the enemies began to shrink. And when tidings came unto the Romans that were already upon the point of victory, they verily were more encouraged: but the Equians that were about to retreat, were flurried with greater fear. In the main battell first began the overthrow: namely, whereas the men of arms before had broken the array. After them, the left point also began to be distracted and driven back, by *Quintus* the Consul. But in the right there was hard hold, and most ado. Where, *Arrippus* being a tall man of his hands and young withal, seeing in every part of the battell things go better than where he was: caught the ensigns from the ensign bearers, advanced them forward on his own left, yea, and fell to flinging some of them against the thickets of his enemies. For fear therefore of shameful disgrace, the ion dier, befor themselves, and truthily assailed the enemy. And on all hands alike, they achieved the victory and won the field. Then came a messenger D from *Quintus*, & brought word that he had the better hand and was now ready to give an assault upon the camp, but would not break in and enter thereto before he knew for certain, that they in the left point also had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battell. In case therefore he had discomited the enemy, he should joyn his forces to him, that the whole army altogether might gain the spoil and pillage of the tents. So *Arrippus*, who also for his part was victor, came to his brother Consul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation on the other. There finding but a few to defend, whom they discomited in the turning of an hand, they brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmish: and to besides, the recovery of their own goods again which they had lost by the overrunning of the country, they gained also a rich booty, and retired back with their whole army. I cannot learn, that either they themselves E required triumph, or the Senate offered them any: and no cause appeareth upon record, why they should either refuse or not hope for that honor. For mine own part so far as I can guess in to long distance of times seeing that *Valerianus* and *Horatius*, who over and besides the conquest of the Voltians and the Equians, had the honor also of dispatching and finishing the Sabines: war were denied triumph at the Senate's hand: these Consuls might not with modesty sue for the same: having performed but half the good service of the others: lest if they had gotten it granted, there might have seemed more regard had of the persons, than of the deeds.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus achieved, was observed and only dilayned with a shameful doom of the people, in a controversy of their allies, about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Ardea's* allies, having warred oftentimes one with the other, about some Lands in question between them, and by giving and taking fivdy feuds and overthrows outwearied, chose the people of Rome, their umpire to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their counsels to plead the case, the Magistrates granted a Court of Allies of the people. Where was not but arguing and dispute on both sides before them: and after the witnesses were depoeled, that at length the Tribes should be called to the kirtme, and the people give their voices, there steps forth an old father one *P. Scæpius* a Commoner. And I quote he for my part O Consuls if it be lawful to speak for the good of the State will not suffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this question. When as the Consuls denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and commanded him (as he cryed still) that the publick cause of the City was betrayed) to be had G away, he called for the assistance of the Tribunes. The Tribunes then, who lightly are ever overruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yielded unto the Commons: That for as much as they were desirous to hear what the old man could say, *Scæpius* should speak his mind at large. Then forth he the rule on end, and beginneth thus: I am I quote he, fourscore winters old and three on the head of it and even upon that very ground for which all this strife and variance is served as a fouldier, when I was no young man neither but one that had been prety forewarned, and received pay twenty years afore, And it was, I remember well, during the siege before *Corinth*. Higher am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time,

A controversy between the Ardeates and Romans, decided by the people of Rome.

The evidence given by old Scæpius.

"We shall have then the *Camuleians* and *Isclians* to be our Coss. But *Jupiter* (that great good God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majesty, should come to that low ebb or desperate pass: dye they would a thousand deaths rather, than suffer to great a shame and indignity: knowing this assuredly, that their ancestors also, if they had once suspected or foreseen, that by granting the commonality every thing as they desired, they would not have proved more lovely and cheerful towards them, but rather more churlish and untractable: and when they had obtained their first suits, to proceed still to demand worse and worse, one thing after another: they would sooner have endured at the first, any contending and debate whatsoever, than suffered those hard conditions to be imposed, and put upon them: and because they had once relented, that Tribuns should be created, therefore to grant them again the second time, so that as now, there is no quietness with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, so long as in one and the self same City, Tribuns and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this state must be put down, or that office utterly abolished. And better late than never, to withstand and meet with their rash and desperate boldness. What? shall they without controulment, first sow discord at home, and then stir up foreign wars abroad? and afterwards, against those wars which themselves have raised, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend it self? and when as they have as good as sent for the enemies to come to their doors, then, not suffer an army to be levied against them. But let *Camuleius* (if he dare) speak these words out in the Senate, That unless the Nobles suffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror to be admitted and received, he will stay the mulling? For what else is that, but to threaten that he will sell and betray his country, and suffer it to be assailed and lost? What encouragement will such a word give as that, I say not, to the commonality of *Rome*, but to the *Volscians*, *Æquians* and *Veientians*? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Camuleius*, to be able to scale the Capitol and the Castle? so be the Tribuns shall take from the Nobility their courageous hearts, as they have bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that the *Consuls* are ready, first to shew themselves to be Captains and Leaders, against the mischievous practices of their own citizens, before they will head against the armed forces of their enemies? While these matters were debated of with great contention and heat in the Senate house, *Camuleius* for the maintenance of his laws, and to cross the *Consuls*, made this Oration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have despised you, O *Quirites*, how unworthy they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have, as often heretofore, so now especially and most of all perceived: in that they have risen up altogether to flatter, to check and withstand our proposed laws. "Wherein, what pretend we else, but to not of them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we are not of the same wealth, yet we inhabit the same country with them? In the one, we request marriage: a thing to borderers, yea, and to forrain nations usually granted: and to speak of our selves, we also have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and challenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of *Rome* may bestow their offices and dignities, upon whom they please. What reason have they then, I pray you, to set all on an uproar, as if Heaven and Earth should go together? and what is the cause, that ere while I had like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and say, they could not forbear nor keep their heads from me, and threaten to abuse and violate the sacred authority of the Tribuns? Set case that the people of *Rome* may have their free voices and suffrages, to elect the *Consuls* whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, so be he worthy of the highest place, for to obtain the sovereign dignity. How then? cannot this City possibly stand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like) and importeth as much, to disable a Commoner, for being made Consul, as if a man inferred that a bondman or a freed libertine should become Consul. Perceive you not yet (my Masters) in what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in some measure of this day light: that ye breath and speak, that ye have the shapes of men, they think much, they repine, and it gres to their heart. And what else? They give it out flatly and lay (if God will) it is unlawful, that a Commoner should be a Consul. I beseech you hear me a little. If we may not be allowed to read the *Chronicles*, nor to peruse the High-priests records and registers, know we not those things then, that even all strangers know? namely, That *Consuls* entered in place of Kings, and succeeded them, and have no other right, preeminence or dignity at all, than Kings had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not so much as a citizen of *Rome*, much less than, a Patrician and Nobly descended among them, was sent for out of the *Sabines* country, and by the peoples voices, and the assent of the Nobles, created King of *Rome*? Also afterwards, how *L. Tarquinius*, who was no Roman born, nor, nor yet as much as an Italian, but the son of *Demetrius* the Corinthian, a stranger inhabitant at *Tarquinus*, and from thence removing, albeit King *Ancus* his sons were living, attained likewise to the crown? Moreover, how *Servius Tullius* after him, the son of a captive woman of *Corculum*, whose father was unknown, whose mother a bondwoman, through wit and virtue, obtained and did the Kingdom? For what would I speak of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* himself the father and founder of this City admitted to reign together with him? Well, so long as no stock was declined, no race rejected, wherein appeared sparks of virtue, the Romans Em-

The Oration
of Camuleius
to the Com-
mons, against the
Nobility.

A "pire became mighty, and flourished. Soon ye then at this day, a Consul out of the Commonalty, when our forefathers desired no King, that were aliens and strangers? No, no, when the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and shut against foreigners that were citizens and men of action. The kindred and whole name (I am sure) of the *Landis*, after the Kings were expelled, were not only admitted into our City, from out of the *Sabins*, but also received into the number of the Patricians and Noble men. And may a meor forermer indeed become a Noble man, and so a Consul? And shall a Citizen of *Rome*, if he be of the Commonalty be wholly disabled and out of all hope for ever of being Consul? Tell me I pray you, I think ye it not possible, that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons, may prove like to *Numerus*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Servius Tullius*? And whether will ye have our *Consuls*, such rather as him to govern the Common-wealth, or no? And whether will ye have our *Consuls*, such rather as the *Decemvirs* (the most wretched and wicked persons under the sun, who, by your leave, were at that time of the Nobility) than strangers and new-comers, which of all the Kings were simply the very best? But forsooth, presently after the *KK*, were depoled and expelled, there was not one of the Com, a Consul. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained, and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practised, (as in a state newly incorporated) ought not such then to be put in use, if they be thought expedient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no *Billions* nor *Angors*: by *Numa Pompilius* they were created. There was no *Scilling* of the people at all in the City, no description of *Hundreds* and *Chilles*. By *S. Tullius* they were instituted, Coss, were never heard of before: when the *KK* were driven out, they were deleted. The time was, when neither the absolute rule nor yet the name of a Dictator was known. In our last days it first began. Tribuns, *Adiles*, *Questors* there have been none: it was ordained they should be made. Within this ten years, we have both created and also abolished out of the common-wealth, made. Within this ten years, we have changed our laws. And who doubteth, but in a City founded for ever to endure and increasing dignities, new privileges both of kindreds and private persons? And even this one thing in question, to wit, that the Com, and Nobles might not join in marriage, were not the *Decemvirs* that first within these few years made that Edict? A most shameful example and precedent in a free state, and tending to the manifest wrong of the Commons. Can there be any greater or more notorious injury, than that there should be in a City one part and member, as defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What else is this, but to suffer exile and confining within the same walls, when they debar us that we should not be either allied in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forsooth) and take order that blood should not be mixed, nor families confused. How then? if this do pollute this great gentry of yours, which most of you descended from the *Sabins* and *Albans*, have not by right line from the Patricians, but by copulation and election into the number of the Nobles, as being chosen either by the favour and grace of the Kings, or else by the peoples voices after the *KK*, were expelled: could not your wisdoms have kept your blood uncorrupt by some private means and provision, namely, by taking heed neither to couple wives from among the Commons, nor to suffer your daughters and sisters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might be sure) would have forced a daughter of any noble house: no, their insolencies or actions must be appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of you against his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimony. But I wot that by an express law it should be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons should be condemned, that is it, which to the commonalty is plain contempt and open injury. And why contrary not and lay your head together, that the law may not marry with poor? That which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and consideration: namely, That into what housesoever a woman came, she might marry a commoner: and into what family a man obliged himself by word, promise and covenant, he might thence he might take a wife: even that, refraining within the bonds of a most proud and tyrannical law: whereby ye might break in under all civil liberties, and so one City make twain. Why forbid ye not by a positive Law, that a commoner should not dwell by a Noble man, or go the same way that he doth, or frequent the same feast, or converse in the same place or common place of assembly? For in effect what difference is there if a Gentlemen marry a commoner's daughter, or a commoner couple a Gentlewoman? What did I say you or condition of estate is hereby changed? surely the children still take after the father. Neither feel we nor thing else by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and citizens. Neither is there any cause, why you should be in working, as disgrace and shame, if you go good to cross and take a pleasure to exercise your selves in concord and land upon it (unless it do). Finally I would gladly know whether the foreign government of the state reflects in you or in the people of *Rome*? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your selves to rid the sovereignty, or purchased all men equal liberty? I must needs be granted, that the people of *Rome* may at their pleasure publish and ordain a Law. And will ye then as soon as any law, whatsoever, is by them proposed, appoint a master presently for their punishment? and as soon as that am Tribun shall begin to call the wards to give their voices, shall you that are *Consuls*: be and by swear all the younger sort, press them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and

[illegible]

In this year, and the year following, when *Cato Furius Crassus* and *Marcus Popilius Crassus* were Consuls, there was peace at home, and abroad. The plays which had been vowed by the **D**eities, according to the Senate's decree, during the time of the Common's intestine and de-
parture from the Nobles, were this year for the first, *Perdium* fought for some occasion of edition but
in vain, Who being made Tribune the second time, about he harried full upon one time, and three
the next time things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Commons should
propole unto the Senat, concerning the division of lands among the Commons: and when as with
great ado he had obtained this much, that the Senators should be moved and their opinions as-
ked, whether they would have an election of Consuls or Tribuns (Consular) determined it was
at length, that Consuls should be chosen, So, that the menaces of the Tribuns, that he would hin-
der the matter, was a ridiculous matter of game: seeing that when the borders were at quiet
there was no need either of war or preparati^{on} for war, After this great quietness of the State
followeth a year (wherein *Publius Gerganius Maccianus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Consuls,
for sundry calamities and perils memorable: namely, Seditions, Famine, and hazard of receiving
upon their necks the yoke of Kings rule again and that by the twetness of a Large, There want
only forraign war: wherewith if the Common-weal had been afflicted too, hardly could the
help of all the gods above have recovered the State, These calamities began with hunger. But
whether it were, for that the year was unseasonable for corn, or that they were to move with
the plausible and feditious Orations, and of the City it self, that they fligted and neglected the
Tillage of their ground: it is uncertain, For both the one and the other is reported, The Lords
of the Senat blamed the idleness of the Commons: and the Tribuns of the Commons laid the
weight, one while upon the fraud and naughtiness, another while upon the negligence and remi-
nence of the Consuls, At the last the commons enforced and gave the people (but not against
the will of the Senate) to chuse *L. Menenius* Master of the provision or principal purveyor of corn
and victuals: a man who in that office proved moe lucky to preserve the liberty of the City than
happily in the exercise or ministry of his charge: albeit at the latter end, he delivered himself
both praise and thanks for bringing down the price of Corn, Who, notwithstanding many La-
ballances sent both by sea and land to the neighbor nations round about, and all to little purpose
(or that out of *Hesperia* there was brought some little sprinkling of Corn) nothing calmed and
mended the Market: and therefore he continued unto the disposing or dealing the present dearth
inducted
M

See the end of
the course at
10:00

I find, that this *Munius* forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribune of the Commons, and appeased the mutiny that arose upon *Munius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribunes to be enlarged; and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their sort: or that the commonality would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed, or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this conflict and reproach the false title of *Tribune* set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expressly provided, That Tribunes might not chuse and take unto them a Collegue in office. *Q. Caelius*, and *Q. Junius*, and *Sextus Titinius* were the only men of all the Collegue of Tribunes that propounded not the Law for the honour of *Munius*; but rather accused unto the Commons both *Munius* and *Servilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of *Aelius*; and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an election for military Tribunes rather than for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if six were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Aelius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were ruled that year with many and sundry troubles, chose no more than three Tribunes with Consuls authority: and among them, *L. Quintius* the son of *Cicconatus*. Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship patis, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and *Mamercus Aemilius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred above *Quintius*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Julius* they created for the third.

Tullius
murdereth the
Roman Em-
bassadors.

While these bare sovereign Rule, *Fidene* the Colony of the Romans, revolted to *Lus Tullius*, the King of the Veientians, and to the State of the Veientians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed. For at the commandment of *Aloisius*, they slew *C. Fulvius*, and *C. Junius*, *Sp. Nautius*, and *L. Scaurus* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this change and sudden alteration. Some here do excuse and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a like call of die he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the Veientians taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadors to be killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadors to be killed, that at the coming in of the Veientians, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this heinous deed proved to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had another meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Veientians should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him, being ataint with the guiltiness of so foul a murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands. The statues of these Embassadors which were at *Fidene* murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the *Rostra*. [A pulchre grave (as it were) or pulpit in Rome, out of which the Magistrates read Orations to the people, beautified with the heads of ships and their brazen pikes called *Rostra*.] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and Fidenates, M

* A river now
called *Tiberina*.

Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribunes, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet; there was no question, but that *M. Gerginius Mucius* in the third time, and *L. Sergius Fidenas* (named I suppose) so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this manifest encounter with the King of the Veientians from this side * *Anio*, and gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the loss of his own soldiers, than the joy for the discomfiture of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrences, ordained *Mamercus Aemilius* to be created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of N Tribunes military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horse-men, *L. Quintius Cicconatus*, who had been a Tribune with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthy son of lo worthy a father. To those soldiers that were by the Consul mulstered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilful warriors, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battel were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenant, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Plautus*. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereby inferior, drove the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their camp still backward, seized upon the hills between *Fidene* and *Anio*: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legions of the *Falisci* came to succour. Then at length, the *Tuscan* encamped themselves under the walls of *Fidene*. And the Roman Dictator likewise halted and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had cast up a trench and rampart afront, reaching across from the one river to the other, themorrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battel. The enemies

A mics were of sundry minds. The *Faliscians*, who hardly could away long with military service farre from home, and truffling withal in their own civilities, that they were good enough, required battel. The Veientians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on, to *Tullius*, albeit the advice of his own men had him better, yet because the *Faliscians* should not endure lingering warfare, lest such a tragedy, and protracted battel against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans, for that the enemies to the present shifted offlight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morrow, when as now the soldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, that would there be no more battel, they would assault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both sides met in the middle of the plain, between the two Camps. The Veientians, as before, in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certain companies to assault the Camp on the Hills, who in the time of the conflict should let upon the Roman Army. And in this order stood the main Army of three Nations together embattled. The Veientians on the right point, the *Faliscians* the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the *Faliscians*, and the *Faliscians* discharged the Veientians: and against the main battel between the Veientians and the Corone of the Cavalry, with his Cornets of horse. Thus as they were engaged in battel array, for a pretty while was there silence on either side, and silence, for neither would the *Tuscan* begin first, unless they were urged: And the Dictator, as he had ordered anon backward toward the Capitol of Rome, that the *Aurunci* should not get any advantage (as it was agreed between them) so soon as the flight of horse gave opportunity, calling: which he no longer copied, but he put out presently the main Army, with a great shout against the enemies. The army of the footmen followed the Dictator in the rear, and seconded them with a lusty charge. But on no hand were the *Tuscan* any ways able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry stood hard to it, and made head till for the King himself, the best horseman and most valiant of them all, who with a great cry did his enemies charged and pressed fore upon him, rode among them, beat out and maintained fight. There changed then to be among the Roman horsemen, a *Tuscan* or *Marsian*, one *L. Cerealis Cestius*, a goodly tall man of body, and a valiant and strong warrior, who let before his eyes the noble front from whence he was descended, and carried this mind, as it was right honourable already by his ancestors left him, to recover and the same to his posterity more glorious and renowned. His own name he thought of as Romans waving to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tullius*, which way he was to be beat and turned; and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bore himself like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel. So is this (quoth he) the brave and noble humane League, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and committed such a deed as I will I presently. If it be Gods will that any thing in the world should be so bold and so insolent, be his brief. I will sacrifice and stake him to the gods, and I will be his sacrifice. Here with, setting upon his horse, with bent spear in hand, he charged against that one enemy, singled from the rest; smote him, and drove him from his horse. Then bearing upon his staff, alight presently on foot, and with the King was getting up again, he cast him backward with the bolt of his spear, and the King was getting long & after many wounds given him at length slaid him with his spear, and the King was getting up again, and when as he was once dead, he disarmed and disposed him, and then he laid dead and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearful spectacle to the enemies of their King slain, and so did omitted them. This was the strength of the Roman Army, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put the Roman Army in footment to fight, pursued them still, and drove them to their own King, driving them to the last chafe. Many of the Fidenates which knew the cruelty of the Country, fled into the mountains, and escaped. *Cestius* with his horsemen pulled over the City a great booty out of the country of the Veientians. As this battel was fought, there was a slight skirmish also in the Roman camp, with that part of the *Tuscan* which was forbidden by *Tullius* to stir up. *Fidius* the son of *Fidius* the son of *Fidius* ordered his men all within in camps like a girdle: and while the enemy was whole about about the stant, he with the *Tuscan* or soldiers of the new camp, which he had forth at the gate, called *Principis*, on the right hand, and gave him a horse upon them. Upon which they were attacked, but there ensued the less slaughter, because the number was small. However, they fled not like in disorder, but those to the very battel. Thus the Dictator having prospered success every way, returned with triumph into the City. G the death of the King, and grant of the people, in which triumph the great *Cestius* and goodly *Cestius* was *Cestius*, bearing the rich & royal spoils of the King. The Roman Army, which had been the soldiers charged divers rode ballads without time and measure, celebrating in their songs with *Roundels*, which spoils with a solemn manner of dance, and a triumphed marching up in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, near unto those of *Romulus*, who

were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went he withdrew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto him, and he in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that festival day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter*, a golden Crown, weighing one* pound weight, raised out of the common money of the City.

* 36. lib. sterl.
in angel gold.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second royal spoils. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoils only are by right accounted *Opima*, or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none for General, but him under whose conduct an high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [*Thou Cossus being Consul, won these spoils.*] When I once heard say, that *Augustus Caesar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entered into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it so written in a linen Jack or Curaze: I thought it little better then sacrilege, and did credit and cancel the testimony of *Cossus* himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Augustus Caesar*, the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That to ancient Records and Chronicles; and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linen, and laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, *Macer Lacinus* doth very often quote and K cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh year after *Consul*, with *Titus Quintus Pennus*: let every man abound in his own sense, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more then all this may be alleged to prove, that so famous a battle could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence and death of corn: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewailing the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third year, after that *Cossus* was Consul, he was military Tribune in Consuls authority, and in the lame year General of the horsemen also: in which government he fought another notable battle with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guess what he will. I But (as I think) we may toise these things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battle his own self, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Jupiter* himselfe flarding thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to be deceived nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.*]

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientians Country, and the other into the Faliskians; and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for the enemies themselves, no where in the Country were they to be seen, nor any battle was fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not assailed, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons sought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to prevail and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Mintius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Mintius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these murmurs were with the people of less credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sickness still encreasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearful and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the Country were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whilst the Duumvir going afoot pronounced the prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the year following, when *C. Julius* the second time, and *L. Virginius* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, so great a fear of utter desolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whilst the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the Fidenates also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entred now into the lands about *Rome*, and foraged all the Country. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Faliskians could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio*, and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensigns. So the fear was no less within the City than in the Country. Then *Julius* the Consul bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and the

A the walls: whilst *Virginius* assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*, for to shew his opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Sulpicius* surnamed *Longus* (say) *Petrus*, or as other, *Strutius*. *Virginius* making no longer stay then until he had consulted with his Collegues by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, *Publius Licinius*. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate *Collina*, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and ensignes were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City and brought to the Dictator. Whilst these things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawn to the higher grounds, and place of advantage: and thither marched the Dictator with his army in order of battle. And encountering with them not far from *Nonacrium*, he discomfited the legion of the Tullians, and drove them into the town of *Fidene*, and call a trench about it. But neither could the town be taken for the high stre thereof and the strong walls about it: and to lay siege unto it might not avail: for that they had corn not only to suffice the ordinary need of men beaged, but also plenty to spare, of their old store and provision gathered aforehand. Thus the Dictator being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing them to yeild by composition, purposed in certain places for the needfull to him well known, at the backside of the City which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the fittest, to undermine unto the Cattle. And he himself in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army divided into four parts, to assault one another by turns in order: and so, by continual sifting day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay and withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the work under ground: until such time as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up unto the Cattle. And when as the Tullians were wholly amused upon the vain threatnings, and bravadoes of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an outcry, that the town was taken. In this year *C. Furius Pacellus* and *M. Geganius Macerinus*, Centors, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in *Mars* field: and there first by them was held the Sefing, and numbering of the people. I find in *Macer Lacinus*, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and *Q. Tubero*, do name *M. Melius*: and *Q. Sulpicius* for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both *Tubero* and *Macer* protest that they followed the linen Records: and neither of them both conceal that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribunes military, in Consuls authority, *Lacinus* without doubt is added to those linen Registers, and *Tubero* is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

After the winning of *Fidene*, great was the fear in *Heruvia*: whilst not only the Veientians were feared, fearing the like destruction: but the *Falsci* also, remembering they began first with them, albeit they were not assistant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadors abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all *Heruvia*: should be assembled at the Temple of *Vatunna*: the Senate, as if some great troubles were like thereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Marcus Annius* should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Publilius Tubero* was named General of the horsemen. And with so much more endeavor made they preparation of arms than in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Heruvia* banded together, than had been from two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When as therefore news came by Merchants, that the Veientians were flarily denied help, and bidden to end that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun on their own heads: nor seek to embark them in the allocation of their misery and adversity, into whom they had not impaired their mind & hope in their upright state, and when they were in that height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to do some notable piece of work for a monument, seteth in hand to abuse and diminish the Consulship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offended not to match with the greatness of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: Forasmuch as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have undertaken to govern the Common Weale abroad, and performed all safe and sure: I have yet to concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and provide for the freedom of the people of *Rome*. The greatest preservation and defence whereof consist in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: for when they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As

Fidene won by
a Stratagem.

Villa Publica.

A General Diet
at all the
cities about
them.
The Senate
thought good
that Marcus
Annius should
be created
Dictator the
second time.

The Creation
of the Consulship
in Rome.

Four military
Tribuns in
Consular au-
thority.

or the Senates decree were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatening that they would stop the multitudes obtained in the end, that *Quintus* the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it, for that they prevailed: that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority. *T. Quinctius Pennus* immediately from his Consulship. *C. Furius*, *M. Postumius*, and *Corneilius Cossus*: of which *Cossus* had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had misruled, took a journey to *Vei*, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whilst every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entered upon the army thus distracted, whilst some commanded to found a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battle. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was near at hand, thither they retired themselves in safety: so as the flame they got was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was pensive and hereupon forlorn, as not used to take foiles and overthrows. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator: in whom settled over the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of confidence, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the *Agurs* were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribun) nominated *Mamercus Aemilius* Dictator: by whom he was himself also pronounced Grand Master of the horsemen. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true virtue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthily noyed by the Censors.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of *Hernia*, boasting and vaunting that in one battle they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their solliciting, persuade any to be taken to part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of *Fidene* only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wise lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as afore they had embrewed their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then they began with murdering their new received Coloners: and so handed themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make *Vei* or *Fidene* the seat town of the war. *Fidene* was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the *Tiber*, and translated the war to *Fidene*. Great fear was there at *Rome* to see the army of their enemies removed from *Vei*, and implanted at *Fidene*. And being freely danted by their late overthrow besides, they encamped even before the gate *Collina*. On the walls were armed souldiers placed, vacation in all courts of law was ordained, shop windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer then a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight loss and small foil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy or cowardice of the Roman army, but only through the disagreement and difference of the Leaders. "Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they had put to the worst and vanquished: and especially of *Fidene*, which had been often in a manner won, then assailed. As for the Romans and their enemies (saith he) they are even the same still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the same bodily strength, and the same armor: and even my self am the same *Mamercus Aemilius*, and no other, who heretofore discomfited at *Numentum* the Veientians and Fidenians, with the *Falcians* power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he will no doubt be the same General of horsemen in this battle, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a Knight Marshal, slew *Law. Tolomitius* the King of the Veientians, in the fight of two armies: and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armor of him de spoiled. Wherefore ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against the law of all nations: also the massacre of the Fidenian inhabitants, in time of peace: the breaking of truce, and their revelling now seven times to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon therefore in hand like men for I trust assuredly that so soon as we shall join our camps together, and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no longer joy of the shameful discomfite of the Roman army. And the people of *Rome* shall understand, how much better they have delivered of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those, who for clipping the Censors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had discomfited and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach. After this speech, when he had made his vows accordingly: he encamped a mile and an half on this side, and was flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river *Tiber*. And commanded *T. Quinctius Pennus* his Lieutenant, to gain the hills afore and beset secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morning

The Oration
of Mamercus
Aemilius Dic-
tator to the
Citizens of
Rome.

when

A when as the Tribuns, (full of pride and stomach for the prosperous success of former dayes, which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had stayed a while, until the counts and plains brought word, that *Quintus* was gotten back unto the and with his footmen ranged in better array, marched against his enemies with his standards: manding his General of the Horsemen not to charge without his word: not that he thought as need should require, would give the signal for the aid of his army to one in a wilding him: or his rich pretence and oblation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. The legion, armed and mailed, encountered right hardly. The Romans killed and entangled with ran one. These were the Fidenians, wicked and god-like wicked: these the Veientians, Robbers, and with the execrable breakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embassadors: the very first shock forced their enemies to shrink. At which instant as at once, there lifted on the open gates of *Fidene* a strange army, not heard of nor usual, before that day: A mighty number armed with fireworks, and shining all over with burning lights, after a fantastical and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with spirits, upon their enemies: and with the unthought fight of this kind of night, amazed the Romans a pretty while. Then the Dictator busy in flight, having sent both for the General of the Cavalry with his troops of Horsemen, and also for *Quintus* more like then a battle, hatched himself to the left point: which being terrified with a kind of voyce he thus spake: "What will ye be overcome with smoke like a swarm of Bees, and lose your ground and retreat from your naked and unarmed enemies: will ye not put out this fire with right fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and sling them again at their own heads? Go to, I say, like hardy men, mindful of the renown of *Rome*, enemies City, and online *Fidene* into ashes with her own flames: this dishonourable *Fidene*, which by no favors and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win and pacify. The blood of your Embassadors, the blood of your Coloners thither sent to people their City, your Frontiers and Borders by them wasted, put you in mind of no manner revenge. At the Dictators commandment, the whole battallion was moved and encouraged. Some catch the firebrands as they flew, others by force snatch them from them, so that now both battels were armed with fire. The General of Horsemen for his part, smother the horse service: commanding them to pluck the bits out of their Horses mouths, and was the first himself, that setting spurs to, rode with bridle in his hand, into the midst of the fire: and the other Horses also being pricked forward, and aided of their bridles, carried the riders with full career against the enemy. The dust rising together with the smoke, took the light from mens eyes and Horses both. And that sight which blind terrified the soldiers, nothing at all affrighted the Horses. Wherefore there, the men of arms rode, they bore down all afore them as if some Horses had come tumbling upon their heads, there with hapned a new alarm to be heard, with having caused both armies to wonder and listen thereunto, the Dictator cryeth out aloud, That *Quintus* the Lieutenant and his Regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himself reconforing the thou, advanced his ensigns forward more freshly. When as now two armies, and two divers battels, pressed fore upon the Tribuns, and environed them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither fly back to their camp, nor yet retire or withdraw themselves unto the mountains, from whence a fresh supply of enemies, made head, and assisted them: and that the horses being unbridled, carried the riders every way hither and thither the most part of the Veientians ran leaping in disorder and hipping. F then apace towards the *Tiber*, and the Fidenians that remained to the City *Fidene*. But in that fearful flight they ran upon their own death. Some were killed on the banks of the River, others were driven into the water, and the stream and whirlpits carried them away. And even they that were cunning swimmers, what with weariedness, and what with fannings of their wounds and with fright, sunk and were drowned: so that few of any way over in safety. The other army fled through their camp into the City. The same way also the Romans followed for,ibly after and were the foremost souldiers for fight (as who came last into the battle) and so afterwards entered pell-mell among their enemies into the gate, climbed upon the walls, and from the walls fell up a banner to their fellows, in token that they had won the Town. Which as soon as the Dictator perceived (for now by this time had he made an entrance into the fort, and abandoned camp of his enemies) he brought the souldiers, upon desire to run to a spoil, and hoping of a greater salvage in the City, flight into the gate. And being gotten within the walls, marcheth directly forward to the Cattle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to fly for refuge and safety. The execution in the City was no less than in the field: which continued until they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life yielded themselves to the Dictator. So both City and camp was spoiled and sacked. The morning after, the Dictator disposed of his prisoners thus: he drew them by lot, and gave to every Horseman and Centurion one, and to as many as had done more valiantly

The words of
the Dictator
Quintus de-
monstrating
his valour.

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offers they could not break forth to their fellows, gat up unto a certain little Hill, and cast themselves into a ring and flood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting until night. The Consul also maintained the battle so long as he could see, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them asunder, and uncertain it was who had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who sped the better, so great a terror came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their carriages behind, both armies as taking themselves losers, recovered the mountains that were next unto them. Howbeit the Hill or bank aforesaid, continued still better round about, until midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Aſſailants, how that their camp was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, and made shift and fled in the dark as well as they could. *Tempinius*, fearing an ambushment, kept his men there together until day light. Then went he down with a few to discover the coalls: and finding by enquiry made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volſcians were left and forsaken: he was full glad thereat, and called down his souldiers from the mount, and entrench into the Roman camp. Where seeing all void and forlorn, and finding the same desolation which was amongst the enemies: before that the Volſcians upon knowledge of their error should return again, he took with him those hurt souldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Consul was gone, marched forward the next way to the City of *Rome*. And thither already the bruit of this unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those Horſemen were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in public. The Cof. *Fabius*, seeing the City also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might discover the Horſemen aforesaid afar off: but not without some fear of their parts, doubting who they were. But being soon known, they called to great contentment after former fear, that in most joyful manner, the noise went through the City, how the Horſemen were returned safe with victory. And out of those mourning and forlorn will homes, which a while afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran all decent and womanly modestly, went out to meet the army, fell every one with open arms upon their own husbands and sons, took them about the neck, clipped and kissed them, and with all their hand and heart received them: yea, and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves.

The Tribunes of the Commons, who had challenged and accused *M. Posthumus* and *T. Quinctius*, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before *Veii*: seemed to have good occasion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Consul *Sempronius* into strife and new hatred and disgrace. For to remove the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them, having assembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Commonwealth was betrayed first, at *Veii* by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went clear away withal, and unpunished, therefore the army in *Volſci* was likewise lost by the Consul: and that a troop of most valiant knights were thus cast away and given to be murdered, and the camp shamefully left and forsaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribunes, commanded *Tempinius* the Horſeman to be called and before them all said, "I would know of thee O *Sextus Tempinius*, whether thou think that *C. Sempronius* the Consul, either began battle in good time, or strengthened his battalions with good succors and supplies: or whether thou thy self, when as the Roman legions and footmen were discomfited, of thine own head and policy, caused the Horſemen to alight on foot, and thereby reinforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of arms were shut out from our battle, whether either the Consul himself came to relieve, or sent any succor unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadst any aid or relieve at all? Whether thou and thy troop of Horſemen brake through into the camp by your own hardiness and valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Consul or army, or rather the pavilions abandoned, and the souldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To these premises and points, he hath thou to speak this day upon thy virtue, and the faith of a souldier: by which only, in this new war-service the Commonwealth hath flood preserved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where our legions be? Whether thou wert forsaken thy self, or whether thou forsookest the Consul and the army? And to conclude, whether we have lost or won the field? To these demands, *Tempinius* made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy speech like a souldier: not full of flattery, nor shewing any gladness for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what sufficiency is in *C. Sempronius*, it is not for me a souldier to judge, nor yet to make any estimate of my General: but it was the people of *Rome* to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voices. In a solemn Election, they chose him Consul. "And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the policies of a General Captain, or virtues and duties of a Consul: deep points to be examined, weighed, and discomfired by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I with mine eye saw, I am able to make report and testify: namely, That before himself was excluded out of the battle, I beheld the Consul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging his men earnestly, and even amongst the Roman Standards, and Pikes of the enemies, busily employed. After which I was carried from the fight of my fellows, howbeit by the stir, noise and shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude

The Interrogatories tendered unto *Tempinius* by *C. Julius* a Tribune of the Commons.

The modest answer of *Tempinius*, to the former Interrogatories.

A "of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not: But I suppose, that as I myself in an extremity and fearful case, defended myself and my men, by advantage of the ground: so the Consul for to save the army, took some more late place to encamp in. Neither think I verily, that the Volſcians stood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the darkness of the night (no doubt) caused error and confusion on every side, and in all places. After which speech when as he brought them, not to hold him any longer wearied with travel, and faint of his wounds: he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his modest speech, licenced to depart.

While these things thus passed, the Consul by that time, had marched by the way of *Lavinium* as far as to the Temple of *Quir*: thither were wains, draught-beasts and murtherers sent from the City, to receive and safe the army, toiled out with fight, and tired by journeying all night. Within a while after, the Cof. entered into the City: who endeavored not more, to get the fault from himself, than to extol *Tempinius*, and give him his due deserved praise. Now whiles the City was sad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry also with the Captains: behold, *M. Posthumus*, who before had been accused, was now presented to the people, for to wreak their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribune Military in place of a Cof. at *Veii* and now was condemned, & a sinner on his head often thousand Alkes of blame. But as for *Lucius Quinctius*, his fellow in government, because that among the Volſcians he had served so fortunately as Consul, under the conduct of *Posthumus* *Libertus* the Dictator: and likewise at *Indus*, as Lieutenant of the other Dictator *M. Aemilius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time on himself upon his college before condemned: he was found ingenuity and acquit by all the Tribes. It is said that the fresh remembrance of his father *Cicero*, late a right worshipful citizen, helped him much: Yea, and *Capitellus Quinctius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly brought them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, or to be the carrier of so heavy news unto *Cicero*'s war. The Commons made Tribunes of the commonalty, *Sextus Tempinius*, *A. Silius*, *Sex. Aufidius*, and *Sex. Pomponius* in their absence, whom also the Horſemen had chosen for their Captains or Centurions, in the former exploit, by the advice and counsel of *Tempinius*. But the Senators, because now for hatred of *Sempronius*, the name of Consuls milked and offended them, determined that military Tribunes with Consuls authority, should be created. So there were chosen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius*, *M. Aemilius*, *L. Pappus*, *M. Aemilius*.

In the very beginning of the year *L. Horatius* the fifth Tribune of the commonalty, accused *C. Sempronius* the Consul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the fight of the people of *Rome* brought him not to trouble their guidle, Captain, in whom nothing could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverse fortune: *Horatius* could hardly abide, but thought it was but to prove and trye his resolute countance: and that the party accused, trusted not upon the prayer and intercession of the Tribunes, which only for a shew was pretended, but upon their support and assistance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempronius* himself, demanded what was become of that hantty courage and stomack, so ordinary in those of Senators calling? and where was that magnanimity which relied and relied upon himself? That he being a Consul, was fain to shelter and shrowd himself under the shadow and protection of the Tribunes? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribunes: but you my Masters (quoth he) what will ye do? if I prosecute mine action against him this, and convict him in the end: Will ye take from the people their right and overthrow the authority of the Tribunes among the Commons? When they again said and inferred, that the people of *Rome* had absolute power: to do what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others: and that they neither would, could abridge the people of their judgment, but if (say they) our prayers in the behalf of our General, who was to us in stead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change our need for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth *Horatius*) The Commons of *Rome* shall never see their Tribunes arrayed in soiled and mournful apparel. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now more to say to him, since that he hath carried himself to, whiles he was General, as that he hath gained thus much, as to be so dearly beloved of his souldiers. Neither was the kindness of those four Tribunes more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Horatius*, who at their reasonable request, was so easy to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune frowned upon the *Aequians*: who embraced the doubtful victory of the Volſcians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when *C. F. Posthumus*, *Libertus*, and *T. Quinctius* *Capitellus*, the son of *Capitellus*, were Consuls: by the leading of *Fabius*, unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For when as the *Aequians* had made semblance of a battle, and brought their army only to fight, they were in fearful wise soon discomfited, and shamefully fled, mislending no matter of great honor to the Cof. And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominy of the loss which he suffered by *Sempronius*, was partly allayed it was granted that he might enter *Orant* into the City. A General was said to enter *Orant* into the City, when ordinarily without his army following him he went on foot, or rode on horseback only, and the people in their Acclamations for joy, redoubled *Ose* or *Ose*. So that *Ostio* is almost as *Ostio*: Howsoever, some think that *Ostio* took the name of sacrificing a sheep. But he rode in triumph, when his souldiers attended him in his chariot crying *To Triumph*, in this he carried a branch or warre a garland of laurel, in the order of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a less honor than the Triumph. And it was

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hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of *Questors*, they both shewed and revenged. For this was the first time that the *Questors* were made of the commonalty: so that in chusing of them, there was but one place left for *C. Fabius Ambustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, *Q. Silvius*, *P. Atilius*, and *P. Papirius*, were preferred before young Gentlemen, of most noble families. I find that the perivaders of the people to use their full liberty in bellowing their voices, were the three *Ides*, defended of that house, which ever was most maliciously bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen *Tribuns* of the commonalty, and possessed the peoples heads with a world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flatter gave out and said, They would not stir at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of *Questors*, which only the *Senat.* had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of *Questorship* to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overture for new risen upstarts, to be advanced to *Consulships* and triumphs. The Nobles contrary-wise stormed, nor for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the utter losse thereof: protesting that if things went to an end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more: who being put from their Ancestors place, and seeing others in possession of their dignity should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the state, and be good for nothing but only to be made *Priests* for *Mars*, and *Flamines* for *Jupiter*, employed about nothing else but to sacrifice (forsooth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds nettled and provoked, & whiles the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them and maintain their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the *Questors* Election (if it lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of *Comitils*, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the *Ides* perilled still, and urged the point, that in any hand *Tribuns* Military should and must be created. For now it was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no Action hitherto belonging to the offices and charge of the *Consuls* had been presented unto them, by the hindering whereof they might wring from them, that which they desired and fought for. But see, how even then, in wonderful good opportunity, word was brought that the *Volscians* and *Aequians* were departed out of their own Confinnes, and made an expedition into the Latine pale for to rob, and spoil. To the which war, when as by virtue of an order from the *Senat.* the *Consuls* began to muster: the *Tribuns* laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occurred furnished happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick active and courageous men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worthily defended. Whereof *Spurius* took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the *Comitils*, to keep them at work, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to entertain the commonalty: and in all assemblies, by their Orations, one whiles to rein them in, another while to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither *Consuls* went through with the musters, nor the *Tribuns* with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that whiles the soldiers that *M. Iulius* in garrison at the *Castle Carventana*, were departed to get a booty, the *Aequians* having slain a few warders that kept the hold, entered it: and that all the soldiers were slain: some as they ran into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so cross against the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designs of the *Tribuns*. For being dealt withal, that now at length they would run ease from hindering the war, nothing would prevail: for that they neither gave place to the public calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of *Senat.* was granted for to chuse *Tribuns* Military. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated: That none of them who had been *Tribuns* that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no, nor chosen again *Tribuns* of the Commons for the year following. Whereby no doubt, the *Senat.* noted and pointed at the *Ides*, whom they charged to seek to be *Consuls*, for a reward of their seditious *Tribunship*. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all the States.

Sundry Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the *Consuls* went to the *Castle Carventana*, or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foreaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had filled the *Castle* a long time without effect, they were compelled from thence to remove: and that *Verrius* in the Country of the *Volscians* by the lame army was recovered, and that great foraging there was, and driving of booties both in the Country of the *Aequians* and also of the *Volscians*. Now at *Rome*, as the victory of the commonalty rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so in the issue and success of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all menshope and expectation there were three *Tribuns* Military chosen with *Consul* authority, all of the Nobility, *C. Julius*, *Tullius*, *Cn. Cornелиus*, *Cassius*, *C. Servilius* *H. U.* Men say that the Nobles used a subtle practice and cunning device, which even then the *Ides* charged them with: to wit, that by intermingling a many of unworthy and unmeet competitors with others of mark and quality, they had charmed the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable benefit that appeared in their persons.

After

A After this, tidings came, that the *Volscians* and *Aequians* (were it that the *Cattle of Carventana* which they held and guarded still, put them into some hope: or their garrison and fort lost at *Verrius* drove them into anger) were up in arms, with armour ready to make war: that the *Antistates* were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their *Embassadors* had told the people of both nations, rebuking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and enticing the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of *Verrius* to be surprized and lost. Moreover, that not only bolts of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were planted in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themselves had bestowed upon the *Ides*, the town *Verulanum*, which they had won from them. At these speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whither they went to solicit, the younger fort and men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those nations, gathered together to *Arretinum*, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, caused more fear then need was, And the *Senat.* presently (which in all such emergencies was ever their last remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created. Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two military *Tribuns* (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereto craved much heart-burning and dissention, whiles the *L. U.* of the *Senat.* of one side complained in vain of their grievances: That the *Tribuns* Military would not be ordered by the authority of the *Senat.*: and at the last had recourse to the *Tribuns* of the Commons for help, alleging withal that the very *Consuls* power upon the like occasion had been by their authority overruled and set down. And the *Tribuns* of the Commons on the other side, rejoicing at the discord of the *Senators*, made answer again, and said, That for their parts, they were not able to yield in court at all, who were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the *Role* of Citizens, nor yet to much as in the number of men. But if to be (say they) dignities and honors were communicated to us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrate whatsoever, the *Senats* decree should be made frustrate and dismantled. And in the mean whiles, seeing the Nobles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magistrates, let them of themselves also exercise the *Tribuns* authority if they would. This discord falling out so unfitly, when as great war was in hand, occupied and possessed mens heads a long time: whiles *Julius* and *Cornelius* one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were Captains good enough for the conduct of such a war, it was not meet that the honour on a belittled upon them by the people, should be made void and taken from them. Then *Spurius H. U.*, who also was a *Tribun* Military spake and said: I have been silent thus long not for that I was doubtful in mine opinion, or to seek what to say. For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his advice by himself, and go from the publick Council? But because I had rather, that my brethren of their own accord should give place to the *Senats* authority, than to suffer the *Ides* power to be called for, against them. And even now also if the state would permit, I could willingly give them time and space to retract their too too obstinate, perverse and preposterous opinion. But seeing that the necessities of war, wait not upon hum in counsel, I will have no more respect and consideration of the *Well*-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. What, forsooth, if the *Senat.* persist still in that mind and resolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominate a Dictator. And if any one withstand me I will ask no more, than the power and virtue of the *Senats* Act. By which speech of his, having won deserved praise and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictator, and was himself by him nominated General of the foreaid war. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Collegues, that otherwhies far more in honor somewhat fall to them that least desire the same. The war was small and nothing more than in one case and light battle were the enemies overthrow and slain at *Arretinum*. The army upon this victory wasted the *Volscians* Country, won by force the *Castle* upon the lake *Verulanum*, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the *Volscians* within their walls. F not able to keep their frontiers, the Dictator after he had performed this war in such sort, as only he might not seem to neglect his wonted fortune but keep it still in fire, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and resigned up his place.

The *Tribuns* Military, making no words at all of the chusing of *Comitils* (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictator had been created) published the election of *Tribuns* Military. But then the *Senators* were in greater care and perplexity, seeing their cause betrayed even by riot of their own company. Wherefore, as in the former year, by foisting in the battle of the Commons for competitors, they had caused even men of good worth to be deprived: so, now by promoting the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, to stand for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could be chosen. So there were created four, *G. all* having aforeborn that Magistracy, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Cn. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Servilius H. U.* This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other virtues and worthy parts, as for the late favour which he won by his rare moderation, and singular carriage of himself.

In that year, as far as the time of truce with the *Veientian* Nation was expired, they began by *Embassadors* and *Heralds of Arms* to challenge of them amends and restitution. Whom as they entered into their territory, the *Embassage* of the *Veientians* encountered in the way requesting them not to go forward to *Veii*, before they had presented themselves to the *Senat.* of *Rome*. Who

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Who being thither come, obtained of the Senat, that for as much as the Veientians were at civil discord among themselves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other mens distreses and calamity. Alot the Volscians hands they sustained damage by loss of their garison at *Verugo*. But (see what a thing it is to slack the time) For whereas the souldiers besieged there, by the Volscians and lending for aid in due time, might have been rescued if speed had been made, the army which was sent for succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Only this exploit they did: The enemies, who after their fresh massacre committed upon the garison, were gone abroad fragling for to raise booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The cause of this slackness was imputed to the Senat, rather than the foveraign Tribuns: who became intelligence was given, that they in the garison resisted and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no prowess of man whatsoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched, Most brave and valiant souldiers they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unreverenced.

The year following, when *P. and Cornelius* both surnamed *Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *L. Valerius Potinus* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority, began the Veientian war by occasion of a proud and arrogant answer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claim amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed presently out of the City and Country, they would serve them as *Lars Tullianus* had done others before. The Senators of *Rome* hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, K that the Military Tribuns should propole unto the people as speedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and sending defiance to the Veientians, Which as soon as ever it was noised and published, the younger fort and men of service, murmured and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not fully ended the war with the Volscians: that even of late two whole garisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the forts kept fill with danger and great hazard, There is not (say they) a year pasteth over our heads, but one field or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now intended new war with a most mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to raise against us all *Hetruria*. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, and utter these speeches, so the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more matters into their heads, and set all on a light fire: Who gave out fill, That when all was done, the greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpose were to be coiled out with travel or warfare, and exposed to the enemies for to be murdered: and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and sent out of the way: left by being quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they should come to suit and devise, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. And ever as they could meet with any old beaten souldiers, they would hold them with talk, take them by their hands reckon up how many years they had done service in war, fall to telling of their gashes and scars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to spend and shed, in the quarrel of the M Common wealth? When as by irritating these and such like speeches, both in their private talk and conference, and also other whiles in their publick assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the foresaid Aet propounded, was put off until a farther day, and lay fill for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have passed farther, in case it had been referred and subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they stood affected. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns should conduct an army into the Volscians country. *Cn. Cornelius* alone was left at *Rome*. The three Tribuns after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battell parted themselves three ways to waste and forrage the frontiers, *Valerius* he marched to *Antium*, *Cornelius* to *Ecetra*. And every way as they went, they spoiled all before N them, both house and field, and all to amule & keep the Volscians occupied that way, But *Fabius* them, both house and field, and all to amule & keep the Volscians occupied that way, But *Fabius* without any forraging at all, came directly to assault *Anxur*, which was the service most desired, Now *Anxur* was that, which at this day is called *Tarracina*: a City seated upon marshes. And on that side *Fabius* made shew of assault, but having gained the hill that over-looketh and commandeth the town from that higher ground, with a mighty shout and outcry assailed the wall, where it was furnished of guard to defend it. At which sudden alarm, they were amazed who manned the wall of the bale town again: *Fabius* and suffered them to set ladders to, and to scale. By which means every place was full of enemies, and those that resisted armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weak, yet forced were they to fight: because in yielding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made that none but armed men should be killed, all the multitude besides willingly were disarmed. Of which number there were upon 2500. taken alive. From the sassage *Fabius* kept the souldiers, until his Collegues were come: saying that *Anxur* was taken as well by those armies, which had driven away the rest of the Volscians from the defence of that place, as by themselves. Who being come, the three armies jointly ransacked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time, Which

A Which courtesie and bountifullnes of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this ministration of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a most happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribuns made the motion, the Senat decreed, that souldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber: whereas before that time, every man in that service had born his own charges. Never was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Council house: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and said, "They were now truly called *Patres*, Fathers, confessing that now the day was come, that in the quarrel of so bounteous a City, there was no man would to long as his wealth lasted: yet in their limbo of life, seeing that this commoditie they should have to keep their money, that during the time that their bodies were employed, and busily occupied in the defence of the Commonwealth, their private estate should stand at one yet and not decay. And something as it came of themselves, and never moved by any of the Tribuns of the Commons, not a cad dier and craved importunately, by their importune speeches; that was it, that multiplied their joy and made the boon to themselves more acceptable. But the Tribuns of the Commons (who only had not their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinions, and said, that it would not prove so joyous and happy to the Nobles in general, as they supposed: that this counte and order taken, was at the first sight better then it would be found in the practice and execution. For how could that money possibly be made and raised but by laying a tribute or due of payment of the people? they were therefore liberal: but of others mens purse. But admit, or say, that the rest would bear it, yet those neither could nor would endure it, who were past war service, and lived upon their pensions and annuities: who would grudge and repine, that others hereafter should serve in war for more gain then they had in their time done; who having been charged with the pay of their own service, should now again be put to contribute to the wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Commonalty. Lall of all, when there was a levy exacted, the Tribuns also proclaimed, that they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the souldiers pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had so well begun, and were the first that opened their purses, and for that as yet they had no silver coin, some of them carried gross pieces of brass in Wains, and for that as D house, and made a goodly shew of Contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth: the chief of the Commons also, friends of the Nobility, as it was now agreed, began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common sort saw both to be commended of the Nobles, and to be admired and revered, of the souldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a sudden, refusing the Tribuns assidue cry, began to strive who should pay first. And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaiming war against the Veientians, the new Tribuns Military led an army to *Veio*, consisting much upon voluntary souldiers. Now the Tribuns were *I. Quintus Capitolinus*, *P. Quintus Ciceronius*, *C. Julius Tullus* the second time, *A. Marcius*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, and *M. Emilius MamerCUS*. And there were the first that besieged *Veio*.

E About the beginning of which siege, when the Tuscans held a Council in a solemn assembly at the Temple of *Faustina*, they could hardly agree upon this point, Whether the Veientians should be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the second not to hot, by reason that some of the Tribuns, and part of the forces, were called away to the Volscian war. The Tribuns Military in Consil authority, that year were *C. Fabius Potinus* the third time, *M. Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Maluginus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, *Sp. Naevius Rapinus* the second time. With the Volscians there was a night field fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetra*; wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribuns began to lay siege to *Ardea*: a Town of the Volscians: where, by reason of a falling fort by them attempted, the enemies were driven back into the town, and the Romans took occasion and vantage the city, F to break in with them pell mell, and to they won it, save only the Castle. Into this town naturally flocked, a good company of armed men betook themselves: but beneath the Castle, in one place, a man was either slain or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the town besieged all on a sudden, and by assault before, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it: considering the height of the place: nor gave the assailants any hope of yielding, for before the town was lost, they had conveyed all their publick provision or corn into the Castle. So that the Romans had every weariness departed from thence, but that a household army of men, who were in the souldiers at a steep high place, and those were they that won the fortress: for when the warders were by them slain, the rest of the multitude with sudden might were upon the town, and receded. Thus, when both the Castle and town of *Ardea* was lost and spoiled, the legions were brought back from the Volscians, and all the Roman power employed against *Veio*. To the traitor or rebel, there was given besides liberty, the pillage of two householders for a reward. And he was ordered after *Servilius Reginus*, There be that think *Anxur* was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians: the occasion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between *Cora* and *Veio*. For that town the Roman Kings destroyed, and before it was the *Cereses*, and not to the Veientians: but this town, whereof we have reported the destruction, was in the country of the Volscians.

"how it would not be only profitable, but also necessary, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now for this time, I list rather to treat and speak of the present condition and state of those, that are employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only, but also in the camp, and there answared and fanned of by the very army it self, I suppose, would seem equal, and be received for good and reasonable. Wherein, if nothing else should come in to my head to speak, I would content my self, and rest satisfied with the only speeches given out by the very adversaries. They said of late, I that pay was not to be allowed to the soldiers, for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and so malecontent, if they who have home new commodity coming to them, be enjoined also new labour proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, nor gain commonly without travel and employment. Pains and pleasure, things of themselves in nature most unlike, yet by a natural kind of society (I know not how) are linked together. The soldier (aforetime) thought much to bellow his labour & service upon the Common-wealth, at his own proper charges; yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year, he might look to home, husband his land, and get maintenance to find himself and his, both at home in City and abroad in war. Now, taketh he contentment and is well pleased, that the Common-wealth is gainful to him; and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewise be content, with patience to forbeare his house and family (since he is at no great charge) somewhat longer than ordinary. Might not the Common-wealth, if he would call him to a reckoning, justly say? Yearly pay thou hast, perform therefore thy yearly service? Dost thou think it reason, to receive full wages for the whole year? and to be employed but six months for it? Much against my Stomach. O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell still in this one part of my Oration: for in this wise ought they to reason that have merenary and hired soldiers: but we will use them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewise that they entreat us kindly, and speak unto us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all; or else to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of Rome, to finish it with all speed possible. And finished it will be, if we press upon our enemies thus besieged: if we depart not where we have accomplished our hope, by the winning of *Veii*. And surely, if there were no other cause but this, even the very shame and indignity of the thing, might force us to continue siege unto the end. In old time the whole power of *Greece* laid siege full ten years to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home? how many lands and seas between? Are we then loth and weary within 30, miles of our dwelling place, and almost in the sight of our own City, to endure the toil of one years siege? Because (forsooth) we have but small cause given us to war: and not griefs enough that might justly provoke us to abide and see the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace never were they true. Our Country have they spoiled and wasted a thousand times. The Fidenates they have caused to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have slain: and against all law of nations they were the principal instruments of that unworthy and unhuman murder of our Embassadors. All *Hetruria* would they have raised up against us, and at this day about it they go. And when our Embassadors came to demand amends, they had like to have run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with these kind of men to stand at a bay and to war coldly and by leaseure? But if so just an hatred as this move us not: do these things (I pray you) move whither move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep trenches: blocked with mighty fortresses, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what so ever was afore tilled, hath been destroyed by war. If we dislodge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for desire only of revenge, but upon necessity also and constraint to prey of other mens goods, having lost their own) will invade and over run our country? So that by this means we defer not the war, but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly indeed concerneth soldiers (of whom our good Tribunes of the Commons would now in all N the halfe seem to have to great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wrested their wages;) but what is that (I say)? A trench they have at a rampart and platform they have raised, (matters of exceeding travel and labour) for about: fortresses at the first a few, but after as their army increased, they have erected very thick in every place. Forts they have built, not only to command the town, but also looking toward *Hetruria*, to impeach any relief, if any aid should from thence come. What should I speak of the rolling frames and towers, the mantlets and other Fabricks? What should I speak of the Tarraces, Tortoises, Rams, and all other engines of assault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after so great toil and pains taken, now that the works at length are brought to an end, these things should be left and abandoned, that against summer we should be new to begin again, and sweat afresh about the same? How much less travail rather is it to keep these munitions already made? to be instant, and constant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For surely we may soon dispatch the service, if it be played thoroughly and followed on till without stay; and if we ourselves by these intermissions and respites between, make not a long piece of work of it, and draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and loss of time. What else? Considering these so many Parliaments, these Diets and Councils continually in Tuscany, about sending aid to *Veii*, can we forget the danger that we incur by deserting the War? Indeed (as things

now

A "now presently stand) I confess the Tuscans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and deny to lend: and for anything by them done, we might win *Veii* out of hand. But who dare warrant, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the same mind? Seeing that if the Veientians have any rest and breathing time given them, they are like to send forth their Embassadors, and those more honourable than heretofore. And as the King who newly is set up and created at *Veii* (the only thing that now offendeth the Tuscans, and the Trojans of themselves are changed for another governor, either by agreement of the State, chiefly to receive the hearts of the Tuscans, or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that he principally intendeth to be hurtful to the safety of his subjects. See how many things, how many in our opinion should be low and ensue upon that course and manner of proceeding. The loss of the City, and the incursions, with so great labour already prepared and at hand, the imminent and present writings of our own borders: the Tuscans war in mind, of the Veientians the imminent and present writings, are much what like to his, that offering a sick man some kind of meat or drink, for the very present to gratifie him withal, to please his palate and to content his taste, neglecteth his disease long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in case that he would have resolutely endured the right cure of a skilful Physician. And surely, if it were not material to the managing of this war in hand, yet would it import much to martial discipline, that our soldiers should be acquainted, not only with the sweet fruit of a victory achieved, but also if occasion required longer time, to abide this tedious, slow, and to wait for the end of their hope, be it never so long; and if war be not finished in summer, to stay for winter: and not as summer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and seek for housing, harbour and covert. Consider, I beseech you, and see, The love and pleasure of hunting carrieth men into mountains, woods and forests: through frost and snow, after their game: still not we then be the like inference in the needful exploits of war, which hath pastimes, sports, and delights, are wont to draw and teth out of us? Think we the bodies of our soldiers to be delicate, to be hearts so tender and delicate that they cannot for one winter abide in the climate of their home, but must needs war as men at sea, watching times and seasons, and observing the quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both part, being heat and chilling, cold? They would shiver and be abashed verily, if a man should therewith charge them, that they would stand still in this, and touch, That they had both in body and mind manlike tolerance and patience: and that they were soldiers as well for winter as summer: and that they yet not the Tuscans were, for their patronage of cowardice and shelter of idleness: but remembered well enough, that their forefathers were not under shade for fear of sun-burning, nor had their bones over their heads for taking cold, when they first created and ordained that magistracy of Tribunes. This rather is becoming the valour of your soldiers, this fitteth well the name of Romans not to shew their eye upon *Veii* only, and this war now in hand, but to seek for fame and glory both by their exploits, and also with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would ensue hereupon a small crack of credit, and hazzard of reputation? Would ye have the mighty nations confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of Rome, That a City could receive their first brunt, and abide their assault for a very small while, it need not alter to fear any more. Or rather should not this dread and terror of our name spread all abroad, both far and near? That no wearisomness of long siege and assault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to rattle the Roman army from any town once by them invested? as knowing no other end of war but victory, and whole manner of service is not by way of violent force more, then of obstinate continuance, which (as in all other military occasions) for in besieging of Cities is most needful: the greatest number whereof, being either by strong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural situation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirst, procs and trait of time on ye doth force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) *Veii* at length: unless the Tribunes of the commonalty favour our enemies: unless that the Veientians find relief and aid at *Veii*, which they seek in vain throughout all *Hetruria*. For can there ought happen to the Veientians, which is wished for, as that first the City of Rome should be full of variance, and then the Camp, as it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwise I shure you, amongst the enemies, so good order there is and government, that neither the redemption of a siege, nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath caused any stir or commotion among them. Nor the denial of help from the Tuscans hath one whit troubled and discomfited their minds: nor the die be shall forthwith, that is the author of sedition. Neither shall any man therein be suffered to speak those words, which are spoken here amongst you without any punishment or controlling. He deserteth the ballando, to be dry beaten and well called that to flinch his Colours, or departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open assemblies, they that persuade and counsel not one or two soldiers, but whole armies to leave their standards and ensigns, and abandon the very camp, have audience with applause. Informeth, that who so ever a Tribune of the Commons speaketh, although it were to beray the City, and undo the whole State, yet is he not to be hearken and give good ear to him: and being raised and carried away with the sweetness of that authority, ye suffer under it to link any mischief whatsoever. There remaineth now no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the same they might iterate in the camp among the soldiers, to corrupt the army, and not suffer them to obey their Captains. For to such licentious liberty they are grown at Rome, that they fear and reverence neither:

"neither Cuncel nor Magistrate, neither Laws nor ancient Customs, neither Decree of Senators, nor yet the Discipline of Military service.

Now was *Appius* with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns, and able to meet them at every turn: But *Vet* (a thing that no man would have thought) a loss and foil received before *Vet* in de *Appius* to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent desire to assail *Vet* more hotly, and to besiege it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount near unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and roofed mantlets, whiles (*Hay*) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch their Fabricks, as they were buke and earnest in the day time to rear and plant them; behold, all of a sudden the enemies opened a gate and aimed in great numbers, especially with burning firebrands, set all on a light fire: and in the space of one hour consumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had cost so long time in making. And many a man besides that came to help (but in vain) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at *Rome*, made all men heavy and sad, and caused the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might possibly prevent and stay, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting lest that the Tribuns would have insinued over the Common-weal, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and so assailed, and had no hopes of service assigned them from the City, after some consultation together among themselves, suddenly came into the Senat: and having liberty granted of speech, promised to serve in the wars with hostes of their own. After that the Senat had right honourably thanked and given them the most gracious words, the news thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a sudden the Commons came running unto the Council house, saying, that as they were then to serve as footmen, so they offered their service to the Commonweal extraordinarily without murthering, whether they should be led either to *Vet*, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to *Vet*, they would not return again (they say) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators so exceedingly joyed above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemen afore, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Council house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keep themselves within the Council house door. But every one of them in his own behalf, so well as he could signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the Comitium, a general joy conceived: saying, That the City of *Rome* in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemen, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confessing that now they had surpassed the courtesie and bounty of the Senat. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy were again who could weep most, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decree was made, That the Tribuns Military should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemen and footmen, and promise in the name of the Senat, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindness to their Country: and to signify that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary service to willing, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there were assigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horseback for money. This voluntary army marched to *Vet*, and not only repaired again the works which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the City was provision of victual brought, with greater care of convey than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an army so well delivering of the Common-weal.

The year following for their Military Tribuns in Consuls authority, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius P. Virginus*, *Q. Sulpicius A. Maenius* the second time, and *M. Servius* the second time. In these Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the Veientian war, the fort of *Auxur* being neglected, by occasion that the garrison soldiers were disbanded and ranged much abroad, and commonly received Volcian Merchants into the town, was suddenly surprised, by reason that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Less company of soldiers there were slain: because that all of them (besides those that were sick) found themselves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawless lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better success at *Vet*, wherein retired the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angered one at another, than courageous against the enemy: but also the forces of the enemies were encreased by the sudden coming of the Captains and the *Falisci*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, because they inhabited next, supposing when *Vet* should be forced and lost, that their turn would be next to be warred upon by the Romans: and the *Faliscians* besides, upon a special grudge and old quarrel of their own, for that aforetime in the Fidenat war, they had intermeddled and interessed themselves, sent their Embassadors to and fro, and by binding themselves by a solemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Vet*. And by chance they assailed that side and quarter, where *M. Servius* a Military Tribun had the charge of a fence. Who gave a great alarm and caused exceeding fright: because the Romans supposed certainly that all *Hetruria* was raised out of every part, and there presents, with all the power they could make. The same imagination animated the Veientians also within the City, to make a fall. So was the Camp of the

A the Romans assailed on both sides. And whiles they ran together up and down, and turned their enigma every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the strength of their fortifications, nor yet repulse the violence from their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themselves from their foreign enemies behind: their only hope was to have help from the greater legions: that the legions in sundry places might make head, some against the Capenates and the *Falisci*, others against the tally of the townsmen. But *Virginus* had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice against *Servius*, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that most of the Fabricks and buttresses were shattered, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both sides charged busily, kept his

B soldiers well appointed in arms: saying, that if there were any need of help, his colleague should lend unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not so arrogant and insolent, but the other was as pensive and willful. Who because he would not seem to seek into his adversity, nor crave aid at his hand, chose rather to be vanquished of his enemy, than to overcome him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them for a good while the poor soldiers went to wrack, and were slain. At the last, forsaking their ramparts, a very few of them escaped into the main camp. But the most part, with *Servius* himself, went thorough to *Rome*. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginus* should be sent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputie, and Lieutenant should command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a

C taunting and reviling: and many hard terms were dealt between them. Few there were that rendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the LL. of the Senat thought good, howsoever that so shameful chance happened either through the default, or unhappy fortune of the Captains, not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that presently there should be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the Calends of October. To which opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing grieved it. But *Servius* and *Virginus* (for whose sake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magistrates that year) at the first made means to bring them not to disgrace and discredit them soon afterward away to cross the decree: saying that they would give over their place, before the Ides of December, which was the last and final day of entering yearly into new offices. Amid this business, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept silence even against their wills, so long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City prospered, upon a sudden brake out and threatened sharply the two Tribuns Military, that unless they would submit themselves, and rest in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then *C. Servilius Hala*, a Military Tribun, stood up and said, As for you and your threats, O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly see once that there were no more power and authority in these here, then will and tomack in you. But who teacheth not that there is no striving against the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear

D you to seek opportunity and occasion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren let their parts shall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or else if they shall continue E stubborn still in their contumacy, I will presently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave their office. This speech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terrors and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridle magistrates: the two military Tribuns afore said, were overweighed with the consent of all parties, and held a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the Calends of October: and before that day they resigned up their places. Thus were L. *Valerius Potitus* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the second time, *M. Aemilius Mancinus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambulstus*, and *L. Julius Tellus*, Tribuns military in Consuls authority.

In whose time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not only F they had war in sundry places at one time, namely at *Vet*, at *Capena*, against *Faliscians*, and with the *Volscians*, to the end that *Auxur* might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at *Rome* also, what about murtherers and paying the tribute for soldiers pay there was much trouble. Besides, there was some variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the ret: and the two arraignments of those, who a little before had governed in Consuls authority, caused no small stir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the murther should go forward. Neither were the younger fort and serviceable men only prest forth, but the elder also compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the number of soldiers, so much more money they needed for their payment. And the same was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as carried at home. For that besides the levy G they were enjoined to become soldiers also in defence of the City and to serve in person for the Commonwealth. These things, grievous as they were of themselves, to be the seditious Orations of the Tribuns in their assemblies, they seemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and discoursed thus, That wages was appointed for soldiers to this end, only that what by warfare, and what with exactions and impositions, they might undo the Commons, and make an end of them at once for ever. One war (say they) hath now continued three years, and the time, for the purpose, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one murther there were armies enrolled for no fewer than four wars, whereunto bareheaded boyes and old craven men,

"were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or summer: so as the poor Commons at no time can have any rest. Who now at last are taxed also and raked to the uttermost, so that after they have brought home with their bodies overtoiled with travel, weakened with wounds, and last of all, wasted and spent with age: and finding all things at home unhusbanded by reason of the long absence of the masters and owners, they must beain to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick flock, and repay again with great ulury to the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon interest.

Between the mutters of one side, and the levy of souldiers pay on the other side, and their minds occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not fully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, there should be some of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to impeach and overthrow the Tribuns law, it was effected or brought to pass that they should assume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, *C. Lacerius*, and *Marcus Attilius*, by the might and practise no doubt of the *Patritii*. It hapned, so that the same year *C. Trebonius* was a Tribun of the Commons, who would seem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law *Trebonia*, and discharge it as a duty to that name and house belonging. He spake aloud and said, "That whereas the Tribuns Military had won that, whereof some of the Nobles had born the repute in their first suit, and that the Law *Trebonia* was disannulled, in that certain Tribuns of the Commonalty were taken into their fellows, not by suffrages and free voices of the people, but by the rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that pass, that either Noble men, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribunes of the Commons: that their sacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority writted from out of their hands by violence: all these inconveniencies he complained to have hapned through the fraudulent practise of the Nobles: and the mischievous lewdness and treachery of his own companions in office. Thus whilst there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not the Nobles only, but also the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Attilius*, and *Munatius*, fearing some fireward turn, like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virginius*, (the Tribuns military of the former year) and by serving process, giving them a day to answer, turned from themselves the anger and displeasure of the Commons, upon those two persons: publishing openly, "That whosoever were grieved for the mutters and the Tribute, whosoever thought the war long, and the continual soldiery tedious, whosoever sorrowed for the damage and discomfiture received at *Vei*, whosoever for the loss of their Children, Brethren, Kinsfolk, or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful honies: to them they offered liberty and power to vent their publick and privat grief, upon these two guilty persons and offenders, *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the very causes of all the mischiefs and calamities that were hapned. For why? the adversary charged them with no more then was confessed by the very parties: who finding themselves both faulty, laid the blame one upon the other: whilst *Virginius* reproached *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treason to *Virginius*; his charge, in that he denied his help in time of need. For to say they were both of them so inconsiderate and foolish, were to speak beyond all compass of belief. But much more likely it was, that there was some packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practised of set purpose, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritii*. By whose means both at the first the Veientians gat opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and prolong the war, and also now the army was bought and sold, and the Roman camp betrayed to the *Volscians*. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax old at *Vei*, and that the Tribuns might not propose and consult with the people about the distribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full assembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and withstand the conspiracy of the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (say they) a prejudice passed against these offenders, both by the Senat and people of *Rome*, and also by their Colleagues. For as they were displaced and deposed from their office, by an Act of the Senat: so when they refused to give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to resign up their government: and the people of *Rome* had created other Tribuns military to enter into their charge, not upon the usual day which was in the Ides of *December*, but forthwith in the Calends of *October*: as who would say, the Common-wealth had not been able to stand any longer, if these men had remained still in place. And yet for all this, these persons thus convicted and fore-condemned by so many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking they are sufficiently omit, and discharged, yea, and have suffered punishment enough, in that they were two months sooner then ordinary, made private persons; and peevish not, that thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no punishment inflicted upon them. For as much as even their very Colleagues, who had not offended, were likewise discharged as well as they: Let the *Quirites* therefore and people of *Rome* take that heart to them again, whilst they had upon the late overthrow, fresh and bleeding new, when they beheld the army running in fearful flight, fore wounded and agave, arriving at the gates, blaming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only their two brave leaders. And as for us, we know assuredly that there is not one of all them here presently assembled, who that day cursed

* *Lex Trebonia* published by *L. Trebonius*. See the third Book.

The invective speech of *C. Trebonius* against *Sergius* and *Virginius*.

* The 13 day of *December*.

A "sed not in his heart and detested the head, the house, and whole estate of *L. Virginius*, and *M. Sergius*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, erewhile every man prayed that the anger and vengeance of God would light against them now when they both may and ought, they should not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand themselves upon unners and offenders: but it sufficeth that they arm the wronged and oppressed persons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon these speeches notwithstanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himself, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all upon fortune: and *Virginius* besought them (but both in vain) that he might not be more unhappy, and speed worse at home, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being directed upon the Tribuns also, and of detesting the remembrance both of the assumption and admitting having got the upper hand, to the end that the Commonalty might have a present reward for warding this doom, publish the Law *Apparia*, and forbid the levying of the Subsidy for souldiers pay: seeing there was need of pay for so many armies: and sped so well they had, in the managing of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any waiting at all. For at *Vei* the peery camp which was lost, being recovered again, was fortified with strong bulwarks and furnished with good guards. The Tribuns Military, *M. Aemilius* and *Q. Fabius*, had the charge there. And as for *M. Furius* in the Faliscan, and *Cn. Cornelius* in the Capen Country they could meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drive away booties, and waited their man: by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither assaulted nor besieged them. But in the Volscian country, after their territory was wasted, *Aurula* also was assaulted (but in vain) for that it was situate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the charge of that province, seeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay siege to it, and in effect it round. The affair of war abroad standing in these teams, there arose domelie strife and sedition at home: and the time was followed more cruelly and with greater ado than the wars were managed without. And when by reason of the Tribuns there could no subsidies and exaction be gathered, nor money for souldiers pay sent to the Generals, and that the souldiers, asked on other hand, were hardly for their wages: the camp also had like to have been troubled and infected with the contagion of those civil mutinies. During these heats and angry fits of the Commons against the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people laid, That now the time was come of establishing their freedom, and translating the chiefest dignity from the *Sergius* and *Virginius*, to the Commoners, such as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it were to make trick and take possession in the right of that dignity) *Jo. Wit. P. Licinius Censor*, should be created Tribun Military with Consults authority: the rest were all of the Nobility, *Pub. Manlius*, and *P. Titinius*, *P. Melius*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Papirius Polseus*. The very Commons themselves marvelled that they had obtained to great a thing, and not he only who was created, a man that aforetime had never been in place, and born no magistraty, yet an ancient Councillor of State, an elderly person and well E steep in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he first and above all others was counted a meet man to have handled, or make essay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think, that for his brother *Cn. Cornelius* his sake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and had given to the horsemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in, and called to to great honour. Others, for that himself had picked out a convenient time, and made a plausible Oration, that both Nobles and Commons liked very well, concerning the agreement and unity of the States, The Tribuns of the Commons, rejoicing highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted and called in the inhibition of the subsidy or imposition afore said, the thing that most of all prejudiced the service of the Common-wealth. By means whereof punishment was made in all dutiful obedience, and sent it was unto the army. Then within short time was *Janner* in the *Volscians* neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and watchy winter, for as the high ways were choaked up, and *Tiberus* was unnavigable: Howbeit, by reason of provision brought in beforehand, the price of corn arose not. And for became *P. Licinius*, as he ended his government without any troubles, and with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than in his former time: so also ruled and executed it all the year long accordingly: therefore their teeth watered at the new election also, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only *M. Furius*, of all the Nobility that stood in suit for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the other Tribuns Military in Consultal authority, all the Centuries in a manner, chose Commoners, to Wit. *L. Titinius*, *P. Aemilius Barbula*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *L. Attilius*.

G After this hard Winter, either by reason of a distemperance and disposition of the weather, suddenly changed to a contrary, or upon some other hidden and unknown cause, there followed presently contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence common to all kind of living creatures. Of which in urable malady, when as neither the reason of the found, nor any and thereof seen. The Books of *Syllabus* were by a decree of the Senat perused, and Divinities appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a *Lustrum* (then first instituted in the City of *Rome*) to appease and pacifie *Apollon*, *Liberus*, and *Diana*. *Hercules*, *Mercure*, and *Nephtis*: sealed them (as it were) for the space of eight days together, & for that purpose they met one

* *Lex Trebonia* published by *L. Trebonius*. See the third Book.

P. Licinius Censor was the first Commoner chosen to magistraty.

The City of
Veij won by
Camillus

[illegible]

The temple
of Queen *is*
no. The temple
of *Mahat*.

A mid these affairs there came Embassadors from the Volscians and Aequians to treat for peace, and peace obtained they, rather because the city, wearied with continual wars, might now take itself rest and be quiet, than for any defects of them that fued for it. After *Vej* was taken, the year following had six Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, two *C. Caninius*, namely, *Cajus* and *Scipio*, *M. Valerius Maximus*; the second time, *C. Fabius Ambulx* for the second time, *L. Etrius Atilius* for the second time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Unto the Consul *Caninius* out by lot the *Volscians* can war to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenates. Who neither assaulted the cities by force, nor were in the cities with flege; but foraged the countries, and drove booke away of such things as were in the fields, not atree that bareth fruit, not any fruitful things bodied, cleaped their hands. This diffirelle and calamity fufed the Capenates: who thereupon fued for peace, and had it granted. But amongst the fallacious the war continued fill. In the meantime, at *Rome* there were hungry feditions. For the appeasing whereof, it was thought good to fend a Colony to *Volfer*, and thither three the land citizens were appointed in cheekroll. And Triumvirs were thereto choien, who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began to be depofited, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to ftop their mouths withall, and to put them belide a greater hope. For they thought the Commons beuent away into the Volscians land, seeing there was *Vej* within their eye-fight, a moft fair city, and the land about more plentiful and larger than that of *Rome*.? And as forthe city it felf, they preferred it, either for the site, or fate of privat or publick buildings and other places, before the city of *Rome*. Moreover a motion allo was made (which, after that *Rome* was won by the French, was more hotly followed) concerning a General tranfmigration and removing to *Vej* for ever. Many thies intended that *Vej* fhould be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: faying, That the people of *Rome* might well growe in habit two cities jointly in one state of Commonwealth. Against all this, the *LL.* of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainly faid, they would fower dye in the fight of the people of *Rome*, than any of thofe matters fhould palle. For why? if there were now in none: city to much diffention, what would there be in twain? Would any man be mad, as yet to prefer a conquered city, before his own country that had conquered the fame? and fufured *Vej* after it is won to be in better eftate then it was afore, even when it was at the *bell*? Finally well might they be fortaken at home in their own country by their Citizens, but to forfike their country and Citizens, they would never be brought by any force whatfoever. They would not follow to *Vej*, *T. Sestius* as his founder, for he amongst the *Volscians* of the Commons perfwaded this *Act*, and leave their good *Roman* nation of the *Y*, thence the father and begginner of the city of *Rome*. Whiles these matters were in handling with folemn fpeach and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion more of the *Tribunes*

M. Furius Camillus Goeth
into the exile

* 39 lib. 7. sh.
d sterl.

a Mar. Tosco or
Mar. de Mar-
seilles
b Monte Fiscal
la.

the Languedoc
Provence, and
Dauphyn.
and Berry at this
day.

e Auvergne.
f Sens.
g Bugognions.
h Charrolois.
i Chartres or
Chartrame.
k Evreux.
l Entricastaux.

*m Solies.
n Ol Marseilles*

Piemont.
Liguria.
Ticino.

[illegible]

The answer of
the Gauls to the
Embassadors
of Rome.

[illegible][illegible]

The Roman soldiers that lay in garrison there, had espied these Tuscans ranging about the country, and gathered together in a body to drive booties alore them: and withal they derided their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Where, at first they pitted their own estate; but after, they fell into an indignation and anger that the Tuscans also, from whom they had diverted the Gauls was upon themselves, should in their calamities thus scorn them and have them in derision: so as they could scarcely temper themselves and forbear, but presently set upon them. But being stayed perforce by Captain *Cedius*, a Centurion whom they themselves had made their Ruler, they put off this exploit until night: Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with *Camilus*: else all the service was achieved in the same order, and with as good speed and happy success. Over and besides, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained in prison over-night, they went forward as far as *Salus*, to another power of the Tuscans, and in the night following, upon a sudden they made a greater havoc and slaughter of them, and so in joyous manner with double conquest they return to *Veii*. At *Rome* in this mean time, the siege for the most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whilst the Gauls regarded and looked to this only. That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At what time a certain valiant young Roman behaved himself so, as his own countrymen and enemies too had him in great admiration. There was a fee sacrifice or solemnity to be celebrated by the house and lineage of *Fabius* in the Mount *Quirinalis*. For the accomplishment whereof, *Caius Fabius Dorso* in his holy robes after the *Gabinus* fashion, bearing in his hand the holy complements thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the midst of the enemies *corps de guard*, and nothing moved whatsoe'er was done or said to terrify him, went on forth right to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, returning the same way with like constant countenance and comely pace, hoping assuredly, that the gods would be merciful and gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear of death: he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were at death at his wondrous boldness, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent regard of Religion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At *Veii* in the mean while they gathered not only heart every day more than other, but strength and forces also; for that not only Romans thither repaired out of the country, such as either in discomfiture of the battell, or for the calamity of the City now taken, had been scattered: but also out of *Lutium* divers of their own accord had flocked thither, to have their share in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return to their country again and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was strong enough, but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of *Camilus*, and a great part of the soldiers were such as had achieved prosperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And *Cedius* gave out plainly, that no god or man should make him give over his government, but would himself as mindfull of his own place, call for a General. So by general consent it was agreed, that *Camilus* should be sent for from *Ardea*, but with the advice before of the Senat which was at *Rome*. So modest were they in all their carriage, and so precisely observed they (even in their desperate case) the due respect and regard of every action. Now to pass through the wards of their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Cominius*, a valorous young man, promised his service. Who bearing himself upon a bark or corke under him, hulled along the *Tiber* down the water to the City: and to the next way from the strand, over a steep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he passed through the Capitoll, and being brought to the Magistrates, declareth there his message from the Army. When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: *In primis*, That *Camilus* should be called back again out of exile by a Ward-leet, or the suffrages of the *Curia*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he should be created Dictator out of hands: and that the soldiers might have for their General whom they desired: the messenger returned the same way back again to *Veii*. And Embassadors were sent to *Camilus* at *Ardea*, who conducted him to *Veii*. But I would rather believe that he departed not from *Ardea*, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senat. And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereto he was confined, nor unless he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army: there passed an Act of all the Wards, and Dictator was he declared in his absence. While these things were a doing at *Veii*, the Cattle of *Rome* and the Capitoll was in very great danger. For the Gauls, either having found out a mans footing, that way as the messenger went from *Veii*, or espied at the cliff of *Cominius*, an easy place to climb up: in a clear night sent a man before unarmed to assay the passage, & then gave him up his arm, and where it was steep, one helped, lifted up, and drew up another, as the difficulty of the place required. So as they got up to the top with such silence, that not only the Sentinels were not aware of them; but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at every noise in the night) were not once awakened thereby. But they could not to escape the people, which were encircled into *Ardea*, and for all the scarcity of victuals, were pined and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gazing and fluttering, of their wings, *Ardea*, who three years before had been Consul a right hardy and noble warrior, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest to take arms. And whilst all else made halt in a great fright, he stroke the Gauls who now stood upon the top, with the boss and pike of his buckler, and turned him down. The fall of whom overturned them that were

The adventure of Pontius Cominius.

Camilus chosen Dictator.

A were next. Then slew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the stones whereto they clinged close. By which time, the rest being come together, some flinging darts, others casting down stones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them lost their sure footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeared the rest of the night (so far forth as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger, past disquieted them) they gave themselves to sleep. When day was come, the soldiers by sound of Trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well-doing and mis-doing; *Manlius* first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but also by consent of all the soldiers. Upon whom, B they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home to his house (which stood upon the Cattle hill) wheat-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that scarcity this might be an argument of their love and affection, when every man beguiled his own belly, plucked from himself and the necessities of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appear the sentinels of that place where the enemy climbed up undetected. And when as *P. Sulpicius* a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exercise martial law upon them all, the soldiers cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for fear of a mutiny he spared all the rest: and with their general consent and approbation, he caused that undoubted guilty perion to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect C in their watch, both amongst the Gauls (because it was commonly noised that there passed messengers to and fro between *Veii* and *Rome*: and also amongst the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries that follow war and siege, the famine was fore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tents in place lying between two hills; exceeding hot by reason of the fires, and full of smok, carrying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which be things that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smothered with heat, and therewith stifled and choaked again, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheep. And now for idleness that they would not bury them severally one by one; they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and to burnt them: and made that place famous and notable by the name of *Busta Gallica*, i.e. Gaulbury. Hereupon, they grew to make some truce with the Romans, and empared together by succurance of the Generals. In which parties, when as the Gauls very often alledged the famine, and upon that extremity perswaded them to yield: it is said, that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitoll flung out loaves of bread into the very stations and *corps de guard* of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled, nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whilst the Dictator mustered a power at *Ardea* by himself, he commanded the General of horsemen *L. Valerius*, to have away the Army from *Veii*: and maketh so good preparation, and furnisheth himself so, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean season the army of the Capitoll wearied out with watching and warding, having fountained all humane miseries besides E hunger, which only of all others, nature would not suffer to be over come: looking day by day for succour from the Dictator now at last when not only their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weakness, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yield or to ransom themselves upon any condition, they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls also gave forth plainly, and said, they might be entreated for a small consideration to give over siege. Then the Senat went together, and gave Commission to the Tribunes Military, to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between *P. Sulpicius* Tribune Military, and *Publius* the Duke of the Gauls, a conclusion was made, and that people, who within a short time should be Lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a thousand pound weight of Gold. This in itself was F a most odious and shameful thing, but there was adjoynd thereto a foul indignity. For English, the Gauls brought forth false weights and uneven balances. And when the Tribune red them, behold, the insolent and proud Gaul would needs have his sword weighed too for vantage, adding this speech moreover, (which was intolerable for the Roman to hear) *Woe worth me conquered, and down with them I'll*. But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to be ranomed. For by good hap, before that shameful sum of money by composition was paid, before (I say) that upon some wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitulation and bargain, he again repeth, and saith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after he was made G Dictator had been by an inferior Magistrate concluded, without his commandment & warrant: and withal warneth the Gauls to prepare themselves to fight: commanding his own soldiers to call all their bag and baggage down on a heap, to put on their harness, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of steel, and not by weight of sword to redeem their Country, having in fight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the soil whereon the City stood (deformed now with miseries of war) and all things else which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalled his battell as the ground

ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruin'd and lying along, and with-
 out of it itself naturally uneven. For setting and providing for all things with special choice and pre-
 paration to serve his soldiers turn, as far as martial skill could possibly reach. The Gauls surpris'd
 at this to strange an occurrence, betook them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger
 rather than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romans. Now had Fortune turn'd
 her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy assisted the Romans. Therefore at the first encounter
 the Gauls were discomfited with as little difficulty, as they themselves had achieved the
 victory at *Albia*. Afterwards also, in another more let battell in the way of *Gabres*, about eight
 miles from *Rome* (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and lead-
 ing of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken and not
 so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus deliver'd his
 Country out of the enemies hand, returneth again with triumph into the City. And in all the
 sports and pleasant ditties which the soldiers rudely after their manner devised, he was filed *As-
 mulus* the saviour of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of
 commendation.

When he had sav'd his Country thus in war, he preferred it afterwards again undoubtedly in
 time of peace, namely in gainingaying their transmigration to *Ven*: whilst both the Tribunes enor-
 ced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of them-
 selves were more inclin'd thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph
 he resign'd not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the City in
 doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and foremost (as he was evermore a most precise devout
 man and religious) he propos'd those things which concern'd the immortal gods: and causeth
 an act of the Senat to be made, *Imprimis*, that all the Temples, for that the enemies had held and
 possessed them / should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of
 cleansing them, should be search'd out of the books of *Syllabus* by the *Dumviris*. Moreover, that
 with the inhabitants of *Cere*, there should be made a league of publike and mutual hospitality,
 for receiving the sacred Images and Priests of the people of *Rome*: by the means and favour of
 which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelet and discontinued.
Item, That there should be set out the Plaies called *Capitoline*, for that *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*
 had fill defend'd and preserv'd his own feat, and the Refuge of the people of *Rome* in that fearful
 time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, or fraternity out of those that dwell
 in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plaies. Finally, to the end there should be also
 some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the fore-messenger and
 warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected,
 a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new way to *Am Locum*. The
 Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in
 that fearful hurly-burly, was brought into the chancel or chapel of *Jupiter*, because they could
 not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all
 judg'd holy and sacred to *Jupiter*: and order taken that it should be bestowed and laid up under
 his shrine. And how devout the City was, appear'd before in this, That when there was not gold
 enough in the common chest, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon be-
 tween them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of *Rome* contributed,
 and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Matrons were therefore thanked,
 and this honour besides done unto them, That after their death they as well as their husbands,
 should be openly praised in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accom-
 plish'd which appertain'd to the Gods, and all that belonged to the Senat or to do: then and not
 afore, upon the first that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their tie-
 ties in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City and to remove with all they
 had to *Ven*: a town readily furnished to their hand: then / they and not before, *Camillus* accom-
 panied with the whole Senat, came up into the common place of audience, and there / time the
 people spake in this wise: "So grievous to our *O. Quirites*, is all correction and variation with the
 Tribunes of the Commons that while I lived at *Ardea* I found no other comfort and solace, in
 that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this, That I was far enough off from those
 debates and jars. In regard whereof I would never have come again I assure you, but that you
 called me back both by act of Senat and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me
 any change of mind but your calamity and distressed estate, that hath forc'd me to return again
 unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely that our country might con-
 tinue still and keep her ancient place: and not by us, that I should remain and dwell therein a-
 gain. And even now verily, would I be still and keep place willingly, but that this quarrel
 is in the behalf of my re-laid country: the which to fail / (so long as we doth live) for others
 might be a shameful reproach: but for *Camillus* it were most impious, and abominable, for to what
 end have we returned to it again? To what purpose when it was belieg'd have we deliver'd it
 out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave the
 same? And when as the gods and men of *Rome* kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the ca-
 pital, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords, and possessed of the whole City, is it possible that
 both Cattle and Capitol, after the City is regain'd, should be forsaken and abandoned of the
 Roman

The Oration
 of M. Furius
 Camillus to the
 people of
 Rome.

A "Roman victors? And shall our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater damage, than
 "City, than adversity hath? Verily, it is wretched, that we made no reckoning of that calamity and dis-
 "vine solemn service, imputed even with the foundation of our City: that we burnt and de-
 "phies that have been deliver'd unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet to evident purpose
 "of God hath assisted the Romans: that I must needs think, that men can now prosper better
 "the worship of God. For consider with me I pray you either the prosperity of the adversity
 "these years late past, one after another they find that as long as we served God and follow'd
 "his will so long we prosper'd: and went forward: and all the while that we despoil'd the times
 "ever went backward and to decay. And first and foremost the Veient war / (I pray you) The
 "you how many years lasted it: how troublesome and painful was it: And ended it was not
 "fore thereby the direction and advertisement of the gods, the water was at out of the *Albia*
 "pool? What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City: the ruin it (and yet truth)
 "before that voice which came from heaven was made to light on, once raising the coming of the
 "Gauls: before the law of nations was by our Embassadors broken and before that through the
 "same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us wink'd at and put up, which indeed should have
 "been punish'd and revenged? This was the cause that we were vanquish'd made captive, put to
 "our ransom and suffer'd in his origin punishment both at Gods hand and at mans: that we
 "are made an example and amazement to the whole world. Then our adversity and calamity put
 "us in mind of our religion, and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol, to the gods even
 "to the very best of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our own prior civility to have
 "the sacred monuments yet and holy Images some we hid in the earth, some were convey'd away
 "into the neighbour Towns, and remov'd them out of our enemies sight, And, but we were
 "forlorn and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor did we confirm the
 "vice of the gods. And therefore gave us our country again, they gave us victory, and the
 "anient honour of war which we had lost: and upon our enemies heads, who / blinded with co-
 "vetousness in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity, they have turn'd all their
 "finels, all light & slaughter. Considering then, *O Quirites*, by the civility and apparent signs,
 "& testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God: & what it is to dishonor him,
 "perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge ourselves into, being / that city got both
 "D and escap'd out of the shipwreck and perill of our former sin and calamity? A City we have
 "founded and built, by the will of God and due obsecration of *Agrippa* and *Amphius*, no corner
 "therein but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are no lack
 "when they shall be celebrated, there are places appointed wherein they ought to be perform'd
 "med, And are ye about then *O Quirites*, to leave all these gods both public & private, for
 "tell this deed of yours with that which I lately during the time of the calamity was in with modest
 "admiration of our enemies, than our own leaves in that Noble young *Camillus* (I pray you)
 "when through the pike of the Gauls, he departed out of the Capitol, and perform'd to them
 "duty of the house of *Fabius* even upon the mount *Quirinal*? What can ye do now, and be it
 "the sacred ceremonies of private families, should not to me, as in mine own house, be neglected:
 "E and suffer now the public sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace, to be neglected, and
 "the City abandon'd? That our High Priests and *Flamines* should be neglected, and the public
 "the public service of God, than a private citizen was in the *Agora* / (I pray you) to be neglect-
 "and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same as we did before, and
 "from thence our Priests hither for to execute that mimicry. Neither of which I have already
 "giving the due observance of holy ceremonies, For to say nothing in general of all other solemn
 "dances and of all the gods besides: In that one high feast and solemn dinner of *Jupiter* and
 "venerable celebrated, or a sacred table be spread and furnish'd in any place, but in the
 "What should I speak of the eternal fires of *Vesta* and of that Image, who has a power in the
 "city of our imperial state, I kept within the safeguard of that Temple? What should I say
 "F those your *Ancistrum* and *Santhicon*: *O M. Furius*, and thou other *Quirites*, receive ye
 "contented that all these rituals and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the
 "eyes, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City, and yet are
 "ken in a private place: but see what do, there is between us and our ancestors. They kept
 "to uncertain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the *Atrium* and in the *Forum*
 "am. Was it then a matter of conscience and religion that those solemnities should be brought
 "into us from our enemies Cities to *Rome*? And shall we translate the times of honor out of our
 "enemies Cities / (I pray you) without any and malicious offence that would respect them? Do but call
 "to mind I pray you how often our seals and sacrifices have been renewed and restored, learn
 "for that those one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or too want of reverence, hath
 "G been over-slipped and left out. And even so late what was it, that our fathers / (I pray you)
 "the *Atrium* / I received our Common-wealth to distressed with the Veient war, but the remem-
 "tion of our divine service and renewing of our *Amples*? And more than this we have
 "remembrance of ancient religion and devotion have both brought upon us, and yet we
 "and it to have in flatter'd and decay'd new, What a notable and festive day, that in the
 "the ex-ceding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons upon which / (I pray you) the
 "flated from *Ven*, was dedicated in *Aventina*? And to *Ant. Lentulus*, for a voluntary offer

"heard in the new cause, we caused a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we ad- H
 "ded to other solemn feasts; & thereto we have ordained and founded a new guild or fraternity,
 "even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we should have done any of these
 "things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of Rome? If we abode not in
 "the Capitol (so many months while we were besieged) willingly and without constraint? And
 "if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elsewhere? Thus much of our festival
 "daies and temples. But what shall become now, I pray you of our Priests? Never think ye once
 "of it, what a sinful deed you are about? As for the Vestal Virgins and Nuns, it is certain, this
 "is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.
 "The Flamin of Jupiter may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make these Priests
 "of Romans to become Veintians? And shall they virgins indeed, O Veinti, leave their now and
 "shall the Flamin dwelling in a strange place, for every night he is absent, taint with great im-
 "piety, both himself and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great so-
 "lemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomeroy or compass of the
 "City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-leet or assembly of the Curia for
 "matters of war: also the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuse your Consuls and Military Tri-
 "bunes, where can they be held (if we respect the will of the gods and regard the Auspices) but in
 "the places accustomed? Shall we remove all these to Veinti? or shall the people repair hither from
 "thence with great trouble and inconvenience, to a desolate City, forsaken of God and man,
 "whencever they would hold those assemblies? But the present necessity (they will say) forceth us K
 "to leave a town that is wasted with fire, and wholly ruinat, and to go to Veinti, where all stands
 "safe and sound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toils and charge of new building. That
 "this is a pretence and cause rather devised, than meant in earnest, if I should say nothing. I think
 "appeareth manifestly unto you already, O Quirites, who remember that before the coming of
 "the French men, whiles your public buildings and privat houses were whole, and whiles the
 "City stood upright on foot, this self-same motion was made and debated, as touching the remo-
 "ving to Veinti. Consider now ye Tribunes, what difference there is between mine opinion and
 "yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verily it were
 "good and requisite: I contrariwise (but marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will say) am L
 "of opinion, that albeit we might have then gone, whiles our whole City flourished, yet now we
 "were not to leave it thus ruinat & decayed. For at that time we had some cause to remove into
 "a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to our selves and our posterity: but this re-
 "moving now, were reproachfull and shameful to our selves, but glorious and honourable to the
 "Gauls, for we shall not be thought to have left our country as conquerours, but to have lost it as
 "conquered. And shall it be said, that our running away at Alia, the winning of our City, the be-
 "sieging of the Capitoll, hath imposed this necessity upon us, to leave our house and home and
 "to make shifts, to seek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to
 "defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and rase that City of Rome, which the
 "Romans shal not be thought able to reedifie and set up again? What remaineth now in case they
 "should come upon us afresh, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is M
 "in redress: & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered, & by you abandoned,
 "but that ye gently permit and suffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies
 "the Aequians and the Volscians would remove and come to Rome, would you be willing to have
 "them become Romans and your selves Veintians? Would ye not rather, that this desert and
 "wast ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot see,
 "I assure you, whether of the twain, were more to be detested. And because (forsooth) ye are loath
 "to fall to building, are ye resolved to abide these mischiefs and these shameful reproaches? If through-
 "out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or stately house, than is that
 "cottage there of our founder, were it not better to dwell in cottages like shepherds & peasants, so
 "it be among your sacred monuments and household gods, than all at once generally to go into N
 "exile: Our ancestors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries, and no other than herd-
 "men, finding in these parts nothing but woods and bogs, in a short time build a new City out of
 "the ground: and are we loath, having yet our Capitoll, our castle here, the Temples of our gods
 "standing (till to reedifie it now that it is burnt, That which every one of us would have done, if
 "our houses had been fired, refuse we altogether to do in the common care of the City? Give
 "me leave a little, What & if by some villany or by mischance there should be a fire at Veinti &
 "by reason of the wind (as it is often seen) the flame spread and catch and so consume a great part
 "of the City, shall we go from thence by and by, and seek to Fidenae or G. this, or some other City
 "near at hand to remove unto? Is the very native soil of our country, and this ground which we
 "call our mother, of no power at all to keep us here, but doth the whole love and affection of O
 "our country, rest in the superficial outside, and in the timber and rafters of our houses? Verily,
 "I confess I will unto you (although I take less pleasure to remember the wrongs you did me than
 "the calamity which I endured) when I was absent and in exile, so often as I thought of my coun-
 "try, all these things ran in my mind: the hills, the plain, the Tiber, the coasts all about, which was
 "my daily prospect, and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which, O Quirites,
 "let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to carry still in this your habitation,
 "than

A "than disquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and mis of them, when you have
 "once left and forgone them. Not without good cause both God and man chose this place for
 "the building of this City: most healthy and wholesome hills: a very convenient and commodi-
 "ous river: to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and o-
 "ther victuals from the sea-coasts: the sea itself near enough for commodities, and not exposed
 "and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forrain navies: they cry heart and centre of
 "all Italy, a place as a man would say, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encrease
 "in. And that doth the very largeness and greatness of a City to newly founded, plainly prove.
 "It is now three hundred three score and four years, and not above, since the foundation there-
 "of, O Quirites. Amongst so many Nations of greatest antiquity, thus long ye have made war:
 "and all this while (to say nothing of particular Cities) neither the Volscians together with the
 "Aequians peopling to many towns, and those so strong, nor all the Gauls together with the
 "land, and containing the whole breadth between the two seas, are in war to you comparable.
 "Which being so, what reason have you (in the devils name) when ye have had sufficient proof
 "already of it, to try again new experiments? considering now that a beir your valour and vertue
 "may go with you elsewhere, yet surely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never de-
 "part and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where sometimes upon the finding of a
 "mans head, answer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place should be the
 "head of all punishment, and the imperial seat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Ca-
 "pitoll by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other Chapells, Lady
 "Juvencus and god Terminus, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer them to be: to
 "heaven, here are all the gods, favourable & gracious till unto you, so long as hereby ye make abode
 "and remain. Camillus in all his Orations throughout moved them much, but that part thereof
 "touching religion (by report) was most effectual. But that which struck it dead and put all out
 "of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fitly to the purpose. For at what time as
 "the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court, Hostilius to debate about these things
 "and certain companies ofouldiers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time
 "to march through the market place, one Captain hapned to speak in the Court, and said,
 "Puch down thy castle, stand and bear, here will be our best abode. With this voice was not to soon
 "heard, but both the Senat being come out of the Council House, cried with one accord, That
 "they took that omen for good luck, and happy preface: and also the Commons all gathered
 "thereabout, approved the same. After this, when the foresaid Act of immigration was once
 "clean dashed and abolished, the City began to be built confusedly and without order. The was
 "allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone, or hew timber, every man had liberty
 "where he could, putting in furies that within the compass of that year they would finish their
 "buildings. The haste they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets di-
 "rectly, whiles every man built in the void places without respect of his own or others mens
 "ground. Whiles the cause that the out-finks and vaults which first were covered through
 "the common streets, now run every where under mens homes and the form of the City seemeth
 "as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himself) rather than direct-
 "ly ranged, and set out in good order unto them.

The Sixth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Sixth Book.

IT containeth the fortunate wars against the Aequians, the Volscians, and T. Senes. The Tribunes were
 "added to the former Stelatina, Sibbathina, Promentina, Armentina, M. Manlius, who had defended the
 "Capitol from the Gauls, whiles he defended the Alps of those that were in danger of their creditors,
 "and rid himself of his were then imprisoned was co-vented of suffering to be King, and drove down from
 "the cliff Tarpeia. In whose reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that no one of the house of Man-
 "lius should be named Marcus. C. Licinius, and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the Commons, prop. sed.
 "Nobilitati. And, that the Senators withstood them with consil. end. room. ye have forth for
 "five years since the same Tribune continued only M. of the City, they went through with
 "that law and got it called. And L. Sextius was created the first Consul that ever was of Commons.
 "A second Law there passed likewise, That no man might poss. above five hundred acres of land.

The Sixth Book of T. Livius.

The Republic
tation of the
former 172
Books.

VV

What acts from the building of the City of Rome unto the taking of the same, the Romans have achieved, first, under the government of Kings, afterwards of Consuls and Dictators. Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home; I have in five books declared. Matters obscure both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that a far off hardly be discerned) and also for that in those daies there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithful safeguard and true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registered in the Commentaries of the Priests and in other public or private records, the same for the most part, when the City was burned perished withall. But now from henceforward, their civil affairs of policy, and martial exploits in wars, ensuing after a long beginning of the City (as springing again with more fresh shoots and fruitful sprouts from the root of the old stock) shall be delivered in more plain and certain manner.

Camilus bare
the Dictator-
ship a whole
year, which o-
therwise was
limited within
six months.Q. Fabius ca-
dicted.Disast. daies,
† 18 of July.

† 16 of July.

And to begin withall, look by whom the state first was underpropped and set upright, upon him (as chief and principal) it still bare and rested, and that was *M. Fabius*: whom the Romans would not suffer to give up his Dictatorship before one year was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whole government the City was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interregnum. Now while the City was busie in continuall work and labour, about recedifying and repairing their buildings, *Q. Fabius* so soon as he was out of his office, was by *C. Martius* Tribune of the Commons ordered to make his answer at a day appointed, who laid to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had fought against the Gens, unto whom he was sent in embassy, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judicial trial by his death: and died to just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then *P. Cornelius Scipio* first entered upon the Interregnum: and after him *M. Furius* the second time. He created Tribunes Military in Consular authority. *A. Valerius Publicola* the second time, *L. Virginii*, *P. Cornelius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Angulius* and *L. Postumius*. These men presently after the Interregnum, were not so soon entered into office, but before all other things, they consulted with the Senat in matters concerning Religion and conscience. And first of all they commanded, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws also (as those were the twelve tables & certain Statutes made by the Kings) should be sought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but the rest, as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Priests, kept secret: especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of Religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the dismal daies. And the fifteenth day before the Calends of *August*, so notorious for a twofold loss and overthrow; upon which day at *Corvina* the *Fabii* were all slain, and after at *Alia* an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruin and desolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortunes, *Alia* first: and set this notably mark upon it. That it should be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any business as well public as private. Some think because upon the next day following the Ides of *July*, *Catullus* the Tribune Military could not by sacrifice find any tokens of happy speed, nor of gain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Roman host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commanded to forbear and abstain from doing sacrifices: and thereupon likewise the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and dismal as the other.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of means to reform the Common-weal. And let it upright again after so grievous and dangerous a fall. For of the one side, the Volscians, their old enemies, took arms, intending the final destruction of the Roman name. On the other side, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of *Hetruria* were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of *Vulturnus*, to make war upon them. Besides a fresh and new fear came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernicks, who after the battell at the pool *Regillus*, for the space almost of an hundred years, had continued fast in loyal league and amity with the people of *Rome*. Therefore being thus greatly afflicted on every side, that all the world might see apparently that the State of *Rome* was not only hated of her enemies, but despised also of her allies: it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-weal should now be maintained and defended, by whose prudent guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that *M. Furius Camillus* should be created Dictator. He being desired Dictator, named *Q. Servilius* II. for General of the Horsemen. And having proclaimed a law, freed (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took muster of all the younger sort and serviceable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service. Unto whom he likewise ministered the military oath of Allegiance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster book. When he

A had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against *Hetruria* in the County of *Veii*: another he commanded to those which were sent against the Tuiscans had *L. Aemilius* a Tribune military was made Captain: himself led against the Volscians: and not far from *Lavinium* (the place is called *Ad-Ad-Ad-Ad-Ad-Ad*) he began to assault their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornful contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of *Rome*, was by the French clean spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that *Camilus* was the Lord General it strook such a fear and terror among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when *Camilus* perceived, he gave order to let on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour likewise and smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amazed & astonished the enemies, that in getting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire, having thus defeated and slain his enemies and won withall the Camp in the same breath, the Dictator gave the whole spoile unto the soldiers: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they less hoped for it at their General's hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards. After this he followed them that fled, in chase, waited and foraged their whole country, and at length (in the seventeenth year of the war) he wholly subdued the Volscians and forced them to yield preparations for war. Their forces he surprised and defeated at *Bols*, and assailed not only their Camp, but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But while fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camilus* went, as being the only stay of the Roman state: so on another side the fear of peril greatly increased. For the Tuiscans well near all up in arms, lay before *Sutrium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of *Rome*. Whole Embassadors came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distress, and had a ree-gained Dred unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should relieve the Sutrines. But being so straitly beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsmen who were but few in number, were over-wearied with working, watching, and bloody fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by compulsion to surrender up the City to the enemies: and being dismayed and sent away with a single piece of apparel (after a pious sort all a-row) departed the town, & left their dwelling places. But see, it befell that *Camilus* at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whole feet the multitude all sorrowfully prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity felt to beleeve him to be good unto them: the women and children who went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with wofull tears and lamentations. But he willed the Sutrines to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull moan: laying that he brought the Tuiscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then called he his soldiers to lay down their packs and load, the Sutrines likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus marched he forward with his Army lightly appointed for ready expedition, and advanced before *Sutrium*. Where according to his exhortations, he found the enemies all careless and secure (as commonly it falleth out to their exorations success.) No warders, no corps de garde quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, houses. So was *Sutrium* in one day twice won. The Tuiscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in peeces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no time to call themselves life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for to the Dictator had given order afore-hand, when this sudden tumult surprised them, to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been holy fought, had not the Trumpets and Trumpeets which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands hung away their weapons: and thus dismayed as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were belted in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was delivered again unto the Sutrines, safe and sound without hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but intreated upon compulsion. *Camilus* then returned with triumph into the City of *Rome*, victor at one voyage in three kindly wars. The greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuiscans: whom he sold in port-sale at the spear, and raised such a sum of money, that when he

Sutrines 222
won in one
day.

had out of it repaid the dames [of Rome] to the worth of their gold, there were of the surplusage thereof three bouls made of massie gold : which with the title and inscription of *Camillus* his name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be seen in the chappell of *Jupiter* set up and belowed at the feet of *Juno*.

The same year, there were enfranchised and made Citizens of Rome, such Veientians, Capenates and Falcianians in the time of those wars were fled to the Romans : and for these new Citizens were certain lands set out. Those also, who for idleness loath to build at Rome, were gone to *Veser*, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the first grumbled & refused to obey; but after that a day was set for them & they threatened upon pain of death to return again to Rome, as if that as they were, and obdurate all of them together now for fear every one became obedient. As Rome now increased in number of inhabitants, and became well peopled : so on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices : whilst the Common-wealth somewhat eased them of charges, and the *Ædiles* by virtue of their office called hard upon them, halting them forward as to a publick work; yea, and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his own house. So as within the year the City was new built and stood on foot again.

At the years end was the great Election held for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. Wherein were created *T. Quintus Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fideus* at the fifth time, *Julius Tullius*, *L. Aquilius Corvus*, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus*. One army they let out and led against the *Æquians*, not to war with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon *K* meer sight and deadly hatred, to waste all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprise any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of *Tarquinius*. Where, two towns of the *Tuscan*, *Cortusola* and *Contenebra*, were by assault won and rased. At *Cortusola* was no resistance made. For the Romans surprised them on a sudden, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it : The town was sacked and burned. As for *Contenebra*, it endured the assault for some few daies : but the continual labour, flacking neither day nor night overcharged them; whereas the Roman Army divided into six parts, fought six hours in their several turns round one after the other. And the townsmen being but few, and those overtoiled, were fain without any supply, still to maintain fresh skirmishes. Whereupon at last they retreated back & yielded, giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the spoils should be confisic and go to the common treasury : but the commandment and proclamation was more flack than their purpose on that behalf. For whilst they lingered and protracted time, the soldiers already had seized in their prizes : and taken from them again without much offence and harred the booty could not be. In the same year, because the City should not flourish in private buildings only, the Capitol was also built of squared asher stone : A piece of work even in this so glorious estate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whilst the City was buied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws *Agroaria* (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to let forward their hope, they presented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, so presently upon the subduing and subversion of the *Volscians* by *Camillus*, was, no doubt, the rightfull possession of the people of Rome. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the *Volscians*. For they, so long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inroads thither : but the Noblemen forcibly entered and made havoc in the possessions of the common lands : and unless (before they had set foot there, and got all into their hands) a division were made, the Commons should never enjoy one foot of ground there. These Remonstrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons, both because few of them resorted to the common place of assemblies whilst they plied their building; and also for that money was away, and their purses lo emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding those lands, which to store *N* and flock they were not able.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat suspitious upon their late calamity : In much as they minded to renew the *Aspicula* (or the solemnity of prelates taken by bird-flight) for some error supposed therein; and therefore they agreed that the government should return to an Interregnum. So there were Interregents one after another *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Cornelianus*, *L. Valerius Potitius*, *Valerius* at length held the assembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Consuls authority and created *L. Papirius*, *Cn. Servilius*, *L. Æmilius* the second time, *L. Lucretius*, *T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. These presently after the Interregnum, began their government. That year, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintus*, a *Dumvir* departed for the executing of holy duties. *O* Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoyined. *Stellatina*, *Pomptina*, *Sablatina*, *Arminia*, and these made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now *L. Sicius*, a Tribune of the Commons was in hand with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands : and more inclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senat house, to make war upon the *Larines* and the *Ælennicks* that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time : by reason of preparation for a greater war, because

Rome new built.

The Capitoll built of square stone.

The Temple of Mars dedicated.

Four new Tribes adjoyined to Rome.

A *Hernia* was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon *Camillus* his shoulders, who was made Tribune Military with Consuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joyned unto him *Ser. Cornelius M. Lucius*, *Q. Servilius Fideus* the sixth time, *L. Quinctus Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, *P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned away from the careful regard they had of the *Tuscan* war, by reason that a number of people that the *Antians* were up in arms, that the nations of the *Latins* had sent their able youth to on this point, that by the covenant there was no provision for that voluntary consideration might be in what warssoever they would. Now had the Romans been well engaged and learned to distinguish, who if he had been a private person, was no doubt have been nominated and elected Dictator : yea, and his companions in office, consorted frankly that it was one of them to have the foreign and absolute Regiment of all, in case there were any foreign and dangerous wars, no disparagement at all unto them, nor any loss of their own honour and reputation. In referring the same upon the Majesty of so worthy a person. The Senat highly commended the triumphe in this wife. "A weighty burthen (quoth he) I see is imposed upon me by the people of Rome, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time : a greater charge is enjoyned me by the Senat : the whole state and body of which order, hath delivered to exceeding kindness and judgement of me : but the heaviest load of all is laid upon me by the If any painfull travel of mine therefore, and watchful care may be labour'd. I will earnestly endeavour, I will strain and strive to answer thereunto : that the opinion which the City hath of me, great content hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be perpetual. As to that war of the *Antians*, there are more brags and threats than any danger and peril from thence. But as I would combat and advise you to be at aid of no war, to I would not have you to be careless and secure of any. The City of Rome is better on every side : partly *D* "envid, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need theris both of more Captains, and also of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-wealth. I think it good therefore (quoth he) *O Valerius*, that you should me in government and council, and have the leading together with me of certain legions against the *Antian* enemies. That you *Q. Servilius* with an other army well appointed, and in readines, ye encompassed hard by the City side, having an eye and good regard, lest either *Hernia* in the mean while, (as of late daies) of the *Latins* and *Hernicks* (who trouble us now afresh, break out and make some thing. Alured I am that you will behave your self, and quit you in this service so worthily, as may answer the famous mention, and those six Tribuneships which you have already part rased. As to *L. Quinctus*, let him levy a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of sickness or otherwise *E* "excused for warfare, and are above the ordinary age for military service, to be indeed of a great use for the defence of the City and the Walls. Let *L. Æmilius* provide harness, weapons, corn, and other necessities for war, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, *O Servilius*, we your self and *Chur*, matters of general assemblies, of the Laws and all other civil affairs of policy whatsoever in performing their several charges, *Valerius* whom he had joyned with himself in commandment, ad led moreover and said. That as he would take *At. Furnius* to be Dictator, so would he *F* "nat, exhorted them, that what opinion they had of one only So: reign General, the same hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senators herat took great joy and contentment generally of the State. Neither shall the Common-wealth (say they) ever find in need of different and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yielding their private private to the promotion of the Common-wealth, than dismembering and plucking from it their private glory and reputation.

After a Vacation or Law-fee'd proclaimed, and the Musters taken and past : *Furnius* and *Valerius* set forward to *Servilius* : whether the *Antians* had not only sent the flour of all the *Volcks*, the choice youth out of a fresh fry and new generation ; but also had raised a mighty power of new enemies into : old thus combined together, troubled the minds of the Romans somewhat, and kindled his patrols in array : and that in their terms to wit, that the hearts of his outlying and idling when they thought of it, it seems, yea, and that there were some of them overhead to say, that They must fight once on an hundred, and that so great a multitude of their

The Oration
of M. Furio
Camillus to his
soldiers.

their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountered in his being so well armed and appointed: he mounted precisely upon Horieback, and rode before the engines, and then turning himself about his army, travelling between the ranks and armies: "What heaviness is this my soldiers (quoth he) what means this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own fields? The enemy, what is he else but the perpetual matter and subject of your valour and glory? And ye again are the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of *Faleria* and *Veis*, and of the slaughter of the Gauls Legions, put to the sword by us even when our native City was by them taken, and they matters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon a triple victory over the same Volscians, *Æquians* and people of *Hetruria*. What, do ye not agnize and accept me for your General, because not as Dictator, but as Tribune, I gave you the watchword, and put out the banner of battle? For mine own part, I stand not much upon absolute and sovereign command over you: no more likewise should ye regard ought else in me, but mine own self. For never yet did my Dictatorship make me haughty and set me up aloft, no more than my banishment abated my courage and cast me down. We are the same men still all of us: and since we are come to this war, furnished with the same means that we carried with us unto the former, let us look for the same event of our service, and no worse. So soon as ye shall encounter and joyn battle with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught and wonted to: the journey surely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after he had founded the battle, he alighted from his Horse, and caught the ensign-bearer that stood next him, with his hand, haled him forward against the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud, On afore with thy banner. Port-ensign, and advance forward, soldier. When they saw that *Camillus* in person, a man well steeped in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily strength, put himself forth against the enemy: all at once they pressed forward, set up an outcry and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for shame. And over besides, some say that by the commandment of *Camillus*, there was an ensign flung into the very battle among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, belittled themselves lustily to recover it again. And thereby were the Antients first discomfited, and the least not only came upon them in the vanguard, but entered also and reached as far as the rearward, that stood ready for supply. And as the violent force of the soldiers, provoked by the presence of their Captain, much troubled the enemy: so nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very sight of *Camillus* himself, when they chanced to espie him. So furiously carried he the victory with him, which way (where he went) And that appeared most evidently in this, That when he saw the left wing at the point to give back and run away, he took himself in all haste to his Horse, rode thither with his light footmen but, kler, and with his only presence renewed the fight, shewing unto them how the rest of the battle had the better. Now were the enemies put to the sword, and the victory inclined to a side. But their multitude both hindered themselves in their flight: and also a long piece of work the wearied soldiers of the Romans had to put to great a number, all to the sword. But behold, there fell a great tempest of rain all of a sudden, which poured down with so mighty winds and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of assured victory, than parted any battle or stayed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was founded: and the night ensuing, whilst the Romans were at rest, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks forsook the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprise was bad. The Volscians seeing themselves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whose trust and confidence they had rebelled, quit the camp and field, and put themselves within the walls of *Saturnum*: whom *Camillus* at first began to besiege, calling a trench and rampier about them, raising battilions and plat-forms against the Town. And seeing his munitions and fabricks by no staying forth of the enemies impeached, he supposed there was no such courage in them, that he should need to stand so long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themselves out in a tedious and costly piece of service, as if they lay at the siege of *Veis*: assuring them that the Victory was in their hands already: and so with exceeding cheerfulness of his soldiers, he set ladders upon every side, scaled the walls, and entered the Town. Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yielded themselves.

Saturnum won.

But the General his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of *Antium*, being the seat Town of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the last war arose. Howbeit because so strong a City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordnance, & engines of battery leaving his colleague behind him with the army he went himself to *Rome*, to persuade with the Senat, for to destroy and raze *Antium* utterly. And whilst he was employing with them (such was the will of God I believe, that *Antium* should stand still & continue longer) there came Embassadors from *Nepes* and *Saturnum*, craving aid against the Tuscans, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were succoured and relieved. Upon which occasion it fell out, that *Camillus* was withdrawn thither from *Antium*. For seeing that whole two Towns stood even against *Hetruria*: as it were the very keys and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured to gain them afore-hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars: & the Romans also held it a matter of great consequence, to refuse and defend those frontier Towns. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave *Antium* and to undertake the war with the Tuscans. The City-legions under General *Quintius* were appointed unto him,

And

A And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volscians Country, and which he had good tryals, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: only he required to have *Valerius* his associate with him, and joined with him in commission. So *Quintius* and *Valerius* were sent to invade *Valerius* in the Volscian war. The Town possessed already by the Tuscans. On the other side the Townsmen, for that the ease of the had stopped all passages between hardly able to repel the force of the assailants. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the manebres of *Camillus*, (so highly renowned as well-memoried) the enemies as Aliens both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and stick to it till that B they were before at the point to give over: and also gained time and repit, to come in with fresh supplies and succours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his colleague, for not so much for any hope he had by scaling the walls to win the City, as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to ease the Townsmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time, (who the City without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands, according to walls assailed most fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: flung out at one gate (which as it happened was not better) and in great haste all together sought to escape away. But as they fled, they were slain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the men were more ready and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution until the night, that they could not see and discern them.

So soon as
was need,

When *Saturnum* was thus recovered and restored again to their allies they led forward the army to *Nepes*: which Town the Tuscans held woollily, as surrendered already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a busy piece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the *Nepesians*, by treachery had yielded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principal citizens, that they should sever themselves from the Tuscans, and perform on their behaviour and faithful loyalty. D From whom they received this answer again, That it lay not now in them to do any thing at all, for that the Tuscans kept the walls, and watched the gates. Whereupon they first turned and more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately surrendered, than of offering the league with their friends which they had long before concluded: they and so approached the City with the army filled up the ditches close to the walls, set ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the *Nepesians* should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarmed, should be spared. But the Tuscans as well armed as unarmed were put to the sword every one. E As for the chief authors, that persuaded the *Nepesians* to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The humble multitude had their good: restored, and to the Town was sent with federal Citizins, returned in great glory to *Rome* with their victorious army.

Nepes taken

The same year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the same demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had let forth no soldiers to the Romans wars. Answer F not proceeding from counsellors of the State in case some of their youthlier served under the Volscians, and yet their selves had well paid already for their lewd and rash projects, in that not one of them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of soldiers, the cause was, for that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volscians: which noisome plague (as it was one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought so well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quarrel and occasion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

The excuse of
the Latins and
Hernicks.

In the year following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Lucius* *Quintius*, both City-legions, and *L. Papirius* Consul for the second time, were Tribunes Consular, there arose a grievous war abroad, and a more dangerous edition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volscians, was least feared: from a personage of noble lineage descended, of great name and reputation, *A. Manlius* *Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too lofty and haughty a minde, despised all other noble dignities, as above the rest, *M. Furius*, so singular, as well in regard of his nobility, and evoked one his worthy parts and commendable virtues. He could not brook and endure, that he only should ever be Lord General in the field: who now was exalted to high above others, that even those who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as equals.

The discord
between
the Latins
and
Hernicks.

his peers and fellows, but employed as his Miniftrers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered his Country from the ferge of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Cattle cliff been faved by me alone. *Camillus* fet upon the Gauls, when they were amuffed in receiving their gold, when they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my felt chafed them away whiles they were in arms, and at the point to win the Cattle Hill. In that exploit of *Camillus* the fouldiers, had each one his fhare proportionably of the glory, who together with him did their parts: but in the fervice performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and partner with me. With thefe conceits he fed his own humour, and puffed up his proud fpirit, being withal by corrupt difpofition of nature, hot and hafty, arrogant and inolent. Difcontented besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not efteemed of that worth, as in his own judgement they deferved: fift, of a Senator he became popular and began to break his mind, and impart his designs unto the Miftrats of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and complaining of them: folliciting and inveigling the Commons, to caft aliking and favour toward himfelf: carried away with the vain gale of the peoples opinion: nor guided by fage council and difcretion: and in one word, chufing rather to be of great name, than of good and honeft report. And not contenting himfelf to deal in the Laws *Agraria*, about the divition of Lands, which had alwayes miniftred to the Tribunes of the Commons matter enough of mutinies and leditions: he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are fharp goads, and prick fhrewdly: threatening not only poverty and fhame, but alfo terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprifonments, little eale, and Irons. Now there were exceeding many far in debt (a thing moft dangerous and hurtful to mens ftate) even of the richer fort, by reason of their great expenfes defrayed in building. The war therefore of the Volcians, which was it felt of great importance, but much more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in fhew pretended, as a caufe to feek for to have a more foveraign and abfolute power to govern the State: but in truth, the new defignments and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the war, forced the Senat to create a Dictator. And *A. Cornelius Coflus* being created, nominated for his General of Horfe, *T. Quintus Capitolinus*. The Dictator, albeit he faw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad, yet were it that the war required fome fpeedy expedition, or becaufe by victory and triumph, he thought to make his Dictatorfhip more mighty and powerful) he took muffers, and fet forward into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the Volcians had proclaimed their forces, to repair.

A digreffion
of the author.

I doubt not, but they that read in fo many books already, of thefe continual wars fought with the Volcians, besides their tedious fatiety of reading, will mufe alfo at this (which to my felt was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived near about the times of thefe acts) how thefe Volcians and Equians, fo often vanquished and defeated, were furnifhed with fupply of fouldiers to maintain their wars. But feeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpaffed with filence, what fhould I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath liberty to put in for himfelf? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars (as now we fee in the Roman muffers) they ufed to breed up one fupply under another, of the younger fort, to the maintenance and renning fo oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not awayes levied out of the fame States, albeit the wars go under the name of one and the felf-fame nation: or that thofe countries yielded in thofe days an infinit number of freemen, which now are well near waft and deart but for fome Roman flaves, which keep thofe parts yet from being void and difpopped, as having but a very fmall feminary, or none at all left, of ferviceable fouldiers.

Certainly, the Volcians army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late dayes by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were fore weakened, and their ftrengh much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, fome of the Circians, and other Colomers from *Velitra*. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and the next morning come abroad with happy tokens of good fpeed from the Birds: having alfo flain a facifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner fhewed himfelf unto his fouldiers: who according as they were commanded, were ready early in the morning, by break of day in arms, attending the found of Trumpet for battel. The day is ours (quoth he) my valorous fouldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can foretell future events. Therefore as refolute men of affured hope, and fuch as fhall encounter with far manner than our felves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our fwords only. Neither would I have you to run out of the main battel, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, to ftand ftedfaft, and abide the firft fhock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of fhoot in vain, and fhall with full force come upon you as you ftand, then brandifh your fwords, and let them glitter in their eyes, and think every man of the Gods, that they will help the Romans. The Gods I fay, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have fent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O *Quintus*, keep your Horfemen clofe together, marking advifedly the firft beginning of the skirmifh: and when you fee the battels buckle together pell-mell, and come to hand-firokes, whiles they are bufied and occupied one way, fight them another way with your Horfemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and break their arraies. Thus fought both Horfe and Foot according to his direction, And

The Oration
of *A. Cornelius
Coflus* Dicta-
tor to his fould-
iers.

As the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more miffed the Captain of happy fpeed. The multitude of the enemies trufting upon nothing but their own number, which they meafured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, rafhly gave battel, and as rafhly gave over again. In fhout only and fhout fhewing themfelves hot and eager at the firft encounter: but were not able to abide the fhord-light, the clofing together foot to foot, and the firy countenance of their enemies, which for the very heat of their courage, fhined and glittered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put back, a fear came upon them likewise, that ftood behind for fupply, and withal, the Horfemen for their parts fet to and fought moft terribly. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in lundry places were broken and all fce out of order, fo as their battalions feemed to ftore and wave up and down to and fro, in fupenew thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed (fmiten down and flain, and every one Romans came forward till and chafed them. And fo long as they went their way armed and thick together, it was the footmens work to purfue them: but when it was perceived once, that in the fields: then were the troups of Horfemen fet out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no ftay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and fo to give the main multitude of them in the mean while fufficient refpit to elcape: but that they fhould content themfelves only to let fime fhoot amongst them, and by fcaring them to hinder their running: and when they were ridden beyond, to crofs upon them and itay them, until the footmen might overtake them, flay them down right and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chafe until night. The very fame day was the Volcians camp taken and ransacked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the fouldiers. The greater part of the prifoners were Hernicks and Latins: and thole not of the common fort, and fuch as might be thought to have ferved for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the Volcians enemies had aid from thence by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known alfo to be among them fome of the being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confefled every one in plain terms, the refilling of their own Nation like as they had before betrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator kept his forces together within the ftanding camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of Rome would determine to war upon thofe countries.

The Volcians
defeated.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which arole at home, caufed him to be fent for to Rome, by occasion of a fedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more feared than any actually had been ftore time. For now by this had *M. Manlius* not by fpeeches only, but by plain deeds alfo, which in outward fhew feemed popular and plaufible) fhewed evidently upon what troublefome and turbulent fpirit all proceeded. For feeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his lifetime, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to prifon: retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and a ter he had given out some words aloud touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the ufurers, the exaltations of the Commons, the valour and preftent diftreffs of the party: Marry then (quoth he) have I done a great deed, to no purpofe, in faving the Capitol and the Cattle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to fee my fellow fouldier (as if he were taken prifoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up faft in eyes and fetters. And therewith openly in fight of all the people paid the whole debt down right on the nail, unto the creditor: and fo after the ufual and folemn ceremony by a brazen peece of coin and the billance, fet him at liberty out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large: Who prayed he, patron and protector of the Commons of Rome. And when he was once got into that untuly and feditious throng, he prefently himfelf fet all a madding, fhewing the fars of his wounds received in the Veintians and Gauls wars, and in other fervices one after another: lying, that whiles he thus followed fouldierly, and rebounded his honie that was destroyed, he became indebted, and that fo deeply (by reafon that the intereft alwayes overgrew the principal, which he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the ufurers hook, but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only goodneffe of *M. Manlius*, I have the liberty again to fee the light of the Sun, to behold the Commonplace, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge, to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me: at his hands I vow whatfoever in me is left, and in his quarrel to fpend that little life and blood which remaineth in my body: and in one word look what privilege I may enjoy in right of my country, and in the communion of the Gods, publick or private, the fame do I impart and communicate with that one man. By thefe fpeeches the Commons were fce and pricked forward mightily, as if they devoted unto one perfon: and who but *Manlius* now in every mans mouth? And prefently the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quite, and to fet every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of *Veii*, which was the chief and capital

Mano.

Manor of his inheritance, even the fairest flower of his garland, he set upon sale, causing it openly to be cried: and said wistful, I will not O *Quirites*, so long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing else left, see one of you condemned and upon execution carried to prison. This let them so a flote, that they were ready, as it seemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Besides, at home in his own house, he spared not to cast out scurrilous speeches against the Senators, as if he had been at the open Cross, making Orations, Amongst which, without all regard whether he spoke true or false, he let fall these words, "That the Senators kept in secret certain hidden treasures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in possession the common grounds, but they would also embezzle the treasure publicly, which if it came abroad, the Commons might soon be acquit and discharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be sure) an unworthy indignity, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it then should be gathered by a general contribution of all: and the same gold, now recovered from the enemies, should be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed instantly upon him and were very earnest to know, where so great a mass of money and ston good was hidden. But when he posted them off, and said he would in due time disclose all: they were not content, but setting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this business, and nothing else. So as it plainly appeared that neither he should reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, nor incur a small offence and displeasure, in case he told a false tale.

Things hanging thus in these doubtful terms, the Dictator who was sent for, returned from the army into the City. The next day he assembled the Senat: and after he had thoroughly sounded and felt the minds of them, that were there mer, he commanded the Senators not to depart from him: and assisted as he was with that company, he cauled the Ivory chair of estate to be set in the Comitium or common Hall, and sent a servant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily summoned by the Dictators express commandment, gave warning by a token to his complices and favourites, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty retinue of his followers, he preferred himself before the Tribunal. On the one side, stood the Senators, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pight field ready to joyn battle.

Then after silence made, "Would to God (quoth the Dictator unto *Manlius*) I and the Senators of *Rome*, might in all other things fort as well with the Commons, as I am assured, we shall agree all together about thee, and the matter which I shall ask and demand of thee. I see thou hast put the City in some good hope, that by the Gauls treasure which the principal and chief of the Senators detain with them secretly hidden, all men may keep their credit, and fully pay and discharge their debts. Which I for my part, so God me help, am lo far from hindring, that contrary-wise I would exhort thee, O *M. Manlius*, to ease the Commons of *Rome* of the wretches book: to discover these fellows and make them known, that gave so greedily after the common treasure, and to disappoint them, and turn them out of this their privy booty. Which if thou do not effect, either for that thy self wouldst have a fleece with them, or else because it is but a forged tale that thou hast made of thine own fingers ends. I will not fail, but commit thee to a wild, and suffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be abused and disquieted. To this, *Manlius* made answer and said, "I was nothing deceived but as I said well enough, that a Dictator was created not against the Volscians, who are enemies (forsooth) so oft as our great Masters think it for their purpose: nor against the Latins and Hernicks, whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by false and forged surmises: but against myself and the Commons of *Rome*. For now I see well, that the Dictator professeth to maintain and bear out the Wretches against the Commons: and that against myself, for the favour that the multitude beareth unto me, there is matter devised to charge me wistful, and to procure my utter ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O *Cornelius* and you my Lords of the Senat, that the people thus stand about me on every side? Why do not ye every man for his part, by your good offices divide asunder this company, and draw them away with you from me? Namely, by your mediation and intercession, by giving your word for them, by ridding out of gyves and prison your fellow citizens, by saving them that are condemned, from being awarded to the thraldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and superfluous of your own living and goods by relieving their present need, and supplying their necessities? But what mean I to periwade you to forgo any thing of your own, and bestow it upon them? Take another course with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that which hath been paid, for consideration of the loan; you shall soon see that my retinue will make no greater shew, than any other mans else. But why am I the only man so careful of the citizens and people? Certainly, I can make no better answer herunto, than if I should ask me, wherefore I alone saved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yielded my helping hand to all in general, so will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treasure of the Gauls: the thing in itself being easy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult. For what need you ask me that which you know already your selves? Why lay you not that open which is in your secret bosom, rather than to have it sifted and bolted out? but that there is some privy juggling, some cunning practise and packing therein? The more ye would seem to have your leiger demain to be sought into and detected: so much the more, I fear me, ye will

hide

A "hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchful and quicksighted. And therefore aim not "to be forced to reveal and shew where your ston goods are: but you would be made, if you "were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At these words, the Dictator commanded him to leave off these foolish vapourings and trifling shifts: urging him either he had lately slandered and wrongfully charged the Senat, and sought to bring upon them the ill will and hatred of men, for a vain surmise and insinuation of Theocracy. But as he stoutly interposed and replied again, that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, nor owed them any such service: he commanded him to be had away to prison and kept in bonds. And as he was B apprehended by the Officer, "O *Jupiter* (quoth he) *Optimus Maximus*, O *Imus* Queen of heaven, "O *Minerva*, with other gods and goddesses, that inhabit the Capitol and the Cattle: suffer ye "your Knight and Defender: to be thus tugged, misused, and evil entreated by his adversaries? "And shall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gauls, and drove them from your Chapel and shrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that law and abide any just, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magistrate, contained her self and was content in some cases to be overruled: so far forth, that against the authority and absolute power of the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themselves, durst either cast up their eyes to look awry, or once open their mouths. But after *Manlius* was committed, it was for certain known, that a great sort of the Commoners, changed their weed and put on their worst apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow long; yea, and a number of them with loud and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Goal-dore.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volscians, his triumph bred him more hatred and displeasure than honor and glory: for it is commonly spoken, that he got it at home and not abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (say they) to like to grow much scandal and very sedition. For the appeasing and mitigation whereof, the Senat upon a sudden, without any motion made, of themselves became bountiful, and assigned 2000, D citizens of *Rome* to be sent to *Saturnum* to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was set out two acres and an half of Land apiece. Which the Commoners construed to be a matter of nothing, a small boon bestowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying *Manlius*. So his followers made him of greater mourning and heaviness, in their vile clothes and sad countenance, after the guise of persons accused during the time of their troubles. And when the fear and terror was once overblown, by reason that the Dictator after his triumph, reigned up his head in open audience to upbraid the multitude and cast in their teeth, "That it was their faultions always to lift up and advance their Protectors and Defenders: into high places, and afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfall, to forsake and leave them destitute. This was *Sp. Cassius* served, that solicited the Commons to the division of Lands: this was *Sp. Melius* overthrow, that put his hand to his purse, and at his own proper charges kept "extream famine from the hungry jaws of the poor citizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endeavoured to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and "to enlarge them and let them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed unto his deadly enemies: so that the Commons do feed and drink up, even for the shambles and butchers knife "the factors and maintainers of their wealth and liberty. And ought indeed (say they) a Noble man, that sometimes had been Consul, thus to be misused? he answered not to the good liking "and pleasure of the Dictator? Suppose, he had over-reached and made a lie afore, and so had "not a present and ready answer at the time: was there ever any servant and slave, for leaving call "in prison and laid up in lions? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have "been the last night that ever the Romans should have seen: that fatal night of their final destruction for ever? Or how could they chide, but have still in their eye the army of the Gauls climbing up the Cliff *Tapeia*? and how *M. Manlius* in person, so bravely been in his armour, "all sweating all bleeding, rescued and saved *Jupiter* himself in a manner out of the enemies hands? "What? Did they think that with half-pound measures of wheat meal, they had insufficiently recompensed the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized amongst "the holy hallows of Heaven, or at least-wise by his new addition of surname made equal to "the *Jupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to suffer him by his new addition of surname made equal to "and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus cased not the multitude to exclaim and make "their plaints, and would not depart from that place, nor, not all the multitude to exclaim and make "break the prison by force: until such time as they got that wretched, which otherwise they would have wrested, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senat was released out of prison and enlarged. Whereby the mutiny was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the Sedition.

About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony *Circensia*, and they of *Velletri*, who came to excite themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entered into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) were warned and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speed out of the City: from the sight and presence of the people of *Rome*; for fear lest the privilege of Embassage, provided for the security and safe conduct of forrainers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was let on foot again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrats: wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* the second time, *P. Valerius Potius* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time, *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus* the second time, *C. Papirius Crassus*, *T. Quintus Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forrainers nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Commons. For the Com, in this regard, that being not called away by any musters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of ultry. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp let, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, and to make either a shaft or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com, to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of (tomack, anger and gall he was now a good deal than aforetime. Needed he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproach and contumely. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict, durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintus* had extended upon *Sp. Madius*; and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict, sought to wind himself out, and in resigning up his room, to avoid the offense given by his imprisonment; but also that the very Senat was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up and galled too, he failed not withal to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. "How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ignorant, and not know what ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature it self would not have so much as the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number your selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to let up their Lordship. For, look how many favours ye have been, following and courting one patron, to whom many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. Let them see you once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yeeld and part with their right; Either ye must adventure, all jointly together to do somewhat, or else make account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon me? I for my part, surely, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fail not me, I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine enemies) taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you saw him led to prison, who saved every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more (spight, Where am I then? and what were I best to trust unto? Should I look for that end that *Cassius* and *Madius* came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the peflage, and with the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they must give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (so mighty a people otherwise) as to think it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help against your enemies; and to know no other scuffling with your adversaries (the Senators) but wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This baseness cometh not to you by kind, by use and custome only, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the cause ye are so courageous against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to strive for forrainers, whereas against these ye have been used rather, to make some slight proof and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your best, and to put your selves forth for to maintain it and extend it to the most. And yet what manner of captains sever ye have met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves, obtained ye have hitthero all things that ye shot at, were they never so great: Such was your might, or such was your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy

"experience

The Feditious
Oration of
M. Manlius to
the Commons
of Rome.

A "experience of already: with less ado shall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the
Senators, than ye have been hitherto of those, that were to resist only their impetuous govern-
ment. Down we must with these Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them all with
the ground: that the commonality of *Rome* may once be aloft, and bear up the head, that
your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder process and course of law for actions of debt,
I profess my self a Patron of the Commons, which name my care or you, my friendships to
you, hath induced me with. And if you please to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more
glorious title of honour and Majesty, ye shall find it more potent and available to effect that
which you long for and desire. And so from that time forwards, began some practice to set up the
Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms they agreed, or
plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other side, the Senator, sat in Con-
cel, and debated about the Succession and secret meeting of the Commons in the private house of
Manlius, and that house, which stood (as it fell out) upon the Cattle Hill: likewise of that immi-
nent engine and fabrick, devised for the overthrow of the present liberty. Many were of opinion,
of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off, might end this intestine and civil war.
But they came down at length, and grew to a resolution, in words milder, yet indeed and effect
all one, That the *Magnificence* should have a cure. For that by these mischievous plots and practices of
C. M. Manlius, the Commons were incited and diminished, and hurt. Then the Tribuns in Consuls au-
thority, and the other Tribuns of the Commons (for even they also seeing, that in the looke of the
publick liberty of all, their power likewise should come to an end, had yeelded to be advised and
ruled by the Senat) laid all their heads together, and consulted what course was best to be taken.
When as no man could be think of any way, but plain violence and bloodshed (a peace or work in
all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then *M. Mucius*, and *Q. Publilius*, two
Tribuns of the Commons stepped forth and said, "What mean we to make that, a quarrel be-
tween the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City, indeed should un-
derstand against to dangerous and pestilent a member? Why trouble we one selves to let upon
him and the Commons with him, whom by the means of the very Commons themselves we
D "own power wherupon he presumeth, he may fall lurcharged and overwhelmed with his
fully minded to arrest him, to convent him judicially, and call him to his answer. We are
the less popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The
multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they
shall become his competent Judges, and pass upon him, who now are his Advocates: also, that
his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand, at
the bar, and the indictment framed, upon the crime of usurping the Kingdom: but (by these
of it) they will tender and favour the fair looks and person of no man, before the cause of their
own free estate. When all the house liked well, and allowed of this advice and overture, they
E made no more ado, but served *Manlius* with process to answer at a day appointed. Which was
when they saw the accused man, during his trouble so fitfully arraigned, accompanied with none
the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and affinity, nor his very brethren *An.* and
T. Manlius. A thing; before that day never seen nor known, but that in so great a danger as
was, the nearest kinsfolk in blood, did change their weed. For even when *Q. Claudius* his ad-
versary, yes, and the whole image and name of the *Claudivi*, were mournfully clad, and poorly
paraded. Now surely (say they) it is a very compact amongst them all, that this popular man, to
gracious and well beloved, should be confounded and overthrown, because he was the first that
ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment,
F I can find in no author, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to
prove the crime of aspiring to a Kingdom, but only the conventicles of the multitude, certain in-
dicious words, his overmuch largels, and his forged libelle and false information of the gold, I
doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing that
the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cause, but occasioned
by the place only. This one thing seemeth worthy to be noted, and for all mens learning, that
how notable and how great forever his honor, worship, and commendable parts were: the foul
and curied desire of tyrannical rule, made not only unpleasant and without grace, but also odious
and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, twine hundred men,
dred men, whom he had laid out money for gratis, and without any interest, twine hundred
those whose goods he saved from port-sale, and without any interest, twine hundred men,
they were condemned. Over and besides, he not only reckoned up their creditors, after
fight, the honorable testimonies of his service in the wars: as the spoils of his enemies by him
slain and disbursed, to the number of 30, gifts bestowed upon him by his enemies by him
40, amongst which were two goodly mural garlands for scaling and entering upon the walls
first: eight civick coronets for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he presented
there in place, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the enemies hands:
and amongst them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that instant General of the Horlemen, and now
abient.

On ye come
to the over-
throw of the
Senat.

Manlius 22.
regard, and
subverteth
his house.

Established in
form of the
statutes of
a well
made of the
branches.

M. Furius his
answer to *L.*
Furius, and the
soldiers.

"come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hiceto: *Camillus* made answer again: What wars forever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of *Rome* deny, but that in them you never repented, either of my policy or happy luck. Now I know full well, that I have a companion joined with me, in government & rule of equal commissions: for the prime and lustiness of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have indeed been used ever to command, and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authority, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Commonwealth, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do in war, therein surely I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the immortal Gods, that some notable mishap befall not to make my former counsel good and praiseworthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advice for profitable and wholesome, nor the Gods you, bide to hear his prayers for holy and devout. Then *Lucius Furius* the author and principal periwader of battel, setteth the vanguard in array. *Camillus* he fortifieth the Regiments and Squadrons for supply in the rearward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp. Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mans counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they rustled and made a noise with their armour, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gave footing and loft ground. Now, there was behind them on their back a pretty rising of an Hill between their camp and the battel: and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction that whiles both armies were hard in fight, and when their enemies should come near their trench and rampier, they might tally out on a sudden upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they retreated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the ill-fated victors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the tall and delectable of the Hill: and forced the battel of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from out of the camp, and were fresh and lusty, pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans soldiers forgetting now both their late insults, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plumed their backs on all sides, fled amain by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereat *Camillus* being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Conner, and with all the speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rearward against the enemy: "Is this (quoth he) the fight, you soldiers, that ye so called for? What God, what man can ye lay the weight on now? It was your rashness and fool-hardiness afore: and it is your dastardly cowardice now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General, Follow *Camillus* now a while: and as ye have been always wont by my leading, once more win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is no coming thither, there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were affrighted, and staid themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw one the ensigns wheel about, and the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy amain. And the General himself, a man renowned for many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so revered, even amongst the foremost ensigns, amid the greatest perils, and most difficulties, advanced forth in person. Hereupon every one for his part, let the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Neither was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Collegue unto the Horsemen (whiles he in the mean time marshalled again the Footmen in order) not by way of chiding (for whar might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?) but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all and some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes work. Indeed (quoth he) when my brother *Camillus* would not agree thereto, but expressly forbade, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashness of all, than the widome and sage advice of one. *Camillus* (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the glory will be his: but I, unless the battel be revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most miserable and pitious case) but the flame will redound and light upon my head and none else. Well, as length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to beslow them among the waving and disordered companies and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there went neither in the Generals nor in the soldiers, courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seen by the happy event, that valorous endeavours speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeited fear, now fled in good sadness as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slain. As for the rest that remained in the camp, which presently at one brunt was won, more of them were taken prisoners than killed. In the chase & account taken of the captives, there were some of them known to be Tuskians, who were severed apart from the rest, and brought before the

State-

M. Furius Ca-
millus to his
soldiers, fly-
ing away.

L. Furius to his
soldiers.

They were
defeated.

A State-Tribuns. And upon examination, confessed fully, that they served by the publick warrant of the City. *Camillus* herewith disquieted, sort out of war from to meet neighbors. said he would forth with have those prisoners with him to *Rome*, that the Lords of the Senate might not be ignorant how the Tuskians were revolted from their fidelity. In the mean while, his brother Tribun might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the leaguer and the host. The work neither he himself, nor any man else in the army, thought that *Camillus* would quit, and yet fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of downfall. And as well in the host, as also at *Rome*, it was ripe and urgent in every mans mouth: that whereas the fight with the Volscians was variable, and the victory doubtful, the Tuskians, by the difficulties and the running away, *L. Furius* was all in fault: but for the good felicity, *Camillus* had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Council House, and the Lords of the Senate were of opinion and determined war against the Tuskians, and had laid the charge thereof upon *Camillus*, he requested to have an assistant joined with him in Commission: and being left to his own choice *L. Furius*. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himself, he both delayed the intamy of his Collegue, and won himself great glory and commendation. Yet for all this, proceeded not they to any war with the Tuskians. For they by their constant observation, when the Romans entered and invaded their territory, they were not so much as one of those places that lay near the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they were not so much as one of those grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gowns, as well out of the City as Country, bringing their victuals right conveniently to leave the army, desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of peace within the walls as abroad in the Country, entered the City: and seeing the doors standing open, the shop windows up, all kind of wares set out to sale upon the bulks: the Craft-men and Artisans busily every one occupied at his work: the Grammar schools ringing again with a chime of Scholars, learning and doing their lessons: the streets full of women and children amongst the other common people going to and fro about their business: he could perceive no where about him any thing that carrying in that warlike order. Thus call he his eyes into every corner, seeking where this war should be. For there was not so much as any token to be seen, either of ought removed out of the way, had scarcely heard any inkling or rumor of hostility. Being therefore overcome with this patience and sufficiency of the enemies, he caused their Senat to assemble unto whom he spake in this wise: "Ye alone this day of all that I know, O Tuskians, have found the only manner of proof, and the forcible sense indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romans ire. Go your ways to *Rome* unto the Senat there. The Lords of the Council will weigh and consider, whether ye deserve more punishment before, then pardon now. I will not torcible and pick my self a private thank for a publick benefit. At my hands ye shall have this favour and liberty, to speak for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat shall think good, so shall you yourself have been faithful Allies and kept their allegiance seen to stand waiting with heavy cheer, and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Council Chamber: the Lords received by way of hospitality, more like then hostility. Then the Dictator of *Tusculum* made this speech and said: "Right honorable Senators, we against whom ye have proclaimed and made war, came forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed as ye see us at this present standing in the porch of your Council House. This was our array, this was the habit of our Commons, and always shall be, unless at any time we shall put on arms for you, and in your quarrel. Thanks we yield to your Captains and to your Armies that they have beleaved rather their eyes than their ears: and where they saw no hostility at all, there they offered none themselves. That peace which we have shewed and observed, the same gave we humbly still at the hands of your clemency. Turn we before you from your forces thither where power is to be found. And if we must needs make trial (by suffering ought) of your piety and power be against us: we will try it surely without armor. This is our full resolution, God grant it prove as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a single heart. As for the treacheries whereupon ye were moved to denounce war against us: although it be bootless and to no purpose to disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely, were they never to true, we think verily that without prejudice to our selves, we may fairly confess the same, since that we have so evidently repented the do. And for you, so long, as you be worthy to have to fill much in effect (take the Tuskians. At the very instant they obtained peace: and not long after, the right of free burghers, to be made Citizens of *Rome*, so the Legions were withdrawn back again from *Tusculum*. Thus *Camillus* having won great honor by his policy and valour both in the Vol-

The prudent
moderation
of the Tusk-
ians.

Camillus to the
Senate of Tus-
culum.

The Dictator
of *Tusculum*
to the Senat of
Rome.

scian war: by his happy success in the journey of *Tusculum*: by his singular patience and carriage of himself, toward his companion in government, as well in the one place as the other, went out of his Magistracy: there being created Tribuns Military for the next year, *L. Valerius* the fifth time, and *Pub. Valerius* the third time, *C. Servilius* the third time, *Licinius Menenius* the second time, *P. Porpinus*, *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

There was this year need of Censors also, by reason especially of the doubtful rumors that ran concerning debts: whiles of the one side the Tribuns of the Commons did aggravate the greatness thereof, and made it seem an odious matter: and they again of the other side, did elevate and made life of the same for whom it was good and beneficial, that the lent money should be thought abroad, in danger of being lost: for that (say they) the debtors cautiously rather would not, than for ability could not, keep their credit and make payment. So there were created Censors, *C. Sulpicius Camerinus*, *Sp. Posthumius Regillensis*. And this matter now already commenced, was broken off by the death of *Posthumius*, because it would have bred a scruple to chuse another Censor in the room of him deceased. When *Sulpicius* therefore had resigned up his place, it fell out to that other new Censors upon some error committed in their creation, exercised not their office: and to chuse a third time they made a scruple, so tender conscienced were they, as if the gods were not well pleased with that office for that year. But the Tribuns would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intolerable: saying, "That the Senat sought to avoid

The Tribuns of the Commons against the Senat,

"the exhibiting of publick records and books, which gave testimony of the valuation of every man's substance to the worth: because they would not have the sums of debts to be seen and known: which might bewray and plainly shew, that one part of the City was enervated up and

devoured of the other: and in the mean time the poor Commons too deeply engaged, were packed away, and sent forth against these enemies and those: and now without all regard and discretion, they sought occasions to quarrel and make war in every place. From *Antium* to *Saturnia*, from *Suricula* to *Velutris*, from these to *Tusculum* have your Legions been posted. And now, forsooth, there is war intended against the Latins, Hernicks and Prenetins: for hatred

rather of the Citizens here at home, then of the enemies abroad: and all to wear out the Commons with continual wars, and to afford them no breathing while within the City: that in time of rest they might remember and think upon their freedom, keep their rooms in common assembly, where they might at the length hear their Tribuns voice pleading for the ease-

ment of misery, and for a final end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their ancestors liberty, they would suffer neither any Citizen of *Rome* to be awarded to bondage for debts, nor any multures for to be taken, until a view were made and just account had, of every man his debts, and some course taken for abating the same: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what remained of his own: whether his body were left free, or at the mercy of his creditor, to lie in

cold iron and baleful prison. This hire and salary of sedition, this reward once propounded a-forehand, stirred up (you may be sure) a mutiny soon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their Creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be believed, for the bruit and rumor that went of the Prenetins wars: both matters began to be hindered for

taking any effect, as well by the Tribuns help as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribuns suffer those that were condemned to be led to prison: nor yet the younger sort of the Commons, enter their names in the Muster-master his book. And the Senators for the present, less minded the execution of judgement for the Creditors behoof, then the mustering. For why?

News came already, that the enemies had put themselves in their journey from *Prenefte*, and were encamped in the Sabins country: And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickened and provoked the Tribuns of the Commons to the broil that was begun, than frightened them any jot from it. Neither would any thing serve to quench the sedition in the City, until the war was come in manner to the very walls. For the Prenetins had intelligence given them, that in

Rome there was no army gathered, no General certainly known: the Senators and Commons not at jar and together by the ears. Their Captains hereupon, taking this advantage and opportunity, with a running camp invaded, spoiled and wasted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners displayed before the gate *Collina*. Great fear was in the City, every man cried Alarm, run up to the walls to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the last they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* Dictator. He appointed for his General of horsemen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. This was not so soon vol-

ged abroad, (so great a terror went always with that magistrature) but the enemies withal dissolved and departed from the walls: and the younger sort of the Romans, without any trifling and drawing back, upon the proclamation, gathered together. Whiles forces were thus arising at *Rome*, the enemies pitched their camp not far from the River *Albia*: and as they foraged the Country all about, they bragged and vaunted among themselves, that they had got that very plot

of ground, which was ever fatal to the destruction of the City of *Rome*. Here will be (say they) the like fight, from hence will they fly, no doubt, as sometimes they did before in the Gauls war, for

if the Romans feared that dismal and unlucky day, noted with the infamous name of this place: how much more will they dread the river *Albia* itself, in memorial of their so great overthrow, than the only bare day *Albentis*? Certainly, when they are come hither, they will think they see again the grim looks, and hear the hideous voices of those savage Gauls. Thus rolling & tossing,

The Prenetins invade the territory of Rome,

A with themselves these toyish conceits, rising of as vain and foolish presumptions, they relied wholly and repaid their ill hope in the lucky persuasion only of the place. The Romans continually knew full well, that their enemies the Latins, were (wherever they were) the very time as their devoted vassals in subjection, and as for the place now indeed, for them, mortal of boldness and cancel the remembrance of that shameful disgrace, then put them in fear, that any selves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they

B did at *Rome*, in the very of their country: as they did the morrow after at *Collina*: when they home again to tell news how they sped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being resolute and contrate array, within light, "See you not (quoth he) O *A. Sempronius*, how they have stayed at *Albia*?

"I pray God, But you, with truly unlooked weapons, and doughty courage set spins to henc, gallop amongst the thicket of their main battel with your horsemen, I with the legions on foot

"will advance mine Engins, and display them in their faces, and charge them betwixt when they are disband on e, and put in fear. Adios now, and adios. O ye gods (the wits of our

C league) and punish them only for their delicts, both in dishonouring your div. e Majesty, and deceiving us in our name, whom they called enemy to witness. Neither horsemen nor foot-

men could the Prenetins abide, but at the very first shout and shock were the ranks broken. And seeing this, battalions in no place whole and flock were the ranks broken. were in that ominous tear, and arrayed away beyond their own camp, they stayed not turning

for life, until by good footmanship they were come within the sight of *Prenefte*. There all such as well as they could: left peradventure, and chose a plot of ground, to sally in that late their villages should have been used, and after had put themselves within the town, forthwith

D tune to be besieged. But when the Roman Conqueror after the falling of their camp at *Albia* was come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that Fort also, and got within the town: there were under the leignory of the Prenetins, against which the Dictator warred round: and

and got that town also by assault. Then came he to the principal head and very last town of the war, *Prenefte*, which was not by force won, but by surrender yielded up into his hands. And *T. Quintius* thus having obtained one victory in a pight field, won two camps and holds of the ene-

E again to *Rome*. In his triumph he carried aloft the Image of *Jupiter*, surnamed Emperor, which he brought from *Prenefte*, and set up in the Capitol, where it was placed and dedicated: a monument of this noble exploit recorded and engraven in these or such like words: *T. Quintius Dictator*, by the gracious help of *Jupiter*, and with the help of the gods, won nine towns, so on the 20 day

Then was the assembly holden for electing of Tribuns Military with Coill authority, who were equally chosen from out of the Nobility and the Com. Of Nobles were created, *P. and C. Minucius*, *Manlius*, for that in blood and degree they were above the Commens, and for favour more gracious then *Julius* the province of the *Volsians* was bestowed extraordinarily, without calling for

F selves ruled, and the Senators also (that would have it to repent afterwards, For without any co-footmen) foraging, and when upon a false alarm that those were best & intrapped they not, bid

themselves apart, after to their rescue & convey, & kept not with them till the reporter of these tidings (who being indeed a Latin and an enemy, but disguised in the habit of a Roman soldier,

whiles they made resistance with main force only in a ground of great disadvantage (giving & raising another quarter entered the camp of the Romans lying open in the plain, thus in both places,

G dy and resolute valor of the Roman soldiers only, without the help of general and command, Upon which news reported at *Rome*, at the first it was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but at

they knew not how to use a victory when they had it, nor to take the opportunity of the time, whiles it offered it self both the Generals & the army were sent for home from them: & so for the sudden tumult by reason that the Prenetins having solicited the people of the Latins, entered into

rebellion again. In the same year the men of *Seia* made moan of them elves for want of people, and thither new Coloners were assigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans sped but badly in wars, yet the quietness at home was some comfort; which the Tribuns Military chosen from out of the Commons had procured by reason that they were so gracious and revered among those of their own coat and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the first on a light fire with hot discord and mutiny, when *Sp. Furius*, *Quintus Servilius* the second time, *Licinius Menenius* the third time, *P. Claudius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganius* were Tribuns Military with Consuls authority. The matter and cause of which seditions broils, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition whereof, and to know to what sums they amounted, *Sp. Servilius Priscus* and *Cladius Scaevola* were made Censors, but flopped they were for doing any thing by occasion of wars. For first, fearful messengers in all haste brought word, and alter, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volscians were entered into the confines, and fell to spoiling every where the territory about *Rome*. Notwithstanding which fear and forraign terror, so little were the civil discords appeased, that contrariwise the Tribuns of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of souldiers, until they had indentured and capitulated with the Senators, that so long as the wars lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any impost, or be sued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this easement and liberty, the musters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into the Volscians Country. So *F. Virius* and *M. Horatius*, went on the right hand along the sea coast to *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganius* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to *Ecetra*. But on neither side met they with the enemy. Whereupon they fell to forraging the Country, not here and there in scattering wise, as the Volscians had done, after the manner of robbers, at starts upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power, and army of men and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the fouler work they made. For the Volscians standing in fear, left in the mean while they should be encountered with a power from *Rome*, had made roads only into the utmost frontiers; But contrariwise, the Romans made stay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish houses and granges, and some villages also, and left behind them no fruitful tree standing, nor the fown corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and catrel, which they could light on without the walls; they reduced their armies of both sides home again to *Rome*. In this mean while the debtors had some little respite to breath themselves in. But so soon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a fresh to be sued and troubled by their creditors at home. And so small hope they had to be released of their old usury, that they fell into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Censors had set out to be made of square Ashler stone. To yield unto this imposition and burden, the Commons were driven, because there was no muster for the Tribuns of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribuns military, all of the Nobility, to wit, *L. Emilius*, *P. Valerius* the fourth time, *C. Veturius*, *Servius Sulpicius*, *L.* and *C. Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

By the fame strong hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger sort took the military oath, to that they levied three armies against the Latins and Volscians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themselves at *Saturnum*. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be set out against all sudden wars, it happily elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the conduct of *P. Veturius*, and *L. Emilius*, led to *Saturnum*. Where, finding the enemies embattled in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in fight, and were but only in some good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain to poured down with huge storms and tempests, that it parted both hosts asunder. The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins especially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, stood to it as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romans. At length, the Roman horsemen that rood in a-mong them, brake their ranks; and when they were once disarrayed, the footmen displayed their ensigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans battel set toward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to taint in their fight, then the violence of the Romans was inmolerable. Thus the enemies were discomfited and scattered: and flying not toward their camp, but to *Saturnum*, which was two miles off, they were by the horsemen especially beaten down, trod under foot and slain. Their tents were taken and rifled. From *Saturnum* they dislodged, the next night after the battel was fought and marched in great haste (as if they fled) to *Antium*. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heels, yet their footmanship served them better in their fear, than it did the Romans, for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their rearward, or for them to stay. After this, some days were spent in walling the Country. For neither we the Romans sufficiently provided with warlike engines of battery and artillery to assail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide battel in plain field. Then arose some discord within the town, between the Latins and the Antiats. The

Antiats,

A Antiats, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old age, were of mind to yield. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as little was soon ended. So the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, for unhonest & dishonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out to revenge their own countries, tending to their good and safety, yielded up their town and country to the Romans. But the Antiats being well rid of these Commendors of theirs, to cross into all wholesome

B the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy flight. Neither let they any wholesome Church of *Dame Alanta* they spared. From which, as well profane as holy churches, only the enee of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a tearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, unless they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiously. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to themselves yielded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate Citizens of the whole Town. All but the Cattle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were thither fled: and sent messengers to *Rome* with certifiat to the Senat of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of *Rome*) an army was led to *Tusculum*: whercof *L. Quinctius* and *Servius Sulpicius*, had the besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the walls, on the other side assailed the Cattle, at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear both parties. For it canted the Tusculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the

D Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortres out of hand, as being matters already of the town, had but small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tusculans they let up a great shout from the Cattle: and answered it was again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the hard under the walls, and assaying to break the bars of the gates. First, they scaled the walls and gart upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that pressed fore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies every mothers son. So when *Tusculum* was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more encreased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make payment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfy their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the confidence to let fall their hearts and stoop to low, that there was not a witty and nimble-headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Tribun Military, in concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had to earnethly hot at and laboured for) no, nor so much as to bear and live for any offices of the Commons, so as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons, or not joy too much heretofore, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this order might, mostly gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprise of much importance.

M. Fabius Ambulstus a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as amongst the Commons (whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition, as also state) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servius Sulpicius*, the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and renowing, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* did now it well to do, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servius Sulpicius*, conferring one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Verger of *Sulpicius*, at his rod at the door. When the younger *Fabius* not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wonder at her ignorance, laught her to scorn. But that laughter (as womens minds got wont, are soon kindled with a little) set her a work & hampered in her head.

Berdes

The Laws of
Licinius and
Sextius.

* I forbid. It
was the nega-
tive voice of
Tribuns.

Besides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance, ready to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose she thought her sister happily wedded, and repented her own marriage: upon an ill and sinister judgment, whereby every man repineth that his neighbor and neerest of kin especially, should go beyond him and do better than he. Upon this discontentment and fresh heart-burning of hers, her father haply seeing her dismal, asked her whether she was well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grief another way. (for that it stood neither with her love and kindness towards her sister, to envy her estate; nor yet with the reverent honor that she was to yield unto her husband, to find fault with her own) he with mild questioning came about her, so that he drew from her the truth: so as she confessed her grief to arise upon this, that she was disparaged; and namely, married not according to her quality, but into an house incapable of both of worship and favour. Then *Amphylus*, comforting his daughter, willed her to be of good cheer, and said, That ere it were long, she should see the same state, the same advancement and dignity at home, which she had been already in her sisters house. Hereupon began he to plot with his son in law, joyning also unto them, *L. Sextius*, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion and opportunity they seemed to have of compassing some alteration in the State, by reason of the excessive debts that men were grown into: for the redressing and easing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the sovereign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to address themselves to the execution of these designs, considering that by endeavor and industry, the Com. moners were climbed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce and put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the height, and might be equal with the Nobles, as well in honour as in virtue and prowess. And for the present, it was thought good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius* propoled laws, all tending to abate the power and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was defaulted and deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use and interest, the residue should be discharged by even portions in 3 years. A second, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands, That no man might hold in possession above 500 acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no election of Trib. Military, but of Civil, provided always, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and consequence, and such as without exceeding strife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. Thus when all those things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazard to be lost, which the whole world unmeasurably coveteth and lengtheneth after, to wit, land, money, and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to startle. And laying their heads together both in public consultation and private conference, they could devise no other remedy, but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the stepping between them and negative voice of some of the Tribuns. And so, to cross those bills aforelaid put up by the two Tribuns, they had wrought and made to their purpose certain of their own brotherhood. Who so soon as they saw the wards and tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their suffrages, being well backed and guarded with the assistance of the Senators, would suffer neither those laws to be read, nor any other besides (as yearly they used to pass by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribuns aforelaid, having oftentimes, but in vain assembled the people together, and seeing their laws still snipped, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; "It is very well (quoth *Sextius*) and since ye like so well that ye should have the Commons to prevail so much: we will likewise defend the Commons with the same weapon and no other. Go to now my Masters of the Nobility, proclaim an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make it I trow, that this word [* Veto] shall do you elves no good at all: howsoever now ye take so great pleasure to hear our brethren keep that note still, and evermore give that sweet content of music, And surely, those threats proved indeed to good earnest and took effect. For there was no election at all but of *Ediles* and Tribuns, and those both of the Commons. For *Licinius* and *Sextius* being chosen Tribuns again, suffered no Magistrates of the Chair, or of State, to be created. Which defeat and devaluation of sovereign Magistracy continued in the City for the space of five years: whilst the Commons for their part chose the same two Tribuns still, and they again ever laid a bar and put in a caveat against the election of Tribuns Military.

All other wars, as good hap was, were asleep for the time. The Colonies only of *Vulturne*, upon so long rest and quietness began to be lusty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of the Romans stirring abroad, they not only made invades sundry times into the territory of *Rome*, but also assailed the town *Tusculum*. And when the *Tusculans*, the ancient Allies and new enfranchised Citizens of *Rome* craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved especially for very shame to succour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yielded at length, and permitted an assembly for election, to be holden by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were created, *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A.* and *C. Valerius*. Who found not the Commons so tractable in the mustering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army and set forward on their journey: drove the enemies not from *Tusculum* only, but forced them within their own walls: besieged *Vulturne* more straightly a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than *Tusculum* had been by them,

Howbeit

A Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the town. For before that time, were new Tribuns Military chosen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Varrus*, *A.* and *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quinctius*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at *Vulturne*. But the State at home found laws aforelaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again. *Fulvius* also a Trib. for the same laws, which in very deed himself had devised. And whereas at the first, eight of the College or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had crossed the proceeding of them: now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they were to do that tongue, and trunks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wit) That a great sort of the Commons were in the army at *Vulturne* and absent, and that the solemn Session or Assembly for enacting laws, ought to be adjourned until the return home of the soldiers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commodity and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribuns, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribuns Military, being their own craft-masters, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to manage the people (to hard with interrogatories of every particular that was propoled, that they were tired and tired them out: Demanding, "how they could require to be allowed themselves to possess more than 500 acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongst them? Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands, well-need, or not: upon, and to serve for a place to bury his dead? Also, whether their will and pleasure was that the Commons oppressed with unry, should yield their bodies to bear whols and suffer torment, unless they paid the interest before the principal? And that daily by whom companies they should be fled away from the bar, condemned to thraldom, and Noble mens houses to become goals, and filled and pestered with prisoners? And wherefore a Patrician dwelt, there should be a prison? These indignities and piteous matters to be heard, when they had with a loud voice charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdain of all that heard them, than they themselves shewed in the interring and delivery: "But these Senators say they (and that they reckoned) will never make an either of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling, and undoing the Commons with unry, until the Commons make once out of their body one Consul, for to be the mainstay and protector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons they were now just nothing less, as who by their privilege of Inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and others: "threw their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal cause taken, long as the Nobles keep the sovereign place of command, and the sword to strike whilst the Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unless the government be parted between both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equal portion in the Com. mon-wealth. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this only, that in Election of Consuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in case, it be not concluded absolutely, that one Consul at the least should be of the Commons, there will never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, That there should be Tribuns Military created rather than Consuls, for this intent that Commons might alpire and reach unto the chief place of honor; yet for all that in 14 years space, there was not so much as one of the Commons chosen Tribuns Military? And will any man believe that they will of their own accord confer upon the Commons (when otherwise they may) that dignity in the disposing of only two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribuns into the Consulship, who thus long have held the (Consular) Tribuneship forwaded as no men might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be got by a positive law, which in their Assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Consuls rooms must be set aside, past all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into. For as much as if it stand still upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the game: clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and say, That the Commons are forced not sufficient and able men to bear the offices of the chair and of state, that now cannot be truly objected. For was the Common-wealth, I pray you more slackly and negligently governed was made Tribuns Military, than it was ruled for those years space, in which there was not a Tribuns Military but of the Nobility? Nay, on the contrary did it will be justified that some of the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribuneship, and not one of the Commons. And whereas not many years past we began to make Quæstors or Treasurers out of the Commons like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of *Rome* repented never of the choice of any one of them. It remaineth now that the Commons bear the office of Consuls too: That were a foretold of their liberty, that were a strength and sure hold to trust unto. If they were once come and slept to that degree, then may the people of *Rome* think assuredly and be per-

(Made)

"swaded, that the KK. are banished indeed out of the City, and their freedom fully established for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be partakers of all those things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, sovereign rule and authority, martial renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doubtless, unto themselves to enjoy here in this life: but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and Posterity. These and such like Orations when they saw to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new Statute, That in stead of the two *Dumvirs* for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church, there might be chosen ten *Decemvirs*: Provided always, that one part of them should be created forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Session for enacting of all those Laws; they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the siege before *Velitrae*.

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that means the whole business about these new Laws, hung till in suspense, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, the Commonalty chose the same again, even those twain who had been the proposers of those Laws. And the Tribuns Military were these, *T. Quintius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius*. Presently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the jump and final trial what should become of those Laws. And when as the Tribes were called, and none of the Tribuns Collegues stepped before to stop the proceeding of the Law-givers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helps, to wit, the highest and absolute office, and the greatest man among them. They thought good therefore to create a Dictator. And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who elected unto him *L. Aemilius* for General of the horse. The Law-makers likewise for their part, against to great preparation of their adversaries, armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomach and courageous heart, And having assembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wards to give their voices. At what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frowns, took his place and set him down. And after the matter was canvassed first, by the ordinary conflict of the Tribuns among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gained the Law with their negatives voices; and that by how much in right the prohibition was the stronger, so much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the Laws and Law-givers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice (** Mirrogatus*) affirmatively: then *Camillus*, as much as (quoth he) *O Quirites*, ye are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times past ye obtained the privilege of a negative voice and ** Intercession* by your departure and Secession, so now ye make it void and nothing worth, even by the force that ye got by it: I chosen Dictator as well for your sake as for the whole Common-wealth, will assist your privilege of *Intercession*, and by mine absolute authority maintain this your help and succour, now revered and overthrown. If therefore *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office: I will not in a meeting and assembly of the Commons, once intermeddle, nor bring in the authority, of a Magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all prohibition) to impose and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conquest of the enemy, I will not suffer the Tribuns power by their own selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big words notwithstanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a tush theret, and went never the less forward with their enterprize, then *Camillus* thoroughly angered indeed, sent his Lictors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatning withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people; and lead an army presently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but it set their Captains and Ring-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courages one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was some error in his creation (as some have written) or because the Tribuns of the Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dictator) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round fine set on his head of 500000 *Astres*, I know not certainly. But I believe that he was terrified upon some unlucky signs of the birds, rather than with any such strange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man, so well given and of so good conscience, and also for that *P. Manlius* was immediately named Dictator in his stead. For to what end should *Manlius* have been created Dictator for that broil and stir, wherein *M. Furius* had taken the foil before? Again, seeing the same *M. Furius* was Dictator the next year following, doubtless, he would never for shame have resumed that office, wherein the year before he had received the foil and disgrace: to be so overruled, Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was supposed to have been preferred, concerning his fine: either he might have withstood it too; (whereby he saw himself to be bridled) or else he had not been able to have hindered so much as those, for which this also was proposed. Finally, it was never seen to this day wherein we live, so long as the Tribuns and Consuls with their factions and arts-taking have been at variance and debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled them all, and put them down.

Between the former Dictatorship of *Camillus* now resigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accepted

* (*As yet proposed*) The form of an Affirmative voice in their scrutinies.
* The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites.
* *Intercession* signifies here the privilege of the Tribuns of the Commons to deny and stop any Act, that it pass not.

* 1250. (*Astres*).

And begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it were of a vacancy or Interregnum: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen which of the laws proposed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that concerned tithy and land, they granted to pass; but that other of a Commoner to be Consul they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had been dispatched fully and established, and speak to all three directly together, after this, *P. Manlius* the Dictator favoured General of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators bestowed hereat, as I find in records, And the Dictator was wont to exerce the matter: untoing also, that the dignity of the General of horsemen was no greater then of a Tribun Consul. Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sextius* do demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue under colour of refusal, desired and sought for that, which they thought for their nine years they had stood, as it were, in battle array, to alledge and say, "as all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws proposed, and the whole strength of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were trod ty to the Velitern war: and till of all, the Dictators lightning flashed away the youth of the City thunderbolts shot against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withstood them, nor forraign wars hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath given a good fore-tokening and prelude of a Consul Commoner, in electing his General of horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt themselves, and delay their own goods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yea, and their grounds recovered again from the unjust Land-lord: Which benefits and liberties, when are they like to weigh and esteem with thankfull minds accordingly, it is in the very time that they act to accept the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cur off all hope of promotion and honour. From the publishers and propolers thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of the people of *Rome*, to require to be ealed themselves of tithy, and to be set in position again of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave those old Trib, by whose means they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not only without honor but also without all hope of honor. Let them first therefore set down with themselves, and resolve what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Tribunes, declare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly as they were propounded, then there were some reason to have the same Tribunes again: and then would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their will was to accept of that and no more than which I served each private man turn then there was made need, or none at all to have them still in office, with them y and grudging of so many. And to be there, neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were struck into their dumps and blank, for the very indignity to feel things thus go: At the last, one *Appius Claudius Crassus* (the nephew or sonson of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir upon a malicious mind and fell Romack, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to displease the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that to stout and peremptory speech of the Tribuns, in this manner. "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, *O Quirites* if that which hath been the only thing at all times objected by seditious Tribuns against our house, I also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and image of *Cladius* have ever from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common-wealth, than the Majesty and honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always let and opposed themselves against the good and well-fare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can nor will deny: and with at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavored and framed ourselves: that it might be said and that truly, that the honor and dignity of that state and degree into which I was your good pleasure we should be incorporated and graced with, was by my augmented: (rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine own behalf, and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, *O Quirites*, that (unless a man would think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as if they were meer aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, writing common-ly, and that neither in deed nor word we can be justly charged to have wrought and contrived any thing contrary to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out cross against your will and mind. But were I not a *Cladius*, and of that family, nor descended of noble blood, but come one of the Burgeses or Citizens: and knew my self to be but one

The Oration of *Appius Claudius Crassus* to the Tribunes of the Commons.

born.

"born, both by father and mother, and to live in a free City: could I (think ye) hold my tongue? but frankly I speak and say, that these perpetual Tribuns (God save all) *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius* I mean, have for nine years (for so long they have played *Rex*) taken so much upon them, and been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies for elections, nor in Scissions and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining Laws? Upon condition (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribuns again the tenth time, What is this else but to say? That, which other (say for, ye to scorn and disdain, that accept of it we will not, without good hire and recompence And what reward and consideration is this good hire, for which we may have your Worships, our ever-Tribuns? Marry (quoth he) that ye will accept jointly together and at once, all our laws, whether they like you or dislike you whether they be good or whollom, or bad and noisom. Now I beseech you good *Tarquins* (Tribuns of the Commons) I would have said I were one of the ordinary Citizens, and should find out of the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleased it your good grace, Sir, that out of these laws propounded, we may chuse those that we think good and whollom for us, and refuse and disdain the rest. [O quoth he] that may not be, Thou mayst allow, belike, and ordain, concerning many things concerning lands, which tend to the commodity of you all, But now beware of bugs. This monstrous and portentous wonder must in no case be permitted in *Rome*, that thou shouldst see *L. Sextius*, and this perilous fellow *C. Licinius* to be Consuls, which thy heart rieth at, and which goeth against thy Romack, Nay, my either accept of all, or I will propound none at all. [This is it all ones, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and ready to starve, poyson K and meat together: and bid him either forbear the whollom food to preserve his life, or else to take the deadly bane to hasten his death, But if this were a free State indeed, would not many a one have cried out and said, Avant you and your Tribuns, out upon you with your laws, What Sir? How if your Majesty will not put up and prefer that which is commodious and profitable for the people to accept: is there none think you besides that will propound it? If any Nobleman, or if any *Claudius* (which they take to be more odious) should thus say: *Either take all, or I will propose none at all*. Which of you, *Quirites*, would endure it? why? will ye never regard the sublimity more then the person; the matter rather then the man? But all is well taken and heard quickly, which that magistrate shall say. And wil ye always hear with the wrong or deaf ear, whatsoever any of us shall say to speak? Well, the words are naught, and the speech (without question) very unkind and rude. Now let us see what manner of law it is, that they storm so at, because by you it is rejected. In good faith, O *Quirites*, much like unto their language. This I require (quoth he) that it might not be lawful for you to make Cof, whom ye wil, for what else demandeth he, who would have it enacted by express terms, that one at least of the Cof, must be a Commoner of Necessity, and leaveth it not unto your choice to make two Noblemen Cof. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the *Tuscan* war was, when *Postum* was master of the *Junctis*: and kept that piece against us: or such as the Gauls war of late days was, when the enemies were 11, and possessed of all the City here, but the Capitol and fortres only, let case, that *L. Sextius* should be prick and propounded either with this *M. Furius* herein place, or with any one other of the Nobles, and propounded either would ye abide that *Sextius* should be undoubtfully Cof, and *Camillus* at devotion and in hazard to take repulce? Is this indeed to bestow your dignities indifferently with even and equal hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Consuls, and not two likewise of the Nobles? And that one of them must needs performe be created out of the Com, and in the election of both, the Nobles may be overpriced? What society is this, what community and participation? Will not this serve thy turn and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor interest alone, thou shouldst now have thy part: unless in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck all unto thyself? I fear me (quoth he) if both Consuls might be made of the Nobility, ye would chuse none at all of the Commonality. What is this else but to say? Because willingly of your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I will bind you thereto of necessity, to elect those whom otherwise ye would pass by. And what followeth hereupon but this, that the Commoner who standeth with two *Patris*, may plainly say, and that truly, he is not by voices chosen but by virtue of a law, and so acknowledged no benefit received of the people, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seek they means to wring your dignities from you, and not the way to sue for them: and would so obtain the greatest, as that they might not be obliged & bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and offices by advantage taking and cunning sleights, then by their own virtue, desert, and worthiness. But there is some one that cometh to be prised and looked into, and to be considered as he deserves: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that contest and stand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himself to your censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntary to be constrained: of free to be thrall and servile. I speak not of *Licinius* and *Sextius* whose years of their continual government ye reckon upon, and mark up in the Capitol, as they used sometime, to count the years of the Kings reign. But what is he this day in the City, of so base, so abject and low condition, that by the advantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consulship than we and our children have? As for us truly ye may sometime mis of chusing us, would you never so faine: but for them ye must needs, yea, though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignity and

Appius speaketh in the person of *Sextius* or *Licinius*, within these words []

Now speaketh *Appius* in his own person,

A "and unworthiness of the thing: For, dignity and worthiness, I take, to be matters properly to men pertaining. What shall I speak now of Religions, and of the solemnity of the Amplexes, which imply a meer contempt and injury done to the immortal gods? Who knoweth not, that by the approbation of the gods, testified by sight of birds, this City was first founded? at home? And who be they that have to do with these tokens and portages, by ancient custom and tradition from our forefathers? Forsooth even the Nobles and none else, As for the Magistrates of the Commons, none are chosen with regard of flight, flight, and feeding of the birds, but to us, they do so properly belong, that not only those Magistrates of the Nobles, which themselves, without the assent and voice of the people, do nominate an Interrex by means of the birds: yea, and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which these Commons use not in their very offices. What then meaneth he else, but to take these *Amplexes* out of the City, who by creating Commoners to be Consuls, depriveth the Nobles thereof, who only may have and use them? Now let them mock on and scoff at our religions, who our Ceremonies. What makes matter (say they) if those pullets peck or eat not? What if they come somewhat late out of their coop or cage? What if a bird fling ank or crow crows and con-trary? How then? A great piece of matter surely. Small things, I confess they be: but as small as they are, our anxieties by not contemning them, have brought this C. V. to a flourishing state. And we now adays, as if we stood not in need of the grace and favour of God, pollute all holy rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our priests and high priests, our Augurs, and King at sacrifices be created (it skilleth not how) even out of the common multitude. Let us see upon any mans head (it matters not whose, so he come in likeness of a man) the Miter of *Jupiter* his Flaming, let us commit the keeping of the Amplexes or heavenly shields, and the secret sanctuaries: let us commit the gods themselves and the charge of their holy service to those, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impiety. Let no laws be published nor Magistrates created solemnly, with regard of birds at all, and of the will of the gods. Nor in the Centuriate assemblies holden by degrees, and Curiae-meetings by the wards and parishes: let not the Senators be Presidents and have their authority and royal assent, let *Sextius* and *Licinius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius* reign together, as fellow Kings, in the City of *Rome*, because they give away to freely, the monies, lands and territories from others. So sweet and favoury it is to of these goodly laws, our fields will be desert and waste, by ejecting and dispossessing the right-ful land-lords: and by the other, all credit in borrowing and lending, in taking and putting forth of money shall be abolished. And then farewell all humane society, commerce and intercourse whatsoever. In these respects therefore, thus I conclude, and would counsel you, in any wise to stop, frustrate and disannul the overture and proceeding of these laws: and in so doing, I pray God bells and speed you well. This Oration of *Appius* thus far only prevailed: that the time of publication of these Acts, was cut off and deferred. But the same Tribuns *Sextius* and *Licinius*, being chosen again the tenth time, propounded this law and had it enacted. That of the five of them were of the Nobles, and five of the Commoners: whereby they seemed to have gained already one good step onward unto the Consulship.

The Commons contenting themselves with this victory, yielded unto the Senators, that for the present without any mentioning of Consuls, there should be elected Tribuns Military. So there were created *A. M. Cornilius* the second time, *M. Geganius*, *P. Machianus*, *L. Furius* and *P. Falerius* the sixth time. At what time, when as (but for the siege of *Ugentum*, which was like to be rest for any foreign troubles, the sudden and unlooked for news of the Gauls war, drove the Romans were at Fy to chuse *M. Furius* Dictator the fifth time: who took unto him for his General of the horseriver *Amio*: and that there was: that noble combat upon the bridge, in which *T. Manlius* in the fight of both armies slew in single fight a Gaul that had challenged him and given defiance and despoil was performed ten years after: and that in this year the Gauls had a battle given them by victory, although the French made them afraid at first in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thousands of this barbarous nation were slain in field, many also fell upon the sword in their camp after it was won. Some were scattered and fled, and the most (who took the way to *Apulia*) saved themselves from the enemy, both by lying low, and so far, and also for that upon their decree, that the Dictator should triumph. Who scarcely had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the City. For after vercome, yea, and forced to accept the Tribuns laws aforesaid. And also in despite of the Nobility and do what they could, there was an assembly held for election of Consuls: in which *L. Sextius*, the first was created Consul, the fifth Commoner that ever sat in Consul's chair. But the brother *Stolus* Consul, had

The Dictator was created.

L. Sextius, the first Commoner was created Consul, the fifth Commoner that ever sat in Consul's chair.

L. Gentius
Consul slain.

But it fortune'd so, that *Gentius*, being with great preparation and power set forth against the enemies, was entrapp'd by an Ambuscado, his legions upon a sudden fear unlooked for defeated, himself (the Consul) environed round about, and slain by them, that with not whom they flew. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, the Senators were not so pensive and sorrowful for the common calamity, as they tum'd and took on most insolently, for this unhappy expedition and conquest of the Commoner Consul: and muttered in all places these and such like speeches: "Now let them go and create Consuls again out of the commonalty, and translate the *Asprens* whither they ought not. What? Because the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dissolved of their dignities, could so ungraciously and irreverently a law prevail likewise against the Gods immortal? Who now themselves have taken the matter into their own hands, and maintained their power their deity and Auspices: which were not so soon meddled withal, and polluted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title, but both the whole army, and Captain also, were vanquished and overthrow'n: to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their solemn Elections of Magistrats consulely, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble houses. These speeches both Council-House and common place rung again withal. So the Consul *Scurlus* with consent of the Nobles, named for Dictator *Appius Claudius*, who had aforetime in an Oration before the whole assembly of the Commons disavow'd the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authority blamed the mishap of that council, which was by him misliked and reproved. A muster was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dictator and these new enrolled legions were gone as far as the *Hernicks* confines, the other army under the leading of *C. Sulpicius* the Lieutenant, by occasion of an occurrence that fell out there, got a good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the *Hernicks* advanced in scornful and contemptuous manner, close under the camp of the Romans, with a full hope to be masters of the fame: behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignity, wherewith the soldiers stomachs were full, they made a fallie out against them. Whereupon the *Hernicks* came to far short of their account, that they had no hope to assail; no, nor approach the rampier: and so in disorderly they dismay'd and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictator with a fresh power, the old army was reinforced double. The Dictator in a solemn audience, having praised the Lieutenant and his souldiers for defending their tents so manfully, both encouraged them that heard themselves so highly commended according to their deserts, and also whetted on the rest to perform the like valorous service. The enemies on the other side were nothing slack to prepare themselves to fight again: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, increas'd their own power also. For the whole Nation of the *Hernicks*, even as many as were able to draw sword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisting of four hundred in a band were enrolled, even the most able and choice men of all others. This elect and especial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the more to this service, because they had taken order they should have double pay. Freed they were besides from all other labour and Military toil that being thus relieved to intend the fight and nothing else, they should make reckoning and know, that they were to endeavour and strive themselves above the ordinary carriage of souldiers. Placed also they were in the battel, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and manhood might be more seen and marked. Between both camps of the Romans and *Hernicks*, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. First, the fight was doubtful on both sides, whilst the Roman Horsemen charged and recharged again, but ever in vain, to see if they could break their battalions. Thus when the service on Horseback, proved less in effect than in attempt, they asked the advice and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their Horses, and with a mighty shout, ran forth before the ensignes, and renewed the battel afresh. Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that those extraordinary hands opposed themselves, and received them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what slaughter there was by common hazard of war, as well of the one side as of the other, the loss was greater for the quality of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the common souldiers, as if they had flitted from themselves the whole conflict, and broken it to the vanguards only, repos'd their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was smitten down and dyed in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. "At last, those Horsemen that dismounted, fell to call and rebuke one another asking what hope remained else besides? If neither on horseback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force them to give ground and remove them, what third kind of service looked they for? Why leapt they out so lustily and bravely into the forefront before the ensignes? and fought in the place of others? With these words provoking one another, they pluckt up their hearts, and with a fresh shout set forth forward and gave a new charge. First, they compelled the enemies to retreat and lose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run away. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferently match'd as they were, what it was that turn'd the balance and gave the victory: unless it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts of the other. The Romans had the *Hernicks* in chace, all the way long, so far as to their camp: but because

A because it was far in the evening, they staid from assailing it. For by reason that it was long ere the Dictator could by sacrifice gather any assured token of Gods favour, he sounded not the battell before noon: whereby it continued until night. The morning after, were the *Hernicks* fled and their camp abandoned: only some hurt and wounded souldiers were found left behind. But one was discovered, slenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was scattered abroad over the fields, and in great fear straggled all about, and shamefully fled away. And yet this victory of the Romans cost them well the letting on, and spent some blood: for they lost a fourth part of their men: and that which was no small damage unto them, some of the Roman Horsemen also were slain.

The next year following, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius C. Iunus* the Consuls, were gone with a power against the *Hernicks*, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force won *Faventinum* a Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the *Tyburts* kept their gates shut against them. And after many complaints and unkindnesses ripped up between them: this last quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their heralds (after restitution and amends demanded) to send defiance, and proclaim war against the people of *Tyber*. That *Titus Quinctius Poenus* was by all authors, *Macer Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for election of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul *Licinius* became when his fellow Consul made halt to withhold and meet with his mighty desire in that behalf. But *Licinius Macer* in any further matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the beyond the bridge of *Anio*, in the way *Salaria*. The Dictator having three miles from *Rome* with a pusillan army departed the City, received the Military oath of all the younger sorts and tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they would not break down on either part, lest they should be thought fearful cowards. But about the seizing and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmish: and judged it could not be, considering the equal forces of both sides, who should be masters of it. Then advanced forward set out a throat, maketh this challenge: Now (quoth he) let the bravest gallow that *Rome* hath, while, both abashed to refuse the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of a single fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, even he who released his father from the *Tyburts* troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. "Without your leave and express commandment (quoth he) O Noble Sovereign, I would never presume to fight out of my rank. Excellence to give me licence, I will shew unto that best yonder (that so proudly and lustily is come forth leaping before the enemies ensignes, and braving as you see) that I am defended of Name, in this thy durst mind and zeal that thou carriest thee to father and Country: Go on I say, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows and companions: help to arme the young Gentleman. A light footman shield he takes unto him, and a Spanish blade by his side, more handsome to fight short and close. Being thus armed and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) continually to behold, and the two armed Champions were left in his own quarter and ward: they were not equally match'd, if a man should judge by the eye and outward view. The one of them of personage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour of many colours and gay, his harness glittering and alldamasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of a middle height: without any hooping, fusing, and that rather fit and handy, than gaudy to be close anger within, relieving all his fier, enels and eagerness unto the very combat and doubtful suspense between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been all about looking on, in sword of his enemy coming against him, held forth his target with a high mountain aloft, he founded again upon his shield, and did no harm at all. The Roman bearing his own sword with the point upward, and with his shield having smitten the nether part of his enemies target, and

The combat
between *T.
Manlius* and a
mighty big
Gaul.Six foot high,
or five foot
and ten inches.

"chariot to go up with joy and mirth to the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. This Oration of *Tullius*, the multitude seconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the General on every side, to found the alarm, and command them to arm. The Dictator, albeit he thought the matter in it self good, but not handled in good manner; and for example sake not to be allowed: yet promised to satisfy the soldiers desire. "And calling *Tullius* secretly apart, questioned with him "what this matter meant, what precedent or custom they had for their warrant? *Tullius* earnestly besought the Dictator, not to think him to have forgotten either military Discipline, or his own place, nor yet the Majesty of his Sovereign. And whereas he had not withdrawn himself away from the multitude being in a mutiny, nor refused to be their speaker (who lightly resemble those that are their ring-leaders) it was only for fear lest some other should have slept in place, "such as the unruly people in mutinies are wont to set up for their Captains. As for himself, do nothing he would, without the pleasure of the General. Howbeit, he would advise him to look well about him, and carefully to see to it, that he keep his army in order, government, and obedience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For considering their hearts were kindled already, and their blood up, they would be their own carvers, and chuse themselves both time and place, if the General would not grant it them the sooner. While they were thus in sad communication, there hapned two Roman soldiers to take perforce from a Gaul certain sumpter Horses, which feeding without the camp, he was driving away. At whom, the Gauls let flye stones good store. And thereupon rose an alarm from the Roman *Corps de guard*, and running out there was apace, on both sides. So as now they had grown to a full skirmish and battle indeed, had not the Centurions speedily stilled them, and ended the fray. Upon which occurrence, the credit of *Tullius* with the Dictator was confirmed: and seeing the case would abide no delays he proclaimed battle against the morrow. The Dictator notwithstanding he had yielded to fight a field, as presuming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces: began to devile with himself, and cast about every way, how by some stratagem he might strike a terror among the enemies. And having a subtle wit and nimble head of his own, this new policy he thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our own country, and of others also, yea, and some even in our time, have used and put in practice. He gave order, that the mules sumpters should be taken off their backs, leaving only two coultre-wheels or coverings upon them, and fetter the muletoes aloft thereon, furnished with the armour of certain captives, and sick and diseased persons. Of these he made well-near one thousand, and joynted unto them one hundred good Horsemen. All these, he chargeth in the night time to get above the camp into the hills, and among the furs and woods, to beset themselves close: and not to stir from thence, before that he gave them a signal. Himself, so soon as it was day light, began with great wariness and confederate care to embattle and arrange his army in length, along the very foot of the mountains: to the end, that the enemy might have the hills full against him. Thus having set out and directed these counterjuit cornets of Horse, to scare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good in a manner than the other forces indeed: at the first sight the vanguard of the Gauls thought that the Romans would not come down on even ground: but afterwards, when they saw them upon a sudden defended, they also, as desirous of fight, ran on forward presently to joyn battle, and began the fight before the Captains had founded. The Gauls charged the right wing more fiercely, so that hardly they might have been abidden, had not by good hap the Dictator been there in person. "Who called upon *Sextus Tullius* by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether he had given his word unto him, that the soldiers should in that sort fight? What is become (quoth he) of these, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battle? Where are those threats now that they would begin to fight a field without commandment of the General? Lo, your General himself calleth upon you as loud as he can, to fall to your business, and goeth armed before the ensigns in the vanguard: will any now follow after that erewhile would needs lead the way afore? Pierce (I see well) in camp fearful in the field. And no fable it was that they heard him speak. Whereupon for very shame they were so pricked forward, that without casting any paills, or minding present danger, they ran upon the darts and shot of their enemies. This violence of theirs as if they had been welner out of their right wits, at the very first troubled and disordered the enemies. The Horsemen that were sent out hard after them, forced them to turn back, when they were once in disarray. The Dictator himself seeing the battle of one side to shrink advanced forward with the ensigns against the left wing, unto which he saw the main multitude to resort and gather together, and withal begave the sign to them that were within the hills, according as it was before agreed. And when from thence arose a new shout arose, and that they were seen to march side-long over the hill, toward the Gauls camp: then for fear, lest they should be shut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heaps to their camp. Where *M. Furius*, the General of the Horsemen encountered and affronted them. For he seeing the right wing discomfited had set a compass about, and ridden to the fortifications and munitions of the enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountains and the woods. Most of them were received by the counterjuit flew of Horsemen, and by the muletoes caught up, and came short home: but many of them as fear drove through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battle was past) cruelly slain and hewn in pieces. Neither was there any one, saving *M. Furius* aside, that triumphed more worthily over the Gauls, than did *C. Sulpicius*. He consecrated also in the Capitol a square weighty mass of gold, got out of the Gauls spoil, and compassed it within an enclosure of square stone.

The stratagem of C. Sulpicius the Dictator.

A stone. The same year, the Consuls likewise warred, but with diverse fortune and success. For by *C. Plautius*, the Hernicks were vanquished and subdued. But his companion *F. Furius* fought rashly and unadvisedly against the Tarquinians. The loss in the battle received, was not so much, but that the Tarquinians sacrificed three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, whom they took prisoner. This foul and shameful execution, caused the ignominy of the Romans defeat arose, to be washed (to help the matter withal) by the Privernates, and after this loss, was the Roman territory now suddenly inrodes into the Country. The same year also were two more Tribes added, *Peupia* and *Pulcheria*. The votive solemn plays or games likewise, which *Atreus* King the Dictator had vowed, were then set forth and performed.

Then never before was the first law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, and that by the consent and approbation of the Senators, against the exorbitant and ambitious standing for dignities. By which law men supposed, that the ambition principally of certain persons now risen and of the first head, who were wont to haunt fairs and places of great resort for that intent, was repressed and kept under. But the year ensuing, when *C. Marius* and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Memmius* two Tribunes of the Commons, went through with a law and got it enacted, which was not so well liked of the Senators, as concerning *Utrius* of one in the hundred, but that the Commons were so much the more forward and better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and besides these new wars the year before intended, the Falisci were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended against them. One, for that their youth had served against the Romans under the Tarquinians: the other, because they had not delivered again those Romans which fled unto *F. Furius*, after their defeat and This Province fell to *Cn. Manlius*. But *Marius* had the leading of an army into the Land of the Privernates, which by reason of good peace was unloiled yet, and in very good state, and thereby enriched his soldiers with good prizes. For, to the plenty and store that there was found, he added his own bounty and liberality: in that he set out nothing for the common Treasury, but lay strongly encamped before their own City: and when he had assembled all his soldiers together, "Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies camp and their City for a booty. To you selves bravely and courageously, with assured hope of victory, to battle they go. There, even before the ensigns in the vanguard, withal assured hope of victory, to battle they go. There, even Behold, Noble General (quoth he) how this army performeth their word given unto thee: and therewith laying down his Javelin, with drawn sword confronteth the enemy. Then follow the enemies to flight, followed the chase and drove them into the Town, And at their first scaling the Walls, the Town was rendered up into their hands. So he triumphed over the Privernates. By the other Consul there was no worthy exploit done, but that as he lay encamped before *Surium*, he proposed a law to pass by the Tribes, (a course never taken before, and without example) concerning a twentieth part or vicetime, to be levied of their goods that were made free. The Lords of the Senat (because by that Act there accrued no small revenue to the Exchequer, that was now wanted) allowed thereof and gave their assent. But the Tribunes of the Com moved not (so much at the quality of the law in it self, as at the dangerous precedent given, or ordained under pain of death, That no man ever after should in making of laws withdraw the people apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never so peo- legance, and were at his devotion. The same year was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the suit of *M. Papius* was possessed of a thousand acres of Land, and under colour of freeing his son, he had deluded the statute in that case provided.

After this, the two Consuls *M. Fabius Ambustus* the second time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the second time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the *Tyburins* was performed with ease and facility. For having driven the enemies into the Town he foraged their fields. But in the other war, the Falisci and the Tarquinians, discomfited in the first battle the other Consul, and their greatest fear arose upon this occasion. For, their Priests carrying afore them light burning torches, and snakes besides, went after a linnick and frantick manner, and with so strange and uncount a shew troubled and disordered the Roman soldiers, and with so strange Gyrant the soldiers, as if they had been distressed, besides themselves, and astonished, dismayed fearfully and stumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their camp: But after, when as the Consul, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rated them, for being scared like children with these vain bugbears: for shame suddenly they took heart again, and like blind men ran upon those very same things, that before they had fled from. And so after they had dispatched this vain device and preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed, camp, with a rich booty returned victors, both recounting in their military merry ditties and songs.

A law against ambitious seeking out offices of government.

A law against Utrius.

24 lib. lib.

c. *Martius Rutilius* in the Dictator of the Commons.

*. The assembly of the people.

songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their own fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the Tullians arose, having for their leaders the Tarquinians and the Falisci, and came as far as *Salina*. Against which fearful danger, was *C. Martius Rutilius* chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commons: who named for his General of the Horsemen a Commoner likewise *C. Plantius*. But the Senators thought this a shameful indignity, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in common: and did all that could possibly to hinder, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But so much the sooner, and with more readiness, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the City, and marched on both sides of the *Tiber* (transporting his army in boats and planks fastened together) to what place soever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many foragers of them, as they wandered and straggled one from another, in the fields. He set upon their camp also, and wan it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slain or chased all the rest out of the Roman pale: he triumphed, by the suffrages of the people only, without the approbation and assent of the Senators. And for almost as they would not in any case have an assembly for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictator a Commoner, or by the Consul: and because the other Consul *Fabius* was banished abroad in the wars, and not returned; therefore, the matter fell again to an Interregent. So there were Interregents one after another, *Q. Servilius Hala*, *M. Fabius Cn. Marcius C. Fabius C. Sulpicius L. Aemilius Q. Servilius*, and *M. Fabius Ambulius*. During the second Interregent, there arose some variance, for that both Consuls were *Patritii*, of the Nobles. And when the Tribunes interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, *Fabius* the Interregent, alleged a Law of the twelve tables in these terms, *That whatsoever the people ordained or granted last, the same should be good, and stand firm and ratified: and in suffrages and voices of the people, were comprised their grant and ordinance*. But when the Tribunes, for all their gain saying and stepping between, could prevail no more, but to prorogue the * Comices for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Consuls, *C. Sulpicius Petius* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*: who the same day they were chosen, entered into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons lost the Consulship again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Consuls of the *Patritii*, upon the Interregent, began to govern, to wit, *C. Sulpicius Petius* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*. The same year was *Emulum* won from the Tyburtins, without any memorable warfare exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the war was managed, as some have written: or that about the same time the Tarquinians Country was by the Consul *Sulpicius* over-run and wasted, whilst *Valerius* led forth a power against the Tyburtins. But more ado had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribunes. The Consuls thought now, it concerned them in trust and credit, as well as in virtue and valour, that as they being *Patritii* both of them, had received the Consulship, so they should make over the same again to twain of the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if so be the Consulship should now become a Commons dignity: or else to keep it wholly in their possession, whereof they were first seized intirely, in right of their ancestors. On the other side, the Commons fumed and stormed in these and such like terms, "What should we live any longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In case, that which was first got by the virtue and power of two only persons, *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius*, we cannot now all of us together hold and keep? Certainly, better we were to endure the KK, and Decemvirs again, or any other heavier and more fearful name of absolute and Lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part settled in the place of rule for ever, should think us, the Commons, born for nothing else but to obey and serve. The Tribunes themselves were nothing behind to set forward these troublesome mutinies. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly seen above the rest in the action. And when as they were come down into *Mars* field fitty times N to assembly, by ever to no purpose and effect, and that many Comitial dayes of assembly were passed over, only in lewdious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the stiffness and obliquity of the Consuls, took the matter to grievously to the heart, that when the Tribunes brake forth into these speeches; "Now farewell freedom for ever: now are we driven, not only to forbear coming into *Mars* field, but also to abandon and forsake the City, taken captive and oppressed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles and therewithal departed the Commons "with sorrowful cheer did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus left destitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobility both, *M. Fabius Ambulius* the third time, and *T. Quinctius*. In some annals or yearly records, I find *Coff. M. Popilius*, instead of *T. Quinctius*.

In that year, were two wars performed with prosperous success. And the Tyburtins were fought withal until they yielded. From them was the City *Assula*, won by force: and other Towns had tasted of the same fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercy. He triumphed over the Tyburtins: otherwise the conquest was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution, but the Tarquinians were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them slain in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof

A whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to *Rome*. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither did they better at the peoples hands that were sent to *Rome*. For in the midst of the *Truce* were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, forasmuch as the Romans in the market place of the Tarquinians, this goodnature in war caused the banishment of them to seek for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were contentedly answered by the Senate, and to upon covenants they were received into society. But the Commons spied not to what home in twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were well eased by bringing it down from their privat streights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the musing of the both Consuls of the Nobles nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publick affairs. Still *Petius* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*, the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amused upon the Tullian war, by reason that the news were, how that the people of *Cere*, for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of commonquity, took part with the Tarquinians: behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the Volscians. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them enter the territory of *Rome*, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to neglect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed, and the Consul to call for their several Provinces and charges. But afterwards the greater care was taken for the Tullian war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpicius* the Consul his letters, whose commission for Sale-pits and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the *Caritis*: and that the youth of that people were doubtless employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the Volscians, and encamped in the marches of *Trifinium*, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator. Who the *Horsemen*, contenting himself with his Consular army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed war against the *Caritis*, and sent them defiance. Then were the *Caritis* afraid of war indeed, and not a more, as though there had been more force in their menacing bare words, to denounce and signify war, than in their own deeds, who by their encamping, had provoked the Romans to war, than in their plainly that they were overmatched and unable to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made their wait and station of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their treips and offence. When their Embassadors should be sent, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they were ought the Gods, whose sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished. That the Romans now in their flourishing estate, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distress, and which they of *Veii*, they called upon the *Flamins* and *Vestal Virgins*. And turning to the chappels chaity and religiously had received and given incensement unto, laying in this wise, "Would any man believe we had deserved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be reputed enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat smelling of hostility, would any man impute the it rather to deliberate counsel, than to some fit heat and folly? And that we would amend our new misdeeds and shewd turns? and chime to make the people of *Rome* their enemies now in their adversity we had embraced? Beforeseeing them not to term that whole friendship in rather were to be called force and necessity. For the Tarquinians lay they considerate advice, which of our critical Perils, to assist them only in fetching of that booty, which now to heavily is laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yielded, we are ready to deliver them: if to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their City *Cere*, the very sanctuary of the people of *Rome*, the harbour and habitation of their Priests, the place of receipt for the Roman sacred images and reliques they would grant unto them safe from the calamity of war, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the devoted *Vestal Virgins* sake, so kindly interceded, and for the love of the Gods, by them to devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present cause, as for their old debts among the Acts of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the Falisci, who were tained likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found. They waited therefore over their confines: & forbore to assault their Towns. So they withdrew their legions to *Rome*. The rest of the year was employed in repairing their walls & Towers: and the Temple of *Apollo* was dedicated.

The Embassadors to *Cere*, the people of *Rome*.

dedicated. In the very end of the year, the contention between the Senators and the Commons brake off the Election of the Consuls: whiles the Tribuns stiffly denied to suffer any assembly therefore to be holden, unless it were according to the Law *Leximia*. And the Dictator again was as stoutly and stiffly bent, to abolish wholly out of the City the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobility and common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictator left his office, and the matter grew to an Interregnum. And the Interregents, finding ever the Commons maliciously set against the Senators, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interregent: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribuns they called on for the maintenance of the Law *Leximia*. The Commons, they had an inward grief that stuck neerer to them, upon the excessive injury that still increased; and each man's private care and grievance, brake out in their public contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senat weary of these troubles, commanded *L. Cornelius Scipio* the Interregent for the time being, for concord and unity sake, in the Election of Consuls to observe the Law *Leximia*. So *P. Valerius Publicola* had joyed with him in fellowship of government, *Caius Martius Rutilius*, one of the Commons.

Five bankers
instituted, cal-
led *Menfarii*.

All debts clear-
ed in Rome.

Now whiles mens minds were inclined one to concord, the new Consuls labouring to ease also this matter of injury, the only ill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the general agreement; took order publicly for the payment of debts, by creating five officers or *Quinquerviri*; whom of the deepening and disposing of the public monies, they called *Menfarii*. And surely, for their equity and careful diligence, they derived in all monuments and records to be remembered and renowned. And these they K were, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Publilius*, and *T. Aemilius*; who underwent and managed this matter, so intricate and difficult to be dealt in: so grievous and combersome to both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least. Which they performed both with different moderation otherwise, and also with some cost and defray of charge, rather than any loss and damage to the State. For the long debts more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slackness and negligence, than their want of ability, either the City out of the common stock crossed out of the book, by letting up certain counters or tables with ready coin in the public Hall (provided, that there were good security unto the City by sureties and cautions put in beforehand) or else the goods of men valued at indifferent and reasonable prices discharged. So as not only without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mighty debt of I. debts was satisfied and paid.

After all this, a vain fear of the Tuscan war, upon a false Alarm given, that their twelve Nations confpired and were confederate together, caused a Dictator to be chosen. So *C. Julius* was named in the camp: for thither to the Coss, was the patent of the Senats decree sent. And to him was joyed as General of the Horsemen, *L. Aemilius*. But all was quiet without the City: Within the City the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patricii: which brought the government for the time to an Interregnum. And the two Interregents that were in that while (to wit) *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Fabius*, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vain; namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobility: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the fresh benefit received in the easement and satisfying of their debts. So there were chosen *C. Sulpicius* *Petens*, he, who was the former of the twain that gave over the Interregnum, and *T. Quintus Pennus*. Some there be that give to *Quintus* the addition of *Coss* for his surname [and of *Caius* for his forename.] Both of them went forth to war; *Quintus* against the Falisci, and *Sulpicius* against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made war with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingering continuance, as it were of a languishing consumption, the stubbornness of both Nations was so well tamed, that they made petition first to the Consuls, and by their permission after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the same for the term of forty years. Thus the care was laid aside of the two wars, which seemed so neerer at hand. And whiles there was some rest from Arms, it was thought good because the payment of debts above said, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there should be held a general Selling of the citizens. But, when there was an assembly summoned for the choosing of Consuls, *C. Martius Rutilius* professing himself to stand for a Consulship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unity of the States of the City. This he went about (as it seemed) in a very undue and unreasonable time. For, both Consuls were then of the Nobility, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admit him to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. However, both he by earnest preformance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribuns with all their might endeavouring to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, set to their helping hand. And as the countenance and Majesty of the man himself, seemed worthy of the highest type of honor: so the Commons were right willing, that by the time man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Consulship should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with *Maelius Nepes*, *Martius* should be created Consul. This year likewise had a Dictator, *M. Fabius*, not for any fear of war, but because the Law *Leximia*, for the choice of Consuls, should not be revived and observed. The General of the Horsemen unto the Dictator was *Q. Servilius*. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls

C. Martius Ru-
tilius a Com-
moner, chosen
one of the
Consuls.

A Consuls no more force then it was in the choosing of the Consuls. For *Popilius Lenus* was Con-
sul of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And the commoner Consul, by
good fortune, proved more famous of the twain. For when upon tidings brought, that a mighty ar-
my of the Gauls were encamped in the Latine country, this Gauls war was laid extraordinary upon
Popilius, because *Scipio* lay grievously sick. Who having loved an army, and commanded all
the younger men, to meet him in their armour at *Mars* his Church, without the gate *Capena*, and
chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully four legions, and esligues out of the *Aerarium* [City
souldiers unto *P. Valerius Publicola*, the Pretor: and moved the LL. of the Senat to enroll ano-
ther army to be in readiness, against all uncertain occurrences of war, what need loever the City
B should have. And now himself being at all points thoroughly furnished, setting forward to meet the
the enemy. Whole power because he would know, before he had trial thereof with the utter-
that he could come unto. The Gauls, a fierce kind of people and by nature eager of fight, having
discovered afar of the Roman ensignes, embattelled themselves forthwith, as ready to bid battle.
But when they saw the Roman army not brought forth into the plain and even ground, but that
they were strongly defended, not only by the height of the place, but also with a ditch and palis-
ado, and (supposing them to be smitten with fear, and the lister therefore to be aisled, for that
they were at that instance busily occupied about their other fortifications; with an hideous noise
C looener (they were the *Triarii* of the rearward that made these other fortifications) but the spear men
of the vanguard, and the *Principes* of the middle ward, who stood ready armed in guard
for the defence of the pioneers, made head and received them with fight. Bides their valour,
the higher ground was their vantage: so as all their darts and spears light scorn vain, as common-
ly they do that are slung and lanced on level ground) but stuck all fast as being poised with their
own weight: so that the Gauls being surcharged with darts either sticking through their bodies,
or fast let in their shields, and to weighing them down; having also run themselves upon the hill;
first, as doubtful what to do, made stay, afterwards, when pro-lasting of time had discouraged
themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven back and fell one upon another; and
D in that confusion made greater havoc and worse, then the slaughter was by the enemy; and crush-
ed they were to death, more in that crowd and thrust, then were slain by sword. Yet were not
the Romans sure of victory: for when they were come down into the plain, there was a new piece
of work to begin, and a fresh trouble to stand. For the Gauls, by reason of their numbers, little feel-
ing such a loss (as if a new army had started up in sight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh
souldiers and unloosed, against the enemy in his victory. Whereupon the Romans made a stand
and bided their opportunity: both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new con-
flict; and also for that the Consul, while he laid about him with the foremost, without regard of
his own person, was wounded well near the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while
was departed out of the battell. By occasion of which lagging, the victory had like to have been
lost again: but that the Consul when his wounds were dressed and bound up, came back again
E with speed to the foremost ensignes, and said: Why stand you till this? ye have not to deal now, with
the Latins or Sabins your enemies, whom after ye have conquered by the sword, ye may make of
enemies friends and confederates: but upon very savage beasts we have drawn sword. I will
have their blood, or they ours. I from the camp ye have driven them back: chased ye have them
multitude down the hill side: over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: and the plain
"also with their dead carcasses, as ye have done the hills already: and never look that they will
"flee, so long as ye stand still. You must advance your ensignes, and charge the enemy afresh. With
these exhortations they fell to the second fight, and forced the foremost ranks and files of the
Gauls to lose ground: and then with pointed close battalions of footmen, they brake through in
to the heart of the main battell. Whereupon the Romans people being disordered, took in
F neither certain directions to follow, nor Captains to command, turned their force upon their
fellows, were scattered here and there about the plains: fled in this pursuit beyond their tents, and
made toward the fort of *Alba*; which among many his that fled of even height, took in their
mouming above the rest. The Consul followed the chase no farther than that camp: both because his
new labour, considering the enemy had gained the hills tops, and to reduce it to another point, and
hurt made himself unworldly, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired army to
when he had given the whole pillage of the camp to his soldiers, he brought back to Rome his ar-
my with vi- ory, and enriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The Consul his wound laid to Rome his ar-
which was a cause also that the Senat wished and longed for a Dictator, to hold the assembly for
for the Election of Consuls, whiles the other were sick.

L. Cornelius
Scipio, chosen
one of the
Consuls.

Popilius
Lenus, chosen
one of the
Consuls.

the law *Licinia*, had got for his reward a Consulship; which was more shameful and infamous, in regard of his private seeking for it, (for being Dictator he had made himself Consul) than for any public harm and injury. This year for many and sundry troubles was very famous. The Gauls from the Alban woods (for that they were not able then to endure the cold of winter) ranged all over the Campanian and sea-coasts, and wasted the country. The seas likewise were dangerous by reason of the Greeks navy. All over the tract along *Aniurn*, and the river of *Lawrentium*, even to the very mouth of *Tyber*. So as the rovers and men of war by sea, and the land robbers of the French, met both together, and struck once for all a dangerous battell: and then departed, under the French upon their standing camp, the Greeks back unto their ships: both doubtful, whether they had won or lost. Amid these troubles, the greatest fear by far, arose from this, that the Latine Nation held certain Diets and Councils at the grove of *Ferentina*; and when the Romans demanded soldiers from them, flat answer was made, That they must no more think to command them whose aid they stood need of. And as for the Latins, they were resolved rather to bear arms in defence of their own liberty, than fight for the maintenance of the dominions of strangers. The Senat being grieved and perplexed as well for these two foreign wars, as also for the revolt of their confederats, seeing no other way, but to keep them in by fear, whom loyalty would not restrain, commanded their Consuls in their mustings, to extend and strain to the utmost the whole strength of the State: for now that their Allies failed them, they were to trust upon their City forces only. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the country, as within the City were taken up, and ten legions (as men say) were enrolled of soldiers, amounting to 4200. foot and 300. horse in a legion. Which puissant army, if now at this day any foreign wars were toward, these mighty forces of the people of *Rome*, which the whole world is hardly able to contain, if they were united and brought into one together, would not easily make again: so great are we grown in wealth only and superfluous delights, to which we strive and apply our minds.

Among other heavy occurrences of that year, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Consuls, in the very preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved upon *Camillus*. To which sole Consul, either for his quality and worthiness otherwise (not meet to be controlled by the absolute command of a Dictator) or for the lucky presage of his name so fortunate in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and convenient that there should be a Dictator adjoynd. The Consuls having ordeined and appointed two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Pinarius*, bearing in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himself, without casting lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keep the sea-coasts, and to put the Greeks back from landing on the shore. He went himself down into the country of *Pompinum*, and because he was not willing to give battell in the champion, unforced therunto; and thought the enemy might be wearied out well enough by keeping him short, for foraging and fetching in booties, who of necessity was driven to live of prey, chose a convenient place for a standing camp. Where, as they passed the time quietly in their wards, as a settled Garrison: there cometh forth a mighty Gaul in person tall and beg, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his shield and spear together, and thereby making silence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Collonel of footmen, and a very young man, who thinking himself nothing less worthy of that honour than *T. Manlius*, having first known the Consul his pleasure, advanced himself forth apart from the rest, armed at all points. But this conflict (as touching the prowess of them) was less notable than the other, by reason that the hand of God came between and took a part. For as the Roman was ready to joyne and cope, behold suddenly a raven (set upon the crest his of morion, even full in the face of his enemy. Which at the very sight, the Collonel took joyfully as a token of good luck sent from heaven. Afterwards he prayed devoutly, that the God or goddesse whoe soever, that sent unto him from above that augural foal, to preface and forefigure the future event, would be favourable and gracious unto him. And lo, (a wonder to be spoken) the bird not only held the place still, which it first light upon, but also, as often as the champions buckled and cloied together, mounting up with the wings made at the eyes and the face of the enemy, with beak and claws both, so long, until *Valerius* killed him. For the Gaul being affrighted at this so strange & wondrous a sight, both his eyes dazzled, and his mind was unrightly troubled. Then the raven took his rite, flew on high quite out of sight towards the East. All the while the camp on both sides was quiet hitherto. But after that the Collonel began to rifle and disarm the Body of the slain enemy, neither could the French keep themselves within their Stations, nor the Romans contain, but run with more speed unto their Conquerour champion. And to about the bodie of the Gaul that lay along dead, began some skirmish, and thereof grew a sharp and cruel battell: for now not only the companies of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but also the whole legions on both sides, came a-broad and fought. *Camillus* commanded the soldiers, joyous for the victory of the Collonel, joyous also for the gods, to be favourable and ready to asie, for to go to battell: and shewing very often unto them the Collonel, set out bravely and enriched with the spoiles of his enemy. Follow this brave gentleman, good soldiers (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the help of God and manevitably: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtfull conflict: both armies

The combat
between a
Gaul and
M. Valerius
turning
the combat
in favour
of the
Romans.

A armies had to conceived and deeply imprinted before hand in their mind the future event of these two battles that had fought together. Between the formost, whose concourse had raised others, there was a sharp conflict: but the rest of the multitude, turned back before they came to the volley of darts. And first they were scattered along the Volscian and Falern countries: but afterwards they took their waies toward *Apulia* and the lower Adriatick sea.

The Consul having assembled the soldiers to an audience, solemnly before them all, commended the Collonel, and rewarded him with ten oxen and a coronet of gold. Him self, by direction from the Senat, to attend the war by sea, joynd camp with the Pretor. And there, because though the cowardice of the Greeks that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long and lingering, he nominated, by the authority of the Senat, *T. Manlius Torquatus* for the Dictator, to hold the Election of Consuls. The Dictator having named for his General of horsemen, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for Consul one like himself, and tracing the steps of his own vertue and glory, declared for Consul (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence: a young man, *M. Valerius Corvinus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence: a young man, I say, three and twenty years old. *Corvinus* was adjoynd companion in government a Commoner, *M. Popilius Lenas* the fourth time. *Camillus* performed no memorable exploit with the Greeks, for neither were the Greeks good soldiers on land, nor the Romans at sea. At the last being kept from landing, and in Greece this fleet consisted, is not certainly known. Of what people, or of what nation Carians or potentates of Sicily, above all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and discharged, and that both a road there was peace, as also at home quietnesse, through the unity of the times then they should be gladd with too much joy, beheld a pestilence arose in the City and contrived the Senat to command the Decemvirs, to overlook the books of *Sibyls*: and by direction thereof, was a *Leisferne* celebrated. The same year there was a Colony desyn out of the Antians, to people *Saturnium*, and the town was repaired for them, while the Latins had come of purpose to live for society and amity. The time left continued still both at home and abroad, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plautius* left continued still both at home and abroad, which was before alter one in the hundred, became now but half so much. The injury was depicted & ordered into three years by even portions, so as a fourth part should be paid out of hand. And albeit some of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senat was persons. The greatest matters were well eased, in that they forbore to collect the tribute and to mulier soldiers.

The third year after that *Saturnium* was reedified by the Volscians, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the second time Consul with *C. Perillius*, upon news of *Latins*, that Embassadors from *Aniurn* went about to the nations of the *Latins*, soliciting them to rise up in arms, was commanded to make war upon the Volscians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put himself on his journey with a fierce army toward *Saturnium*. Whither when as the Antians and other Volscians were come to meet him, with a power provided aforesaid, against any preparations from *Rome*, presently without any stay they joynd battell, as being through a deep hatred and long hatred, litiously bent one against the other. The Volscians, a nation more hally to rebell, than hardy to fight, being defeated in a battell, fled amain and highed apace to put themselves within the walls of *Saturnium*. But when the walls were not able to save them, for that the town being environed and besided the common fort not meet for service, that yielded themselves. The town was raised down and burnt; only they spared the firing of *Martius* church. And the whole lackage and spoil was belowed upon the soldiers. But there were not comprised within this booty, the 4000 captives, which the Consul in his triumph caused to be led bound before his chariot: and after that sold them, & brought a round sum of money into the treasury. Some write, that this number of captives, were sold slaves. And that is more like to be true, than that they should be sold, who yielded themselves. After this followed Consuls, *M. Fabius Dorsio*, and *Servius Sulpicius*. The action of that one State and City, had been the resolution of the whole Latine nation: and by their maintenance, they had been the resolution of the whole Latine nation: and by their life had been a time of great troubles and sudden tumults, he nurtured without any respect of the multitude, and therewith proclaimed a Celebration of all courts & law: and the legions of *plaudites* rather than of warriors, so that in the last battell, that war was dispatched, howbeit the Dictator, because they not only made the quarrel and waged first but also offered fight without temple to *Juno Moneta*: and after he had obtained that they should be vowed for, and therewith vowed to perform his vow, so soon as he was returned home to *Rome* with victory, gave up his Dictatorship, according to the magnificence of the people of *Rome*. The place was appointed and set out on the

(the temple of
Juno Moneta)

[Capitoll]

[Capitol] hill, even the very plot of ground, where sometime before stood the dwelling house of *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. The Coll. having implored the Dictator his army in the Volscian war, surprised at unwares the town *Sora* out of the enemies hands. The Temple of *Moneta* was dedicated the year after it had been vowed, when *C. Martius Rullinus* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the second time, were Consuls. Immediately upon the dedication of that church, there ensued a strange wonder, like unto that old marvel of the hill *Albanus* ; For it rained stones, and in the day time it seemed to be dark night. And the books of *Sibylla* being perused (for that the City now was mightily given to superstition) the Senat. ordered that there should be a Dictator named for the ordaining of certain feasts and holy daies. So *P. Valerius Publicola* was chosen, and with him, *Q. Fabius Ambustius* General of the horimen. Order was given, that not only the Tribes should go in solemn procession with their prayers and Litanies, but also the nations that bordered upon them : with a precise direction unto them, upon what daies every one should make supplication. That year (as it is reported) there passed heavy judgments and the Sentences of the people against the Vilers, with whom the *Ediles* had commenced suit. And without any notable cause to be remembered, they grew to an Interperion. Upon which, that something might be thought thereby done, both Consuls were made : the Nobles, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*.
Now from hence forth will we follow

Now from hence forth will we treat of greater wars, both for the puiſſance of the enemies, and also for their far distance: as well for their spacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of time that they continued. For this year began the Romans to bear arms against the Samnites, a nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both sides withalacker-K (the good Lord) the wonderfull stirs and troubles, and how often the Romans fell into extremities of perils, that their Dominion and Empire might arise upon this greatness and high estate, which hath much ado to hold its own, and stand maintained. But the cause of the Romans war with the * Samnites, being in society and amity linked together, arose first from others, and not upon any quarrel between themselves. At what time as the Samnites warred unjustly (as being more mighty) upon the * Sidicins: they as the weaker and forced to flee for succour unto the richer, banded with the * Campanians. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid and assist their Allies, & flowing in riot and superfluous delights, hapned in the country of the Sidicins to be foiled & defeated by the other, who had been injured and hardened by continuall use of arms and to L. afterwards drew upon their own heads, the whole violence and poile of the wars. For the Samnites letting the Sidicins alone, went to the head, for set upon the Campanians, as it were the very forefetter and callie of defence for all the borders. And wel they wilt that there they might win victory as easily: but riches & honour at their hands they were to achieve muchmore. And when they had gained and held with a strong garrison, the his called * Tifutina: where they were adjoining, and commanded the City *Capua*. From thence they descended with a foursquare ranged battell into the plain that lyeth between *Capua* and *Tifutina*: where a second field was fought: in which the Campanians had the overthrow, and were beaten within their wals. Having therefore no hope near of them, and seeing the strength of their youth greatly decayed, they were constrained to seek aid of the Romans. Whose Embassadors being admitted into the Senat, and having audience given M them, spake much want to this effect, If the people of *Capua*, most noble Senators, hath sent us in ambassy unto you, to crave at your hands friendship for ever, and succour for the present. Which amity if we had requested in our propriety, well might it sooner have begun, but knit had it been with a weaker bond and not so durable. For then, remembering our selves to have ended league and society on every ground, and in equal equality we had you: friends haply we should have been as now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in case by your commiseration and pity we be gained and won, and in our distresse, by your aid, helped and relieved: we must needs affectionately embrace a benefit from you received, unless we would be thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthy of any helpether of God or man. And albeit the Samnites, have been before us interlined in friendship and confederacy, yet we think that no N sufficient bar, but that they may also be received into the same. Only thus much it ought to make for them, as to be preferred before us in antiquity of time, and degree of honour. For in that distance between you and the Samnites, there is no expresse clause, no caveat or proviso contained, against the making of any new confederacie. And surely, always heretofore ye have thought it as good enough of your friendship, if the party who sought the fame, were but willing and desirous to be your friend. We Campanians (albeit our present condition suffereth us not to speak magnificently) giving place to no nation but your selves, either for the stately port of our Cities, or gooddoctee, and fruitfullnesse, of our soil, in entering into your acquaintance, shall not a little, I suppose increase and better your good estate. And first for the *Aequians* and *Volscians*, those eternal and perpetual enemies of this City, they shall not so soon at any time O shall find out their heads, but we will befreight upon their jacks. And look what ye first shall find in your hearts to doe for our sake, the same will we always doe for your Empire and honour. And when those felicities are beneclouded that are between you and us (which your vertue and fortunat felicity, promitteth will be shortly) then shall your dominions reach all the way in a continued train, as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable case it is, that our present fortune is such to us to confesse: To this exigent and hard terms of extremity are we Campanians driven (right honourable) that subject we must be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye

The begin-
ning of the
Saurashtra war.

* *Atruzzo* and the Duchie of *Bonovinte*, as far as *Naples*.
 " The Inhabitants of *Sidicium*, otherwise called *Tyanum* or *Thra-no*.

* *Mon: e di*
Capua.

The Embassadors of the
Campaigns in
the Senat at
Rome.

A defend us, yours will we be ; forsooke us once, we must be the Samnits. Confute ye now therefore
 " deliberately, whether ye had rather, that *Capua* and all the territories of *Capua*, should be annexed
 " unto your power and State, or added to the Samnits Seignory. your mercy your succour, O Na-
 " ble Romans, ought in equity to extend unto all men, but especially unto those, who by yielding,
 " be brought succour, are now themselves fallen all, into the same straits of necessity. And yet,
 " to lay the truth, we fought in shew and semblance of word for the Sidicins ; but in very deed
 " and effect for ourn selves. For considering a neighbour nation, bordering even upon us, to be
 " robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnits ; we well foresaw, that when the Sidicins
 " were once let a burning, the same fire would soon be driven and reach unto us. For now are not
 " the Samnits come to all us, as discontented for any injury received ; but, as well pleased that
 " they have cause of quarrell offered and presented unto them. For it had been but a revenge
 " and appetite ; had it not been enough for them, that a mean and occasion, to satisfy their greedy
 " Legions once in the Sidicine country, and a second time in Campsinit I tell our own territory ?
 " what a cankered and a mortal malice is this, which bloodied and misfaced in two battels can
 " not satiate or slwage ? besides the wailing of our fields, the driving away of booties, as well of
 " people as cattell, the firing of villages, the ruin and havock they made ; and in every place no-
 " thing but fire and sword, Could not their anger and wrath have been satisfied with all this ? But it
 " C their greedy and unatiable covetousnes and nothing else that must be filled. That is it which
 " carrieth them, that hatred and draggeth them to the assault of *Capua*. At it their teeth water, that
 " most goodly and beautiful City will they either deltro, or be LL. thereof themselves. But may
 " it please you Romans, to gain it store by your own benefit and good desert : rather then inflict
 " them ; to seize upon it, by wrong and mischief. I speak not this before a people that wish to make
 " it strange and goodly to undertake any rightful and just wars. If ye had but shew a copy of your con-
 " tenance, as if ye would aid and succour us, I suppose ye shall have no need at all of further
 " war. The Samnits overweening of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to us only,
 " further it proceedeth not. So that under the very shadow of your alliance, O Romans, we
 " may be safely covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter gain thereby, what-
 " D soever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we shall hereafter gain thereby, what-
 " all yours. For your sake shall the Campain ground be filled) ready are we to acknowledge it
 " as *pua* be reformed unto and frequented ; and accounted shall ye be of us, no less than founders, pa-
 " renis ; yea, and as the immor all gods. There shall be a borough or Colony of yours, that
 " Noble Senators, a token of your gracious countenance. You do but afford unto us Campains, &
 " powerful deity, and bid us hope assuredly, that *Capua* shall remaine still and continue in safe-
 " ty. What a number think ye of all sorts and degrees of people, followed and accompanied
 " and tears ? In what expectation now, do the Senat and of people *Capua*, our wives and chil-
 " E dren, attend our return ? Assured I am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking
 " toward the high port-way that leadeth from hence thither, waiting to know what news look-
 " ing upon what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from the wars, ex-
 " pressing what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from the wars, ex-
 " to careful, lo heavy, lo perplexed. One word prelerenth unto them safety, victory, life and
 " liberty : the other, I dread to prelage what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of
 " us, either as of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithful Allies ; or else such
 " as must be worse then nothing. After that the Embassadors were withdrawn abled, and the Se-
 " nat fell to council : although a good part of them were of opinion, that the great and wealthie
 " City of all *Italy*, the most plenteous country and near to the sea, might be as it were the garner
 " and storehouse, whatsoever variable changes of corn and victuals might happen : yet they let
 " F more by keeping their faith and promise, then of that great commodity that might accrue unto
 " them : and thus by direction of the Senat made the Consul answer. " The Senat judgeth you O
 " Campains worthy of aid : but meet it is that we entertain your amity, for, as a more ancient to the Consul to
 " city and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnits are in league, and confeder- the Embassa-
 " at with us. We must needs therefore debar you from making that war against the Samnits, dore,
 " which should sooner dishonour the goodnes then hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equity and
 " reason doth require, we will to our Allies and friends send our Embassadors, to intreat them to
 " offer no violence unto you. To this answer the chief man of the Embassage (according as he had
 " commission from home) replied and said. " For as much as ye are unwilling to defend our right
 " as cause, by just and lawful power against violence and injury ; your own yet, I am sure ye
 " will maintain. Therefore my LL. of the Senat, here we yield up in your hands, and to the
 " G Seignory of the people of *Rome*, the whole nation of the *Capuans*, the City *Capua*, our lands, and the
 " possessions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things else both holy and profane. And
 " forever hereinafter we shall suffer and abide, and all things else both holy and profane. And what-
 " wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the
 " gods, shed tears plentifully, and fell down upon their knees in the very entry of our
 " house. The Senat moved with consideration of the changeable course and turn of humane
 " time, in the world, to see to great and mighty a people of puissance, to pompous for supersti-
 " tious ;

The Citizens
of Capua surren-
dered to the Ro-
mans, their Ci-
ty and territory.

our evasion. Being commended by the Consul, and having received that troop and guard which he demanded, he marched close through the woody palls, and was not detected by the enemy before he approached the place that he went to get. And whilst they all were amazed thereat and wondered, and wholly turned their eyes to himward, he both gained the Consul some time to withdraw his army into a more convenient and open ground, and possessed himself of the hill top, and there rested. The Samnites, whilst they turn their engines to and fro, (as men that lost the vantage of both sides) could neither make after the Consul, but through the same valley, wherein a while before they had him under their shot, nor yet erect their squadrons, and march up that hill, which *Decius* over them had already gained. But being more angry with those, that thus had disappointed them of the fair means they had of a brave exploit, and considering withal the necretnesse of the place, and their small number which were gotten thither, they were one while of mind to environ the hill round with armed men, and to keep *Decius* from the Consul; another while, to make them way, that when they were come down into the valley, they might let upon them. Thus whilst they were in doubt what to do, the night overtook them. *Decius* at the first, was in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they mounted up against the hill; but afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they were disappointed and put by that purpose, through disadvantage of the ground, fortified themselves with trench and rampier, and other pioneers work. Then calling the Centurions unto him, "what unskillfulness (quoth he) of military service, what supine slackness and sloth is this? how got these lords the victory of the Sidicins and Campians? Ye see their engines waving buter and thither: one while budged they are in one together, another while advanced and displaced at length. As for munitions & fortifications, no man beginneth any; and by this time we might have been entrenched round about. But if we stay here longer then for our vantage, we might be counted lazy lubbards like them. Come on then, go with me, that whilst day light serveth, we may see in what places they quarter their guards, and what way we may get from hence and escape. All this went he to espie and discover himself in person, clad in a common soldiers jacket, leading with him the other captains in the habit of their soldiers; to the end that the enemies might not take mark of the Generall himself, how he went about to view them. After this, when he had disposed the sentinels and *corps de guard*, to all the rest he commanded a watchword to be given, that when the trumpet sounded the second watch, they should come all unto him armed, and make no noise at all. When they were thither assembled with silence, as he had commanded, this himselfe my tallow soldiers (quoth he) must ye hear me speak, and forbear all giving assent by uttering your voices (as soldiers else do) When I shall have delivered my mind to you, let as many as like thereof, go softly on the right hand, and not speak a word: and look what side is greater, that courtie shall stand and take place. And now listen what my conceits, and what I would have done. The enemy hath not invited you here, as men either fled away for fear, or lagging behind for sloth and idleness. The place have ye won by manhood; by manhood must ye from thence escape. In coming hither, ye have already saved a brave army of the people of *Rome*: and now by breaking out from hence, save your own lives. Worthy you are that being but a few, have overcome many: ye should not stand in need your selves of any mans help. With that enemy ye have to deal, who yesterday through their idleness sloth, overstepped their happy opportunity to defeat our whole army: who were so blind, that they saw not this bill of great importance even over their heads, before it was by us gained: who being so many thousands, could neither debar us from climbing up, as few as we were, nor when we had got the place, compass us about with a trench, having to much day as they had. These enemies, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whilst they were awake, and had their eyes tight, ye are to deceive when they are fast asleep, say, you must doe so indeed; there is no other remedy. For at that passe we are now, that I am rather to flee you, in what terms of extremity ye stand, then to advise you to the execution of any good counsell. It is no consulting at this time whether ye should here stay, or depart hence; first that besides your weapons, and hearts letting up rest upon their weapons, fortune hath left you nothing at all. And die we must without doubt for hunger and thirst, if we dread the sword point more than besitteth hardy men, and valorous Romans. One way there is therefore, and but one way of safety, even to make a brave fall through hand and way. This must we do, either by day or by night. And that doubt is soon cleared, if we look for the morrow day, what hope have we, but that the enemy will cast a ditch and bank even round about us: who already as yet lying under this little rising, have compassed it with their very bodies. Now, if so be that the night be a convenient and favourable time for irruptions and sallies, as in truth it is: then, this hour of the night certainly, is of all other the fittest. At the second watches found ye are come hither, at which time all men are in their most sound and dead sleep. Amid their bodies being fast asleep, shall ye go. Either by silence deceive them unawares, or if they perceive you, affront the with a sudden outcry. Do but follow me, as ye have done already, I will follow the same fortune that guided me hither. Now as many of you that think this good counsell, and a courtelike to speed well, make no more ado but pass on my right hand. So they all passed, and followed after *Decius* as he went through the quarters void of watchmen and wardens. Now were they escaped the mids of the camp, when a soldier, as he clambered over the watchmens bodies, lying heavily asleep, chanced to stumble at a shield, which gave a sound again. Whereat the watchman being awakened, raised his next fellow

P. Decius to his under captains.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

A low; and they being start up, call up other, not knowing whether they were enemies or fellows, whether the garison of *Decius* on the hill was broken forth, or the Consul had surprised the camp. *Decius* then, seeing his soldiers could not pass clear and undetected, commanded them to let up a fire; so as they could neither take weapons readily, nor make head against them, nor yet pursue this time slain the warders whom they met, and in confusion, the Roman garison had by was somewhat of the night to come: but now they seemed to be late, and the Consul's camp as yet quoth *Decius* on forward in this courage of yours, O hardy Romans: This your passage and return to and fro, all ages shall extoll and praise. But for the full light and view of it to great valour, glorious a return of yours into the camp, let us here rest, and wait for day. His words were obeyed; and to soon as the day brake, he dispatched a messenger afore unto the Consul: and to with exceeding joy they made speed to the camp. And when it was known in the camp by the all, were themselves returned safe: then every one came forth to meet them as fast as they could, with praises and commendations, calling them both all & some, their favours, praising the immortal gods, and giving thanks, ye, and extolling *Decius* to the sky. This was the triumph of *Decius* in cast his eyes upon him, and raised him a Coronell, equal to the Consul in all kind of honour. When he was come to the *Pretorium*, the Consul by sound of trumpet, called all the army to an audience, and as he entered into a discourse of the deserved praises of *Decius*, *Decius* himself then perceiving the Consul, to let aside all other things, and whilst the occasion and opportunity was offered, he urged him effectually, to give an alarm to the enemies, both while they were amazed with this scare by night, and also by scattering about the hill, as it were in their wandering alway in the forest. So the Legions were sent out after him to make fresh pursuit of the camp, and by means of the espials better acquainted with the forest, they were conducted by a wider and more open way toward the enemy, whom suddenly they surprised, so charged, and most unarmed, and could neither rally themselves, nor retire into their trench, they drove them at full with fear into their camp, and take arms, nor retire into their trench, and troubled; they were matters thereof also. The noise was heard all about the hill, and called every man to flee out of his hold. So a great part of them took their heels before the enemy could slay: and the camp rifled & spoiled. The Consul having achieved this exploit, called an assembly: and not only finished the praises of *Decius*, as he before began, but also amplified them with fresh commendation of this new service. And besides other military gifts, he rewarded him with a crown of gold, a hundred oxen, and one special white one, (fat and fair above the rest with gold horns. The soldiers who together with him held the hill as he said, had given unto them for a reward, a double proportion of corn, and for the present one ox a piece, and two single liveries, his head a wreath of green grass, in token of a delivery from siege, and with notable shouts and loud cries approved this gift. Another chapter or garland, also, in token of like honour, did he sacrificed that chosen white ox unto *Mars*; and thus being adorned with these ornaments of honour, soldiers, who had accompanied him in that exploit and service. To the same soldiers the legions gave a pound measure of wheat meal, and a sextar of wine, a piece. All these particulars were performed and done with great cheerfulness, and seconded with shouting and acclamation of the soldiers, to figure their good liking and general assent.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

P. Decius to his soldiers.

A third battle was fought at *Suessula*: wherein by *M. Valerius*, was put to flight the host of the Samnites. Whereupon, the whole manhood and flower of their youth that remained at home were sent for and assembled, determining to fight it out and trie their fortune once for all. I can fill you hereof come from *Suessula Capua*: and from thence carriers and polts were dispatched longing to the camp, with a strong guard, he marched forward in great haste, and not far from the enemy, took a little plot of ground to encamp in; as having besides their horses of service, no it without further delay they were to fight) embattled themselves. But seeing none to encounter them, they came with banner displayed to the very camp of the enemies. And there to look as to view the circuit of the camp, in how far compass they had fortified, guessing thereby how few up the ditches, to cut through the banks, and so presently to break into the camp. And when in that rashness had the war been decided and dispatched, but that the captains held in the violence of the soldiers. But for as much as their own number to great, required good store of victuals

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victuals, and was both by their lying before *Suesina*, and also by their long stay there without
 fight brought to scarcity well-need of all things: it was thought good, that whiles the enemies kept
 within their hold as affrighted, the soldiers should be sent about the country foraging. In which
 mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise, would have spent all, who were thither come
 lightly appointed, and had brought no more corn with them than they could carry to their should-
 ers, besides their armour. The Consul having espied the enemies stragling over the country, and
 their guards fearfully manned, after a brief exhortation to his soldiers, led them forth to give an
 assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onset, and killed more
 of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampier: he caused the
 engines that he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two legions, I
 for a guard and defence, with a straight charge, that until he came again, they should forbear to
 rise and make spoil, he went forward in order of battell. And when the horsemen which he made
 out afore, had like hunters driven the scattered Samnites, as it were, within net and toil, he fell
 upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. Forfrighted as they were, they knew
 neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed
 to the camp, or be further away. But so great was their fright and flight both, that there were
 brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain: besides 170 en-
 gines, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returned he unto the enemies tents,
 and belloved the whole pillage there, upon the soldiers. And such was the happy successe of
 this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to succumb to the Senar, for league: and also K
 turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to wage
 war upon the Peligni. Neither relled the face of this so fortunate a victory within the marches
 of Italy: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to Rome, with gratulation, and a
 present of a golden crown weighing twenty five pounds, to be set up to *Jupiter's* Temple within
 the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnites: and *Decius* followed after, all
 goodly to be seen, with his giste and worthy praises: whiles the soldiers, as their manner was,
 with merry jests and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell no less than
 the Consuls.

After this the Embassadors of the Campains and the Suesinians had a day of audience: and upon
 their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter L
 there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnites. But *Capua*, even then no good place
 for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the soldiers there: who having once got a taste,
 and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their own natural country. For
 they of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get *Capua* from the Campains: even by
 the same wicked practise, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient possessors
 "and inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their own
 "predecessors example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campains,
 "not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be LL of the most plentiful
 "country of Italy, and of a City answerable and correspondent therunto, rather then the victorious
 army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnites from them? And M
 "was it any reason, that they who had yielded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitful
 "and pleasant tract, while they themselves wearied with fighting, struggled full and wrestled in a
 "pestilent air, and dry barren soil, about the City of Rome, and within that City, endured the let-
 "ted, inveterate and insupportable mischief & plague of duty, that furnished them daily more and more?
 "While the projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached
 and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, *C. Marius Rutilius* came in place:
 whose lot it was to be LL Deputy of the province *Campania*, leaving his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the
 City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those de-
 signes: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the
 fourth time, and withal had been Censor and Dictator) thought it best to dissemble the matter, and N
 to make void and frustrate the present heat and outrage of the soldiers by deferring and prolong-
 ing their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whensoever they
 pleased. He raised therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter a-
 gainst the year following. [For divided they were into sundry Cities of *Campania*: to the web begun
 at *Capua*, was spread from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good respect to be-
 lieve themselves and advise of their matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Con-
 suls then led forth the soldiers into the summer places of abode and repose, and purpose while he
 had the Samnites in quietness to cleanse the army by the cashiering, & discharging those busie bodies
 and troublesome spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served
 already so long as the law required, others were well now leapt in years, or waxen feeble and their
 strength decayed. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first one by
 one singled out, afterwards, certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their
 dwelling places, from their goods and substance. Under a pretence and colour also of military
 services and employments, whiles to me were dispatched one way, some another, a great part
 of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept still at
 Rome: desiring this cause, and that, of delays and sowing behind. And verily at first, they
 being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that
 neither

A notable de-
 feat of the
 Samnites.

A Mutiny
 and conspiracy
 of the garrison
 soldiers at
 Capua.

The singular
 policy of
 Rutilius the
 Consul.

A neither they who were dismissed first, returned again unto their colours, nor any in a manner dis-
 charged else, but such as had lien in winter garrison at *Capua*: and those especially, who of them
 were the authors of the conspiracy: first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that
 their complots were revealed and come to light, and that now presently, they should be put to ex-
 aminations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one,
 and such like speeches low they and whisper secretly, that were in the camp, when they saw the
 principall authors of the mutiny, who were the sinews and strength thereof, by the wily policy of
 the Consul to be dismembered from them. One cohort of them, being not far from *Ardea* at that
 time down at *Laurela*, in a narrow passage or wood between the sea and the mountains, to inter-
 cept and stay, whomsoever the Consul sent about this or that pretended business as is shewensaid,
 of a full army, but only a head and Captain. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and
 spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the hill of *Alba*, they encamp themselves
 within a trench and rampier, and under the hill of *Alba*. They thought themselves
 safe, that either wittingly would venture upon to great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom
 C tomorrow, whiles they reasoned still about this point, and fully debated the matter, some of the
 wandering and vagrant foragers of the Country thereabout, bring certain intelligence, that *Titus*
Quintius implied himself in husbandry, and held a farme in *Tusculum*, minding neither the
 City, nor dignities of state and Common weal. This man was come of noble lineage, and having
 served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was time of a leg, and gave
 over soldiery, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, frequented far from all con-
 sideration about chusing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who
 should be sent for as far as from Rome? What Senator or Commander was so
 D therefore to use force and to bring him to it by fear. So, in the dead time of the night, they thought
 that were sent thereto, entered the farm house, and finding *Quintius* sound and fast asleep, they
 awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else present death: and no
 man between, in case he made stay and refused to go with them: and to they baled and brought
 him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted L. General at his first coming. And when the
 man was affrighted at this sudden and wonderful occurrence, they enaue him with the ornaments
 and ensignes to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City
 of Rome. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon
 any advice or counsel of their captain, they march in warlike manner with an army toward Rome,
 within eight miles of the City, upon the cauley or street way, now called *Appia Fia*: and had ap-
 proched immediately in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power com-
 E ing with *Lucius Aemilius Mamercus* General of horsemen. So soon as they were come in interview
 of another, and took knowledge of the armor and ensignes: as the remembrance of their native
 country wrought with them their straight waies a mitigation of their mood, they were not yet to fac-
 ine: and the uttermost rage and maddell fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their
 cession and departure away from their own countynen. And therefore both captains and soldiers
 on either side sought means to meet together, and draw to imparale. *Quintius* for his part, who has
 against the late *Cornelius* likewise for him self, as one that with loving affection embraced all his
 fellow-citizens, but the soldiers especially, and above all others those of his own army that fought
 F in his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no
 lesser reverence done of unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his
 all, as nine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in
 this will, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not
 "have been, and will be know else where, to win glory and walkie renown: From
 "hence, peace only is to be sought. And even that which among my vows that I made
 "it brought to devotely of the immortal gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Due
 "but call to mind that neither in *Samnium*, nor among the Volscians ye are encamp-
 "ed, but upon Roman ground: that those hills which ye behold, are the hills of
 "your native soile: this army which ye see, are of your own Countynen and fellow
 "Citizens: and my selfe your Consul, under whose conduct and auspice, ye have
 "the yeare past twice defeated the Samnite legions, twice by mere force won their
 "campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, sirs, that *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who

Annuity and
 Edition of the
 garrison sol-
 diers at
 Capua.

T. Quintius
 surprised by
 the rebels and
 made their
 leader against
 his will.

The Orator
 of the rebels
 was to dis-
 cuss the
 Rebels.

"noblenesse yee have had trial of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on H
 "your part received. Author have I been of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat
 "against you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my
 "selfe than severe to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of
 "Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertue and valour, of majesty and high calling or
 "honourable dignities; of such progenitors am I descended, such proofe of prowesse have I
 "given: at that age attained I to Consular honour, and being three and twenty years old,
 "I was able to have been feared and dread, not of Commons onely, but also of the Sena-
 "tors. But what deed or word hath passed from me in your knowledge, more grievous
 "and odious when I was once Consul, then all the time I was but a Colonel? the same coule hold
 "I still during my two Consulships ensuing: and such shall my carriage be, and none other,
 "whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gracious to these here about,
 "me that are mine and my countries souldiers, then to your selves affronting; who are,
 "I tremble to speake it forth, mine enemies. Ye shall therefore draw sword upon me, before
 "I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence shall begin found, the shouting from thence
 "shall arise, the charge from thence shall be given full, if we must needs go to it and
 "fight. Now, find in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your fathers nor
 "grandfathers before you ever could; no, nor they who went away and departed unto
 "the mount Sacer, nor those who afterwards held and kept the *Acventine*. Expect, untill
 "your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City
 "to meet with you one by one, as sometimes they did to *Coriolanus*. Then, the Volscian K
 "legions were quieted and pacified, because they had one Roman for their leader: will
 "not yee then, being a whole army, all of the Romanes, surcease this unkind and im-
 "pious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howsoever thou art come there to stand, whe-
 "ther with or against thy will; in case there be no remedy, but fight wee must, retire thy selfe
 "amongst the hindermost: say, with more honesty than thou shalt, and shew thy natural coun-
 "sellmen a fair pare of heeles, then fight against thy country. But stand still hardly with bo-
 "nour and credit among the foremost to make atonement: thou shalt be a truce-maker in this our
 "parley and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reasonable and indifferent con-
 "ditions: although in truth we were better to yield unto hard and unequal capitulations,
 "than wickedly and ungodly, one to fight with another. *T. Quintius* with teares gush-
 "ing out at his eyes, turning to his owne companies: "And even me also (quoth he)
 "O souldiers (if need there be at all of mee) yee have a much better captain for peace than
 "warre. As for him who even now uttered those words in your hearing, was neither
 "Volscian nor Samnite, but a Roman, even your owne Consul sometime, souldiers, and
 "your own Generall heretofore: whose Auspice conduct, you having tried for you,
 "and in your defence; doe not prove now against your selves to your perdition. Others
 "had the Senate to lend as captaines, who would have fought more maliciously with you: but
 "they have made choice of him who above all others, could beare with you, yes, and for-
 "bear you that have been his souldiers: whom you of all others especially might trust, as ha-
 "ving been your Generall. Peace, yee see, even they desire that are to get the victory. M
 "And what is it then we ought and should desire? Why then let us not anger and
 "hope aside, two false motives, two deceitfull guides and counsellors; and betake
 "our selves and all wee have to a man of approved truth and fidelity? These words being
 "liked well of all (as appeared by a Generall shout) *T. Quintius* went forth before the
 "enignes in the forefront, and pronounced that the souldiers should be at the Dictator his
 "devotion and pleasure: beleeving him to consider and undertake the cause of poor and
 "wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintain and protect the same, ac-
 "cording to that faithfulness wherewith hee used to governe the Commonweale. As for
 "himselfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne security: neither repoled
 "he hope in any things else but innocency. The souldiers indeed were to be capitulate, as
 "once heretofore the Commons, and a second time the legions had done with the
 "Senators: namely, that their revolve and pry rebellion might not be laid un-
 "to their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictator, after hee
 "had first commended *Quintius*, and willed the selfe to be content and of good cheer, rode
 "poll to the City, and by the advice of the Senators, preferred a bill unto the people
 "in the grove *Petelinus*: That the mutiny and insurrection should turne no man to fear
 "and danger. He belought the *Quinties* also of this much favour beides, That nei-
 "ther in just nor earnest, this should be laid in no mans will. The same time there was
 "proposed beides, a sacred military law under pain of death. That no souldiers name
 "once entered into the muster after his booke, should be raised out against his will: With
 "this branch annexed over and beides, That no man who had been sometime a co-
 "lonell or Tribune, should after have the leading of bands, and be a Corporall. This was
 "followed hard and urged by those of the conspiracy, in regard of one *P. Sabinus*, who in maner
 "each other year had been either a Colonel, or chief Centurion, whom now they call *Primi-
 "pilis*. Him the souldiers spighted much, and were maliciously set against, because he had alwaies
 "opposed

T. Quintius to
his souldiers,

T. Quintius to
his Dictator,

Military ordi-
nances enact-
ed.

* The next
degree to a
Colonel.

A posed himself against their conspiracies and innovations, and took not part with them who fled
 from *Lanula*. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat for their favour they
 bare to *Sabinus*: then *Sabinus* himselfe brought the Senators that they would not regard his ho-
 nour, more than the command of the whole City: and so at length it also was granted and enacted,
 As unreasonable a demand was this also, That of *hostium* (p. 9.) (and that was triple at that time)
 some *Affes* should be deducted, for that they also had withstood the conspiracy. Over and beides, find
 in some writers, that *L. Genucius*, a Tribune of the Commons, published this Law unto the peo-
 ple, That *Affes* might be made altogether unlawfull. Likewise in other Acts of the Commons it
 was provided, That no man within ten years space should be capable of the same Office twice: nor is
 granted to the Commons it appeareth that this intimation was chosen Dictator, but that all this bu-
 ciness was by the Commons managed: nor yet that they came by night, in terrible manner
 into *T. Quintius* farm-house, but in the dwelling house of *C. Manlius*: and that he was taken up
 by the rebels to be their General, and from thence went as far as four miles end, there enan-
 nished, when both Armies stood arranged in order of battell they fell to greeting one another: and
 that the souldiers began to take one another by the hands and embrace with teares: and that a
 Consul seeing the souldiers to backwark from fight, were forced to move the Senat for matrone-
 and the same appeared. But the rumor thereof and the cruel war which the Samnites began, with-
 drew certain nations from the Romans society and alliance. For besides the faithles and untruly
Norba and *Setia*, two Colonies of the Romans near bordering and adjoining,

D The Eighth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Eighth Book.

The Latines, together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having sent their Embassadors to
 the Senat (of Rome) offered and presented peace, upon this condition only, that they would create
 one of their Consuls out of them. This Embassie thus declared, *Annus* their Pretor who had audience
 in the Capitol, in going down from thence, took such a fall, that he died in the place. *T. Manlius* as-
 his ownson to lose his head, because, contrary to his express commandment, he had night as with the
 Latines, notwithstanding his good success in that cause. At what time as the Romans were greatly de-
 pressed, and like to lose the field, *P. Decius* their Coll, with *Manlius* devoted and offered himself to pre-
 sent death for to save the Army: and setting spurs to his horse, rode into the midst of the enemy: he
 died himselfe, when *T. Manlius* returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth
 to meet him, and so he was honour. *Minutius*, a profess, of the Coll, was condemned for his insolent in-
 continent life. The *Ausonia* was being subdued, a Colony was planted in *Cales*, and another the next
 in *Fregelle*. Many Roman dimes were detected of praifing poison: and most of them were forced to drink
 of their own piss, whereof they died presently. Whereupon was the first law made to order
 the Burgeois of the City of Rome, The *Palestrina* was conquered and afterwards sold, and educt
 dred upon Compulsion. *Quintius Publilius* who blocked them within their walls, was the first man that
 had his Commision renewed, and continued still in government, when the ordinary time was expired, and
 by means of the Consuls had triumph entered into him. The common people were delivered from the
 dangr of their creditors, by occasion of the fifth left of one of them, *L. Papirius* who was delivered from
 and against nature abused *C. Publilius*, a debtor of his. When *L. Papirius* the Dictator was returned
 from his Army into the City, for to take the Auspices away, by reason of some error supposed in the for-
 mer, *Q. Fabius* the General of the horsemen, having in his absence offered the opportunity and advantage
 of performing a worthy exploit, gave battell contrary to his Dictator and put the Samnites to the worse, for
 Rome. And when his cause would seem to punish him accordingly, *Fabius* made an escape and fled to
 the people. This book containeth also the fortunate exploits against the Samnites.

The Eighth Book of T. Livius.

The goddess
Lus.

Now was C. Plautius Consul the second time, with L. Emilius Mamercus, when as the Sertines and Norbans brought tidings to Rome of the Privernat revolt, with complaints of harms sustained at their hands. News came likewise, that an Army of Volscians, under the conduct of the Antians, were encamped at *Saturnium*. Both these wars fell by lot to Plautius. Who taking his journey first to Privernum, forthwith bad them battle: and with no great conflict gave his enemies the overthrow. The Town was won and restored again to the Privernats, with a strong garrison therein placed, but two parts of their Lands were taken from them. The Army thus having obtained victory, was conducted thence to *Saturnium* against the Antians. Where was a cruel battle fought with much bloodshed on both sides: and when as the tempestuous and stormy weather parted them asunder, before that either side was enabled to victory, the Romans no whit wearied with that conflict so doubtful, addressed themselves to fight against the morrow. But the Volscians having taken a view and account what men they had lost in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard again: and therefore as vanquished men they dislodged by night in disorder, and fearfully took their way to *Antium*, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great store of armour was there found, both upon and among the slain bodies of the enemies, and also within the Camp: Which the Consul promised to dedicate to dame *Lus*, and so he foraged and spoiled the confines of the enemies, even as far as the sea coast. But against the other Consul Emilius, who was entered into the Sabellian land, neither were the Samnites encamped, nor their Legions opposed any where. Whiles therefore with fire and sword he wasted their Country, the Samnites Embassadors come unto him, craving peace: but being by him pitched off to the Senate, after they had audience given; they let fall their stout stomaks, and requested peace for themselves with the Romans, and liberty to make war against the Sidicins: which petition they enforced with more reason and equity. First in that they had entered into amity with the people of Rome, during their prosperity; and not as the Campains in their adversity: again, they were to take arms against the Sidicins: enemies always to themselves, and never friends to the people of Rome: who also, as neither in peace (as the Samnites) used for friendship and alliance, nor in time of war (as the Campains) fought for aid and succour: and finally, were neither under the protection of the people of Rome, nor yet their vassals and subjects. When as T. Emilius the Praetor had consulted with the Senate about these points demanded by the Samnites, and that the LL. thought good that the league with them should be renewed: the Praetor in the name of the rest, made answer to the Samnites, "That neither the fault was in the people of Rome that the confederacy between them was not perpetual: neither galled them, but forasmuch as they were weary themselves first, and repented of the war commenced through their own default, the league might yet be newly made again. Touching the Sidicins, they would be no hindrance, but that the Samnite people, might use their liberty and do what they thought best, either for war or peace. The M League being thus concluded and confirmed and they returned home, presently the Roman Army was brought from thence upon receipt of a years pay, and corn for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Consul, in consideration of a truce granted, until their Embassadors were returned.

The Samnites, with the same forces which they had employed to withstand the Roman war, went forth against the Sidicins with undoubted hope, speedily to win the City of their enemies. Then, had the Sidicins before made an offer to yield themselves unto the Romans, but seeing the Nobles to reject them as coming too late, and wrestled as it were perforce from them in their last extremity, they tended the same to the Latines, who were already of their own accord risen up and had taken arms. The Campains likewise (for ready and forward were they to bear in mind an injury of the Samnites, rather than a good turn of the Romans) forbore not to join in this quarrel. Thus was there raised a mighty power of so many Nations banded together, under the conduct of the Latines and invaded the borders of the Samnites, where more hurt was received by rodes than skirmishes. And albeit the Latines in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for as aiding to many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies country. Which gave the Samnites leisure to send Embassadors to Rome, who before the Senat complaining, that they endured the same measure still, being now allies, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: besought most humbly, "that the Romans would be satisfied with that victory of the Campains and Sidicins, their enemies, which they had got out of the Samnites hands, and not suffer them to be trodden under foot by those Nations, the most distrid and cowards of all others: touching moreover, if so be the Latines and Campains were under the dominion of the people of Rome that they would command them by virtue of their authority to forbear the Samnites country: and if they refused to obey, then to challenge and keep them in by force of war. To these demands they framed a doubtful answer, as being loath and ashamed of the one side to confess, that the Latines were not at their devotion, and siding again on the other side by reproving and provoking them to turn away their hearts, and to follow them for ever. And this was the answer. As touching the Campains, their case was otherwise, who were not by covenants and conditions

A "ditions in forme of League, but by voluntary and simple submission under their protection: and therefore they should be quiet whether they would or no: but as for the Latines, by any capitulation comprised in their accord, they were not prohibited to levy war with whom they list, so it estranged and alienated the Campains for fear, and made the Latines more stout: so the Romans now would give them the head, & yield any thing into them, and therefore under a colour of preparing war against the Samnites they summoned and held many Comices one after another: and in all their meetings and consultations, their Princes and chief men came after themselves did nothing but plot and practise war with the Roman. In which they were partly aided by the Campains had their hand as deep as the rest, even to bear arms against the whole who had been their protectors. But although they did what they could to keep all close of purpose, and were diligent backs) yet nevertheless this complor was discovered, and intelligence thereon, given at Rome, by Heronipus were the Consuls commanded to resign their Magistracy before the ordinary time, that so much the sooner there might be new created against so great a danger and preparation of war, but here role a scruple of conscience, that the altemly for Election should be hidden by them, whole government was thus shortened and abridged. Whereupon they proceeded to an Interceded Consuls, T. Manlius Torquatus the third time, and P. Decius Mus.

In that year, it is recorded certain, that Alexander King of Persia, arrived in Italy with a Navy: who, no doubt if he had sped well at his first entrance, would have proceeded farther and ward upon the Romans. In this age flourished Alexander the Great in glorious conquests, who being this man his fathers son, and a warrior invincible, whiles he achieved feats of arms in another part of the world, happened to die in his best time and prime of his youth. But to proceed forwarder revolted: yet, as though they were carefully briefed about the Samnites only, and nothing in tended them: they sent for to Rome ten of their chief Peers, pretending to give them in charge what their pleasure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Praetors or Provosts, L. Annus of *Sapia* and L. Numitius of *Circia*, both Roman Colonies. By whose means, besides *Sapia* and *Vellere*, being also Colonies of Rome, the Volscians were solicited likewise to take arms. And thought good it was, that those Latine Praetors by name, should be cited with the rest. No fore they went, and there declared how they were conveyed by the Senat of Rome, demanding their advice what answer to make as touching those matters, wherewith, as they supposed, they should be charged. When some were of this opinion, some of that: then *Annus* spake and said: "Although I myself have moved you to resolve upon an answer, yet I think it concerneth us more in our main estate, to determine what to do, than what to say. And when we are grown to a resolution once of our affairs, and what cometh to take, an case matter will it be to frame words fit for the purpose. For if even now already under a shadow and pretence of us to frame words fit for the purpose, we can abide and find in our hearts to endure bondage, what standeth in the way, but that having abandoned and betrayed the Sidicins, we be obedient not only to the Romans commandment, but also to the Samnites? and answer the Romans in these plaints, That at their beck only, and if they do but nod their head, we will presently lay down all arms? But if at length, the desire and longing after liberty do touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our spirits: if there be a league between us: and if confederacy ought to be nothing else but a society and equal fruition of liberty and privileges: if, I say, we may now glory and vaunt, whereof sometimes we were ashamed that we are of kin to the Romans, and of their blood: if they sometimes we are locating, by the addition whereof they redouble their forces, and which the Consuls in leaving or forsaking their proper wars, will not part and sever from their own: why is there not equality in all things else? Why is not one of the Consuls a Latine? why is there not equality in ces, there also is part of rule and command. And certainly even this in itself is not a matter of so great honour unto us as who have granted and confessed Rome to be the head of *Latium*: yet by long patience and continual sufferance only, we have brought to pass that it might seem honourable. But if ever ye wished to see the day wherein ye might participate in government and recover your liberties again, so that time is now come presented unto you by your own valour, and the gracious goodnes of the immortal gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying foultries: who doubt not but that they were in a great choler and angry at the heart, when we brake a custom of two hundred years prescription and above: yet nevertheless this grief have they put up and given us one foul word. We wared upon the Peligians in our own name and quarrel, and they, who aforesometimes allowed not us the liberty to mix as to defend our own marches of our selves, nothing gain said and crossed it, that the Sidicins were taken out our mercy and protection that the Campains revolted from them and sided with us, that we led an army against the Samnites their confederates: they heard and knew well enough, and yet they stirred not one forth of their City. How come they to be so calm and quiet, but upon a privacy and knowledge both of our puissance and of their own weakness? I am able to avouch by the report of men of good credit, that when the Samnites complained themselves of us, they had such an

The Oration
of *Annus* in
the Senat of
Rome.

The Oration
of *T. Manlius*.

"sweat again of the Senat of Rome that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to require that *Latium* should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay claim unto that which they secretly yield unto you yourselves and repose it at your pleasure. Now if any man be afraid to be the speaker, Lo here am I, who profess to be the man and to say thus much not only in the audience of the people and Senat of Rome, but also of *Jupiter* himself, who is resident in the Capitol namely, that if they will have us to be of the League and confederates, they shall admit from amongst one of the Consuls, yes, and a part of the Senat, As he with great spirit and boldness, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were present with a general applause and assent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they reposed in him. So soon as he was come to Rome (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the Senat, and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul, by the authority and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the Samnites their confederates: *Annus* raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the protection of the Law of Nations, began in this sort: "The time required (quoth he) now at length, O *T. Manlius* and ye Senators of Rome, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by way of authority and commandment, namely, when you saw *Latium* by the favour of the gods to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition, as having subdued the Samnites, confederate with the Sidicins and Campanians, and now also combined with the Volscians: and besides, even your own Colonies and townships too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines rather than the Romans. But so much as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see how to make an end of your proud and outrageous Lordship and tyranny; We, albeit we are able to restore *Latium* unto her ancient freedom by force of arms, yet for kindred sake will be content to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased the immortal gods that we are equal unto you in power and puissance. *Inprimis*, there is no remedy now, but your two Consuls must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: Item, that the number of Senators be elected as well out of the onenation as the other, Item, that we become one people incorporate, and one Common-wealth. And to the end that there may be one imperial fact, and one name of all, and therefore we or you must needs yield, we are content of Gods name (and to the good of both nations may it prove) that this City and State of yours be counted the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it so fell out, that the Romans also had for their Consul *T. Manlius* to match him, one as stout and hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer, but openly said, "That if the Senators were so far overleer and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine soever he saw there in council, he would not fail but slay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning to the Image of *Jupiter*: Hearken (quoth he) O good god *Jupiter*, Hear this wickedness and indignity: hear O Justice and piety to Godward, Wilt thou abide to see, O *Jupiter*, in this thy holy and sacred temple, wilt thou endure, as taken captive and trodden under foot to see Consuls of M aliens & a Senat of forreiners? Are these the covenants, O ye Latines, which *Tullus* King of Rome made with the Albans your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinus* after him, concluded with you? Remember ye not the battel at the lake *Regillus*? Have ye so forgotten indeed, both your own calamities and overthrow of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators, it is recorded, that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated their names oftentimes. *Annus* in mockery of those protestations, was over-heard to despise and scorn the power and godhead of the Roman *Jupiter*. But this is certain, that as he in heat of anger stepped hastily to the entry or porch of the temple, and went apace, he fell down the stairs, and so hurt his head that dashed against the bottom of the stairs, that he swooned withall, and lay for dead. But N albeit all writers agree not, that he yielded up his last breath thereupon, I also will leave it doubtful, as I find it: as also this, that in the very changing of him with breach of covenants, there poured down a tempestuous storm, with many mighty thunderclaps. For as these and such like things may be very true, so they may be prettily devised and invented on set purpose to represent & shew the wrath and vengeance of God. *Torquatus* being lent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their dispatch, seeing *Annus* there to lie along, cried out aloud, in the hearing both of the Senat and the people, and said, "No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and bless, O ye immortal gods, our just and rightful war. Surely there is a God above, there is a power divine and deity in heaven, thou art no feigned and imaginary god. O mighty *Jupiter* & not in vain have I allowed thee in this place as the father both of gods and men. Why stay yethen, O Roman Quirites, ye likewise my LL. of the Senat, to take arms in the name of the gods, having them already as your liege to be your Leaders? I for my part shall soon go overthrow and lay the Legions of the Latines along on the earth, as ye now see their Embassador, lying here at the stairs foot. The words of the Consul, received with great applause of the people, animated and enkindled them in such sort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrates been more (who by commandment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary life conduct of the Law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude.

The

A The Senat also gave their assent to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the country of the Marians and Pelignians, and joyntly unto them the Samnites dy come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a vision: and there appeared unto them, one and the same shape of a man; personage much greater and more lately than the ordinary sort of men, who should deliver these words unto them, "That bute to the internal spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other the chief General only. And look of whether army the said sovereign General should devote and offer unto their internal spirits; and to Mother Earth, the Legions of the eneemies, and his own person withall, that part night-vision, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certain sacrifices should be slain, and also if the same shewed in their inward, as appeared in their sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfill the destinies, and accomplish fatal appointment, and settled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenant Colonels to a Council, and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods, (to the end, that they agree between themselves, that of whether side the Roman battallions began first to give back and retreat the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of Rome and the Quirites. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should new be renewed and redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, suting altogether to them in time, in these two armies soldier with soldier, Centurion with Centurion, Colonel with Colonel, under the same colours and ensigns. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no error the soldier should be mistaken or deceived, the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It for as soon as the Consuls to discover the coats of horsemen, which were lent out every way of his Cornet and Troup, was passed above the eneemies Camps, near, as he was within an arrow's leading of *Geminus Metus* a Knight, both for birth, and also for his noble feats of arms highly esteemed in his country. He spying the Roman horse, and knowing the Consuls, advancing before them, and of especial mark above the rest (for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough known one to another.) What, will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Cornet of horse fight it with the Latines and their confederates? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consul armies do the mean while? Marry (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them more than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the pool *Regillus* I say, who only can do your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, *Geminus*, riding forth as he was on horseback, a little from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) still that day come wherein me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear, how far the Latine men of arms, surpasses the Roman? The young man his blood and courage was soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or be aule God F would to have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his single fight: wherein it skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for as great odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts the plain field that lay between, they ran their horses in full career one against the other, with sharp and deadly spear in rest. *Manlius* with his lance aloft did over and raised the Morion of his enemy, and *Metus* with his spear lightly touched, and passed by the horse's neck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and to redoubled the push, that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the snort of which wound the horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cut his rider, at the throat, so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs, and nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & despoiled him rode back to his own troop: and both together with exceeding joy, halted to the Camp, and so to the Generals Pavilion, even to his father: full little knowing his fatal destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or in reward danger of punishment. That all the world, quoth he, (O father) may be persuaded and report truly that I am descended indeed of your blood, and your undoubted son. Lo here I am, who being

Manlius executed by his own father.

defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the spoils of him slain are dead. Which is soon as the Col heard, presently he could not abide to look on his son but turned away, and by sound of trumpet, commanded the host to a public audience. Which being assembled in great number, Forasmuch (quoth he) as thou, T. Manlius, without regard of Colli, authority, or dread of thy fathers majesty and power over thee, against our Edict and express commandment, hast fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and place; and as much as lay in thee, hast broken the discipline of war, whereby to this day the State of Rome hath stood maintained, and hast brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must forget either the Common-weal, or else mine own welfare, mine we will abide rather the punishment and smart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state, to her great prejudice and damage should pay for our folly and transgression. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford: but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily, both the inbred love and affection of all fathers to their children, and also this shew and proof of thy valour and knight-hood (although seduced with deceitful appearance and vain resemblance of honour) moved me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Colli commands must be established, or by impunity thy disobedience for ever disannulled, I would not with thee to relapse (if there be any) of my blond in thee) but by thy punishment to reprove and set up again the military discipline which this day thy default is slain down and minate, Go ye hence, and bind him to a stake. At this so cruel a sentence, they were all amazed and in an ecstasy, that were present: and as if they had seen the edge bent against themselves, for fear more than for any modesty or reverence, they were quiet. So when they were come again to themselves, as if their spirits had been recovered after some deep impression of a wonder which had afflicted them, they stood still with silence, but so soon as the poor wretch his head was chopp'd off, and his blood seen to gush and spin out, then began they all of a sudden to speak freely and complain with open mouth, so as they forbore neither lamentations nor curses: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious spoils, they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, set it on fire, and burnt him accordingly; and to wish as great love and affection as soldiers could shew, performed their last duty unto him, and solemnized his obsequies. Thus the commandments of Manlius were not only dreadful for the present, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the future to all sovereign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this punishment made the soldiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels, and the set corps de guard, were every where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in the very hazard and extremity also of the battle afterward, that austere severity did much good. For their fight was much like unto a civil war. So little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the Latines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Aforetime they used Roman long large shields, covering their whole bodies; but in process of time, after that they became Stipendiaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And whereas aforetime they had their battalions thick and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalanges, afterwards they began to range their battel into bands more loosely and distinctly, and last of all, they were divided into thinner orders and squadrons: every light order or squadron contained threecore soldiers, two Centuries, and one Port ensign. The forefront of the vanguard were javelins called *Hastati*, in fifteen squadrons, distant some little way one from another: such a squadron had twenty soldiers lightly armed, and all the rest a sort of Targeteers, and those were called light-armed, who carried only a spear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as apprentices to war-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or squadrons, which were called *Principes*: whom there followed hard at heels, thirty squadrons, all targeteers or shield-bearers, with brave armour above all others. And this battalion of thirty companies they called *Antepilem* (avant-darters) for that the other fifteen orders or bands were placed hard before the ensigns. And of these, every band consisted of three parts: and each of them they called *Primum pilum*, and it was composed of three banners or pannones: and every such banner contained 186 men. The first Pannone or banner conducted the *Triarii*, who were old soldiers of approved valour: the second, those that were called *Rorarii*, of less puissance both for age and prowess: the third, such as were named *Accensi*, who were of least account and trust, and therefore they were cast behind unto the tail of the battallion. When the Army was thus ordered in battel array into these bands & squadrons, the javelinsers formost of all began the fight: if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, than they with steady footing and soft pace retired back into the void places between the squadrons of the *Principes*, who received them: then began the *Principes* to enter into the battel and to maintain fight, and were seconded by the *Hastati* or Javelinsers. The *Triarii* remained standing all this while firmly, about their ensigns, setting on their left legs afore them at length, with their Targets on their shoulders, and their pikes or javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as if their battel were fortified with a Pallisado or rampier of pales and sharp flakes. Now if those *Principes* had not good success in fight, they retired themselves by little and little from the forefront to the *Triarii*. And hereby grew the proverb, that when a thing was at a dead lift and in distress they would say, We are come to the *Triarii*. Then the *Triarii* standing up right, so soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati*, into the void place between their files, presently drew in their ranks

A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with ward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to these same increased in number.

Now were there commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and took, numbered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battel after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only on each wing, another, if the arraeas were not broken, were to encounter, Two *Principes* or chief Centuries, there were amongst the *Triarii* in the one army and the other. The Romans, each side not to strong, well, howbeit a good soldier otherwise, skilful and of great experience, they did not to strong, be able at all times they had the same conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at Rome by the Col, to draw unto him an auxiliary Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him late from an enemy that should have to deal with him hand to hand. And it happened that the young man by him elected, not far from the foot of the hill of *Janus*, in the very way that leadeth to the *Capitol*, was fought Centurion before they came into the field killed their beatis for sacrifice. The Roman Souldier (as it is reported) shewed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for Manlius he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all was might be. That is to wit, he was arranged as laid before they marched into the field, *Manlius* led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of blood. The Latines, retired to the *Principes*, in which trouble and fearful disorder *Decius* the Colli called aloud to *Manlius*. We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O Father, Where art thou, the public robe embroidered before called *Prætexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under his robe at his chin and landing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words: god, the gods Novensiles and Indigetes; ye gods (besides whose power extendeth over us, and our enemies) *O Manes* the infernal gods, you *Invicti*, you I worship and adore, your pious, I beseech and favour crave, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of Rome, and Quirites, and put to fear, flight, and death the enemies of the people of Rome, and Quirites, and put words, for the weal public of the Quirites, the Arms, Legions and aids of the people of Rome, I take with me unto *Manes* the infernal spirits, and *Invicti* and *Tellus*, the Legions and aids of the Quirites, and with all speed to tell him, that his colleague was devoted for the army. Him self retired after a Gabine fashion, and aimed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and forde into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen to carry with him much more lately and venerable in rank, and chief from his own people upon the enemies. All terror and fear he carried with him, and afterwards entered within into the whole army. This was noted and seen most evidently, that with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet, but so soon as he was slain and over his corpse, his armor was mangled away and avoided. The cohorts of the Latines, out of their been discharged and freed from their religious fear and fumble of conscience, and as if they had fresh. For both the *Rorarii* advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the *Antepilem*, and thereby re-enforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly; and the *Triarii* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Col gave them token to arise. Afterward, in giving heed of the final end of his compulsion and of right as pious word, was compunged as well with plains and tears as with due praises to worthy and memorable death for a while done, relieved in heart and fresh, unto the last path of extremity, he biddeth the *Triarii* from the hind-places, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done like like raised their *Triarii*. Who so soon as they were compelled their points, and yet by meer force repulsed their enemies; thinking now all had been done.

and the victory achieved as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battalions: "Then, H" quoth the Consul to the *Triarii*, sit now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful of your country, parents, wives and children, mindful of the Consul, who for your victory hath taken his death. The *Triarii* all hearty & unfeigned, were not so soon risen up, showing themselves in their bright and glittering armour, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish and conflict. For they receiving the *Antipiani* between their files, set up a shout and outcry, troubled & disordered the *Principes* of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, flew the principal flower and strength of their best & foremost men and passed untouched in a manner through the other bands, as if they had been disarmed: yea, and brake through their pointed and close battalions, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies I alive. The Samnites also under the foot of the hill, being seen a far off in battle array, smote a terror among the Latines. But among all either Citizens or Allies, the especial commendation of that service rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods both above and beneath upon himself alone; the other in that battle shewed such valour and policy, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and commended it to posterity, that of whether army *T. Manlius* had the conduct: that way doubtless would the victory go. The Latines after their defeat and flight retired to *Minerva*: their camp presently upon the battle was won, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of *Decius* be seen, for that the night came upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found among a mighty company of slain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnity according to his death, performed by his brother Consul were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place, namely, That it was lawful for Consul, Dictator, and Pretor, whensoever they sacrificed and went to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withal, not themselves in any case but any Citizen whom they would: provided always that he were one of the enrolled legion of the Romans. [And if the man who is thus added and destined to death, hap to die, all is well, and as it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him seven foot high or above buried in the ground, and a purging or propitiatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but wherefore it chanced that I made to be so interred, whether it was lawful for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come. But if a man would needs offer and vow himself to death, as *Decius* did, and die not, he shall not purely perform any sacred duty, or do sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus taken himself. If he will beguile and offer his armour to Vulcan, or to some saint whomsoever he listeth, it is permitted and lawful for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as he pleaseth. As for the weapon or spear over which the Consul standing on both his feet, made his prayers and invocations, it is not lawful the enemy to seize thereon: but if he fortune to win the spear, a propitiatory sacrifice must be offered to appease Mars, to wit, a swine, a sheep, and a Bull. And albeit the records both of all divine and humane customs and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and remembrance: by reason that we prefer new and foreign ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of our own country and ancestors, yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in those very M words and terms as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I find, that the Samnites having waited to see the effect of this battle, came to aid the Romans when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Lavinium* unto the Latines, but not before they had the overthrow: by reason that they spent a great time in deliberation. And when as now the foremost enemies and some part of the army was gone forth of the gates, and news came of the defeat and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their banners and returned into the City, it is said, that their Pretor or Provost, named *M. Minius*, spake these words, "That so small a way as they had gone, must cost them dear, and full sweetly would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battle, and were scattered asunder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded themselves for safety in the City *Veio*. Where, in their Councils and assemblies, *Nunius* their General, averred, and assured them, that *Mars* indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other; and that the bare name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two royal pavilions of their Colours polluted and defiled: the one with the parricide of his own brother, the other for the death of the Col, who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner slain: their Javelineers and principals killed: a bloody slaughter committed both before and behind: the Standards: and only the *Triarii* at the last upshot renewed the fight and for all upright. And albeit (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supply, either *Lavinium* or *Volsci* are nearer than *Rome*. And therefore if they thought good, he would with all speed raise the lusty flower and chosen manhood both out of the Latines and the Volscians, and return again with a fresh army to *Capua*: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprise and defeat the Romans, expecting as then for nothing less, than a second battle. So by dispatching his careful and diligent letters into all parts of *Lavinium* and the Volscian nation (by reason that they who had not been present at the battle were sooner induced to give rash credit) there was a supplementary army in great hast levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters.

This

A This host as it marched, *T. Manlius* the Consul met at *Tifernum*: place between *Senigallia* and *Adria*. And before they could chide out a plot of ground to encamp in, they bestowed their carriage and baggage on heaps of either side: till to a battle presently and made a final and conclusive of all the war. For the enemies were brought to low that as the Consul led his victorious Army to waste their Country, all the Latines yielded themselves to him: and this their rendering the Campains likewise followed. Thus *Lavinium* and *Capua* forfeited and lost part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Privernates laid thereto, and the Territory of *Adria*, which becomons of *Rome*. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a supplement of three fourth parts out of the Privernates land to make up the whole: and three acres in the Territory of *Faleria*, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, became it was so far off, were assigned to a man. The Laurens only, of all *Lavinium*, and the horizon of the Campains, escaped this punishment and with the Laurens should be renewed: and from that time whithersoever year is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidays. Those Campain horizons were made free citizens of *Rome*: and for a monument and memorial thereof, they set up and staid a brazen tube at *Rome* in the Temple of *Castor*. The people of *Capua* were enjoyed to pay yearly a brazen tube at *Rome* in the they were a thousand and six hundred in all) 45. Deniers.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment inflicted according to each mans desert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders only, for certain, went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life, adhered, and with curses detested him. The Antians made certain roads into the Territories of *Hostia Antiana* and *Salerno*. And for that *Manlius* the Consul was not able himself in person to intend and manage that war, by reason of sickness, he nominated for Dictator *L. Papirius Cursor*, who as it happened was at that time Pretor: by whom was named for General of the horsemen *L. F. Papirius Cursor*, who achieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year thus renowned for the victory of so many and so puissant nations, and wishal, for the noble and famous death of the Consul, and for the government of the other, albeit stern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned, there succeeded Consuls, *T. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who met not with the own private business, and studious to maintain a tide and faction in the Common-wealth, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) they discomited in the plain of *Fenestella*, drove them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whiles *Publilius* (by whose governance and conduct that victory was achieved) received the surrender of the Latines, the flower of whose youth was there slain and killed up *Aemilius* led his Army against *Pedum*. As for the Pedans they had named *Numius Antium*. Where the Roman Consul, albeit he had the better hand in skirmish, yet for that there remained behind a new piece of service about the City it self *Pedum*, and the Camp of their Confederates which was adjoynd, close to the Town: all of a sudden he gave over the war unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consul. He also himself returned to *Rome*, and called earnestly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and covetous desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied statly: that unless he either forced *P. Antium* by assault, or won it by composition he should not triumph. Hereupon *Aemilius* being discontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Consulship afterward like to the seditions Tribunes, for so long as he was Consul he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people, and his Colleague no whit gainst him as being himself one of the Commoners. He took occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falerne Countries, were divided in the time of the Consuls government, had decreed that a Dictator should be declared against the Latine rebels: *Aemilius* (whose turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named General of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reason of slandrous and accusatory Invectives made against the Nobles: and for that it enacted three Statutes, most favourable and pleasing to the Nobles: and for that it enacted bility: first, That the AEds devised and enacted by the Commons, should stand adverse to the Nobles or Citizens of *Rome*: secondly, That all laws which were proposed and to pass by the *Quintus* of the Centuries, before the scrutiny began, and their voices gathered, the Nobles should allow and approve: thirdly, That forasmuch as they were come thus far already, that both the Censity, inasmuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this year by their Consuls and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Menius* were Consuls, to the end that *Aemilius* the Consul of the former year, might be more notably reproached for the quitting and letting slip of a victory that should have been achieved in his year, the Senat began to mutter

therefore a countermure and platforms and rolling frames, mounted against the walls: but as good hap was by an opportunity that fell out, they had no use of their munitions and fabrics: for *M. Fabius* a Roman prisoner, taking advantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a festival holiday, and making means to break his bonds, let himself down by a long cord, laid at one end to a pinacle or battlement of the wall, and slid by the arms, among the munitions and fabrics of the Romans: who so periwaded and prevailed with the General, that he caused him to give an assault upon the enemies, now being fast asleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meats. So that with as little ado as the *Aulians* and their City surpris'd, as they were alone vanquish'd in fight. A great booty of pilage was there got: and after a garrison placed at *Cales*, the Legions were brought back to *Rome*. The Consul by decree of the Senate triumph'd: and that *Artidius* should not be without his glory too, both *Coiff*, were appointed to lead forth an Army against the *Sidians*: but before they went, they appointed by a decree of the Senat, *L. Aemilius M. Aemilius* to be Dictator, to hold the election of Consuls. Who named *Q. Publilius Philo* for his General of horsemen.

In this Election holden by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Postumius*. Who albeit there remained some part behind of the *Sidians* war yet to the intent they might gratifie the Commons by some good turn, and prevent their longing before they spake themselves: propos'd an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to *Cales*: and when as the Senate had ordain'd that two thousand and five hundred men should be enrolled and assign'd thither: they created *Triumvirs* for to bring them thither. and to divide the lands, namely, *(also K)* *Duellius T. Quintus*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Consuls having received the army of the old, enter'd into the enemies confines waiting all before until they came to the very walls of their City. Now for that the *Sidians* had assembled a puissant army, and seem'd themselves fully resolute and bent upon utter despair to put all unto the last adventure, and to fight it out to the last man, Moreover because it was noised that all *Sannium* was risen up in arms: by authority from the Senat, the Consuls appointed *P. Cornelius Ruffinus* Dictator, and *M. Antonius* was nominated General of the horie. But hereupon grew again another fupple, that there was some error escap'd in the creation: so they reigned up their places, and because there ensued also a plague hereupon (as if all their Auspices for elections of Magistrates had been touch'd and infected with that error and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interregnum, Which being now enter'd L upon by the fifth Interregnum, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, then Consuls were created, *L. Cornelius* the second time and *Cn. Domitius*.

When all things else were at quiet, the rumour of the Gauls war was soife and hot that it was taken for a very Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created. And *M. Papirius Crassus* was nominated, who had *P. P. Verus Publicola* for General of the horsemen. When they had mustred the souldiers more strenghtly and with greater regard than would have been for war near hand, the souldiers who were lent out, brought word that all was well and quiet among the Gauls. But insuspect it was that *Sannium* now the second year was ready to drop out of their allegiance and seek a change. Whereupon the Roman army was not withdrawn out of the *Sidians* country. Howbeit the war of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* drew the Samnites into *M* the Lucians country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battle, as he made rodes from *Pistia*. In which conflict *Alexander* having got the upper hand, enter'd into a League and amity with the Romans: although it was much doubted with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affairs prospered as well. The same year was a solemne Levy or Numbring of the people of *Rome* held: and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled. And therefore two Tribes were annexed. *Mela* and *Capita*: the Levies that ordain'd them were *Publ. Philo* and *Sp. Postumius*. The *A. errans* became Roman Citizens, by an Act propos'd by *L. Papirius* the Praetor: by vertue whereof they were enfranchis'd Denizens: but without the privilege of giving voices. There were the As for this year both at home and abroad.

The year next following (were it through the unkind diltemperature of the air, or by some wicked practice of man) was infamous when *M. C. Iulius Marcellus* and *T. V. A. Aruns* were Consuls, I find the surname of this Consul to vary in divers Chronicles. In some *Fluccius*, in others *Patrus*. But it matters not much whether be true, I rather trust I could willingly have wish'd (and yet all Authors do not record it) that it had been falsly recorded that those persons who by force and poison were made away, whose death hath defamed that year with the note of a peltence. But yet as the thing is left in writing, I purpose to deliver it. I left that I should seem to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chief personages of the City died upon like diseases, and after one and the same manner of symptoms a certain chamber-maid presented her self to *Q. Fabius M. Aemilius* (being for the time an *Edict* of State) and profess'd to bewray the cause of that public and contagious malady. I might be assur'd by faith: promise from him that by the utterance thereof, she should not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* deliver'd the matter to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senat: by the consent of which State assurance was made accordingly unto the party aforesaid, to reveal the matter. Then she declared that by the lewd and mischievous wickedness of women the City was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain Dames of *Rome*, even their own wives, boiled and tempered rank poisons (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it presently they might be taken in the manner. So they went straight waies with the wench, and found some women as they were

feeling

A seething and preparing venomous drugs; yea and some poysoned confections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20. of those dames, with whom the poysons were found, were sent for by a Sergeant. Two of them *Conchus* and *Sergus*, both noble widdowes and whollom for the body of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confuted, and enjoyned to drink thereof, that they might displove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised that the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in fight of all the World, these two Dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and presently were their complies apprehended, they all perished by their own mischievous practise. Then their Wives: of which 170. were condemned, Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor process at *Rome*, about poysoning and forcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, belov'd and bewitch'd, then to any felonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and fear, hind the old Chronicles, departed the City, which was a spike or great nail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the ceremonial satisfaction, brought again in good time, and therefore it was thought good, that for the salting or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created, So *Cn. Quinctilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* General of horsemen, who so soon as the nail was fastned gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time and *L. Plautius Venus*. In the beginning of which year, there came from the country of the Volcians as Embassadors to *Rome*, the *Fabratens* and *Lucans*, making request that they would take them into their protection, promising that if by them they were defend'd from the forces of the Samnites, they would become loyal and obedient subjects to the people of *Rome*: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, nations, Which embassage sped well and took place; not so much for that the Samnites desired peace, as because they were not as yet ready prepared for war. The same year began the *Prison* *Verinus* war. The confederates whereof, were the Fundans, and their Leader likewise a Fundan, *at Rome*. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount *Palatine*, even the very same, but also the building was pulled down, and the ground forfist and consecrate, was called *Veneri Prati*. *A. Pirius* went forth with a power, and routed near from his very camp, But *Verinus* neither had the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter the gate of the camp, whiles the souldiers had more mind to flie backward, than march forward. And encounter the enemy: without either advice or confident courage he sought: and with as little ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquish'd: so by reason of the shortness of the way, and the easie retire into the camp he found no great trouble to save his souldiers from much slaughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, not many in the press of the rout and tail of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their tents to defend themselves within a wall rather than a trench. *Plautius* the other Coiff, having army into the Fundan country. The Senat of the Fundans also conducted his Coiff, having met him, saying: 4 They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Verinus*, or for those that took his part: but for the people of the Fundans: who that they were innocent and not culpable for this war, *Verinus* himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose *Pravertum* to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the City *Fundi*, the very place of his nativity. And therefore at *Pravertum* in the enemies of the people of *Rome* were to be fought for, as the Romans. As for the Citizens of *Fundi*, they were at peace with *Rome*, nay, they were Romans in heart, and carried thankfull remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated therefore and besought the Consul to forbear hostility with a gentle people: assuring him that their Linds, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devotion of the people of *Rome*. The Consul after that he had commended the Fundans, and sent G letters to *Rome* that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to *Trivernum*, But before he dilodg'd (as *Cludius* wrothly) the Consul excus'd those that were the heads of the conspiracy, and thice hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to Fundan people, desirous to be excus'd and discharged, with the punishment of the needy and hie sort of people. Now when as *Pravertum* was besieged and invest'd with two Corniall Armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were erected in the great race called *Circus*, the Barriers from whence the horses and their charriots are.

* The rumour of the Gauls war, was ever taken for a Tumult (quasi timor militum) and supposed more dangerous than any other ordinary war.

he now being entered into *Sannium*, should be called away from the chief push of the war, he should nominate a Dictator to be President of the Election of Magistrates: Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was appointed for General of hostie *Sp. Posthumus*. Yet for all this, was no assembly for the said election, holden by the Dictator. For it came in question, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the *Augurs* being hereabout consulted with, pronounced, "That the Dictator seemed not created aright. But the *Tribuns* discredited and made suspicious, and infamous, by their accusatory speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That neither it was ealie to know the fault and error in the creation, seeing that the *Comiti* nominated the Dictator in the beginning of the fill night, neither had the *Consul* written to any man publicly or privately thereof, nor yet was there any person could come forth and lay, that he either law or heard ought, that might mar and interrupt the *Auspices*, nor yet could the *Augurs* sitting at *Rome*, guess and divine, what error had hapned to the *Consul* in the camp to lay off. And who saw not (say they) that the *Augurs* found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elect, was a Commoner? These and other such allegations were (to no purpose) by the *Tribuns* given out. For the matter grew to an Interregne, and the forelaid Election being put off and adjourned for one cause or other; at length the fourteenth Interregent, *L. Emilius* created *Consuls*, *C. Petilius*, and *L. Papirius*, furnished *Magillanus* or *Censor*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was founded: and that *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* was murdered by a certain *Lucan*, a banished person, to verifie the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was sent for into *Italy* by the *Tarentins*, he had warning given him, [To take heed of the *Acherusian Waters*, and the City *Pandusia*, for there it was his destiny to end his days:] and therefore, with more speed he passed over into *Italy*, to be as far off as might be, from the City *Pandusia* in *Epirus*, and the river *Acheron*; which issuing out of *Molossis* into the lower Meers and Lakes, dischargeth it self, and falleth into the *Therapontic Gulf*. Howbeit (as commonly it is seen when men seek molt to flee and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themselves into it) he, having oftentimes vanquished and overthrowen the legions of the *Brutians* and *Lucans*; won by force *Heraclea* Colony of the *Tarentines*, and *Consentia* in *Lucania*, and *Sipontum*, and also *Acerina* a Colony of the *Brutians*, and other Cities afterwards of the *Messapians* and *Lucans*: sent into *Epirus* three hundred Noble houses and families, whom he meant to keep as hostages: he encamped not far from *Pandusia*, a City situate near to the Confines of the *Lucans* and *Brutians*. And there he held three his (some what distant asunder, from whence he might make excursions and rodes into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almost 200. banished men of the *Lucans*, for his sure trusty guard: who notwithstanding (as the natures are of such for the most part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortune. Now it fell out, that the continual rains which overflowed all the fields, had foreclosed and stopped the passages three ways between his armies, so as they could not help one another: whereby those two garrisons where the King was not in person, were surprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the sword, turned their whole forces to besiege the King. M From whence, there were by the *Lucan* exiles, messengers sent to their own countreimen: who in the name of the rest capitulated, that if they might be refreshed again, they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himself with an elect number of men, made a noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midst of the enemies: and encountering the chief Commander of the *Lucans* hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men near together, who were scattered asunder in flight, he came at length to a river, which by the fresh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had born down, shewed passage. Which as the army passed over at an unknown and blind foord, one soldier wearied with fear and travel, cursing and detesting the unlucky and abominable name of the River, forsook to say, Thou hast not thy name * *Acheron* for naught: which word when it came open to the King, his N ear, he presently began to think and muse of his final end: and there slayed still in a deep suspence whether he shall pass over or no. Then *Saturnus*, one of the Kings servants and liegemen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in to great a peril and jeopardy as he was? and flewed him withal, how the *Lucans* intended to play false with him, and sought opportunity to forelay and do him a mischief. With that the King looked behind him, and espied them afar off in a troop coming against him: whereupon he drew his sword, put his horse to it, took the River, and rode through the midst thereof; and when he was now so far passed that he was ready to take the land one of those banished *Lucans* launched a dart aloof at him, and thrust him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart sticking in his body, and the stream carried it down as far as to the *Corpe de guard* of the enemies. Where his breathless corps was shamefully misused and mangled. For they having cut it cross the middle, sent the one half to * *Consentia*, and kept the other with themselves still, to practise a thousand villanies upon it. And as they slay and flung things it at afar off, a certain woman being amongst this outrageous multitude (saying beyond all measure of anger and malice that mans heart can devise or beleve) That her husband and children were prisoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings body, howsoever it were abused and martyred, to redeem them again. This

* A river of anguish and pain.

* *conspectus*.

slayed them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body, by the means of one only woman, was burnt at *Consentia*: and his bones sent back afterwards to his hither *Olympus*, and from thence conveyed to *Epirus*, unto *Claypara* his wife, and much concerning the woful and unhappy end of *Alexander* the King of * *Epirus*. Whole fortune albeit was such, that he came short, and was cut off before he intermed in the Roman war, yet became he warred in *Italy*, let it suffice that briefly by the way I have touched his story.

The same year was there a *Lecliffment* at *Rome*, (which was the first after the foundation and Building of that City) for the pacifying of the same gods as heretofore. Afterwards the new *Consuls* by the ordinance and direction of the people, sent defiance and proclaimed war against the *Sannits*. And as they themselves made greater preparation every way than against the Greeks for they had besides new aids, whereof (as then) they least thought of: The *Lucans* and the *Aprians* (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romans) became their liege and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by the Romans had good succels and received into their amity. At the time time also they became Masters thereof, for three towns: all there yielded unto them, first coming of the *Consul*, to wit, *Alife*, *Calli*, *Rufinum*: the other territory be des at the C achieved, the other enterprise also of besieging the Greeks, was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and besides, that by certain sences and blockades between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured also within their own walls, non-h more misery and calamity, than the enemy menaced and threatened with out-and-as if they had been suffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the persons as well of their wives as of their children, when it was noised abroad, that there were new succours coming from *Tarentum* and the *Sannits*: they supposed that for *Sannits*, there were already within their walls more of them than D the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withstand the outrages of the *Sannits* and *Nolans*, as the Romans their open and professed enemies. Last of all, of many inconveniences *Charilaus* and *Nymphius* two great men and the chief personages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, to part the matter between themselves, that the one minister ready means to render the City according to their desire, to and some opportunity, and who presented himself unto *Phile*, and said unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it said and done of the *Palatopolitans* and the people of *Rome*, I am determined to deliver and render the City into your hands: in which Action, whether I may be thought to have E "trayed or saved my country, it resteth only in the truth and fidelity of the Romans. As for my self privately, I am come neither to incite, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publicly in the behalf of the City, I would rather by way of petition request, than article and capitulate, thus "much, That if this enterprise intended, speed well and take effect, the people of *Rome* would "think and consider, in what affection, endeavour and jeopardy, our City returneth again into "their amity, rather than upon what folly and rashness, it brake their allegiance and revolted. Then, after he had been bidden welcome by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 2000. soldiers, to keep, surprize, and to seize that quarter of the City, where the *Sannits* were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and F garrison, *I. Quintus* a Colonel had the conduct. During this time, *Nymphius* also did his parts him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about *Paleopolis*, or in *Sannius*, he would permit him with the fleet to call about to the Roman coasts, for that he intended to force the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships Sannits besides the necessary garrison of the City, was sent to the shoar. Where whilst *Nymphius* in the dark, and amongst the multitude that hindered one another purposefully spent time in before, was by his associates received into the City: and having filled the highest places of the town ken given them by their Captains, kept themselves still and quiet. The *Nolans* then, at the backside of the town, escaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to *Nola*. And the *Sannits* being excluded out of the town, as they had a more readier mean to flee for the present, to they found it, after they were past danger, a more shameful disgrace. For, they were dismissed and naked men, they had left all the good they had amongst the enemies, and returned home spoiled, poor and needy and served for a laughing stock and derision, not only to other nations, but also to their own neighbors and countreimen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another

* *Toride Mar*.

* *Albania*.

opinion, when by it is given out that *Palapolis* was by the Samnites betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein such authors, as me thinks it were hard if they should not deliver a truth; for so I am induced the rather to believe that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, because of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief part of the Greeks was translated.) Unto *Publius* was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed constantly, that by his siege the enemies were tamed, and so contrived to come to a composition and surrender. Two special favours happened to this man above all others before him: namely the prorogation of his government not granted to any man afterwards and triumph after his Magistracy was expired.

Upon the tail of this war, arose another with the Greeks of the other tract or coast. For the Tarentines having born the Neapolitans in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were possessed of their City, complained themselves like men forsaken, and not as those who had forsaken others, much blaming the Neapolitans, and with anger and envying against the Romans. Disquieted also they were, for that news came that the Lucans and Apulians (for both these nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (say they) they are well near come unto us, and shortly we shall grow to this pass, that we must acknowledge the Romans for our Lords, or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazard of our estate, dependeth only upon the Samnites war, and the event thereof, which is alone, and the same nothing mighty, remaineth now; since that the Lucans are gone and revolved to the Romans: who yet might be reclaimed and moved to shake off the society with the Romans, if any fear were wrought and practised to sow some discord and dissention between them. These devices and overtures took place and prevailed with such, as were desirous of change and novelty: in so much as certain of the Lucan youth (better known, than trusted and reputed honest, amongst their countrymen and fellow Citizens, hired also for a sum of money) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the assembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and said, that for precluding only to come into the Roman camp, they were by the Coss, thus scourged, & escaped narrowly the losing of their heads. The thing it fell piteous and unseemly to behold, as bearing a shew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & subtil practice by them intended, stirred the people up, to force their Magistrates with their unseemly entreaties to assemble a Council. Some standing round about the Senat in counsel, call hard for war against the Romans: others run up and down to raise the multitude of Peasants to take arms and in this stir and uproar, which was able to disquiet and amaze even those that were best minded, a decree passed; that the league with Samnites should be renned, and Embassadors dispatched forthwith, to the same purpose. This was a sudden change: and as it had no colour of cause, so it carried little credit with it amongst the Samnites, who for the Lucanians to give hostages, and to take garisons into their fortresses: and they, blinded with anger, and moved with flattery, refused nothing. But shortly after began the fraud to appear and it was felt namely, after that the authors and devisers of these false promises and flanders, were retired to *Tarentum*: but having put themselves out of all and being not at liberty to dispose of their own affairs: they had nothing else left them, but like fools to repent in vain.

That year happened to the Commons of *Rome* another beginning of their liberty, in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thralldom by their creditors. Which privilege against poor debtors was altered, by occasion of the filthy lust and notorious cruelty of one *Uluar*. And *Lucretius* was the man unto whom *C. Publilius* for his fathers debt, became bound, and committed him to this prisoner: whose tender age and lovely face which might and should have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this lustful and shameful commonly for making full account, that the prime and flower of his youth should satisfy and pay for the interest of the debt, he first began to allure and entice unto him the youth with wanton & unchaste speeches: afterwards seeing that his ears absorbed to hear such filthiness, he led to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mind of his present condition when he stood but half of all perceiving by him, that he stood more upon his honor and freedom by birth, then respected his hard estate by fortune, he caused him to be stripped naked and whipping near to be presented unto him. The poor stripping thus piteously rent and torn, ran forth into the open street, & complained of the filthy lust & cruelty of his creditor. Whereupon, a number of people, kindled as well with pity and commiseration of the stripping, and indignity of the injury, as also in regard of their own estate, and of their childrens care running into the Forum or common place, and so from thence in a long train to the court of the Council. The Consuls upon this sudden uproar were forced to call a Senat, and as the Senators entered into the Council chamber, they lay all prostrate at their feet: as they passed by, one after another & shewed unto them the young mans back and sides in what taking they were. And that one day by occasion of the outrageous enormity of one person, brake the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, to that day the creditors had their debtors in danger unto them. For the Consul, had in charge, to propose unto the people, that from thence forward, no person whatsoever, unless he had committed some heinous fact, and until he were first therefore, should be either kept in fetters and gages, or thrust upon the rack, *Item*, that for lent money, the goods of the debtor and not the body should be obliged. So that they that in bondage, became released and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none should be imprisoned by their creditors again.

The time year, whilst the Samnites war of it self alone, besides the sudden revolt of the Lucans, together

A together with the Tarentines the hatches thereof, held the Senators of *Rome* in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all this, the Vettin people, as a forerunner to their troubles, joined and bonded with the Samnites. Which new occurrence as for that year it rather maintained this discourse amongst men in their ordinary talk every where, than diminished cause or interest second time, and *Jun. Brutus Scaevola*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needed not to be treated of in the Senat, with the first. And albeit the thing were but new, and the need, yet to greatly were the LL. hereabout troubled, that they feared no less to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubting, lest if they were left unquished, the war the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Marians, the Pelignians and Mamucians, were inlets of arms comparable and equal to the Samnites every way which nations they never to little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present seemed to carry more courage and valor, then sage advice and wisdom: but the ill use and end shewed, that Fortune favoured Fortitude. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobles decreed was, against the Vettins: the charge whereof light by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Scaevola* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defence of the marches and frontiers the enemies were impeached: for joining their force together, howbeit the Consul *Brutus Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, for to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warriors in a couple hardly of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, atchieved in this their felts between them; whereby they grew well near to the utmost terms of contending, one to overcome with like fortune and happy success. For he foraged and waited their country: and by piling, rising, and turning their houses and corn, forced them against their will into the shed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp (but not without blood now to their ramparts and trenches, they were constrained to steal away into their towns, mingling for to save themselves, as well by the natural situation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made thank upon those walled Cities, purposing by force to win them. And first he gained *Armin*, by skaling, either through the exceeding courage of his few soldiers, or their anger being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that first they overtopped the pillage of both Cities to his soldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way, and kept them out. But into *Samnium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful success and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror which rose to him, effected rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another, for *Appian* the Dictator, advised by the *Aspicius*, that had the custody and charge of the sacred Pylae, went back to *Rome* to take the *Aspicius* (or the presage by the bird-flight) again: and straightly charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battle during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictators departure, advertised by the signals that came, whether it were, that being a stout and lusty young Gentleman he took too room in *Samnium*, F an indignity, that although seem to rest in the Dictator only: or that he was imbrued with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wot not) but he was imbrued with the good of battle, for *Fabius* (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnites, could not have been better managed. For neither Captain failed his soldiers, nor soldiers their dry times, nor ed and recharged again, and could not with force break the enemies array: much in have a kill, but a time made they all about over armour and men. The women to be of the charge of the horse, advanced the engines against the enemies that put in dismay: and given y then and men (by report) were that day slain. In some author I find, that twice in the residue of one battle. In some Chronicles, that the whole matter is passed over and let out alone. The General of the horse having gained mighty mauls of spoil, as otherwise he could not make, upon his great slaughter & mischief gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire of it, & burned them: were it that he had made some fish-vow to one of the gods: or (as I list rather to believe) it was a motive of *Fabius* himself, that the Dictator should not reap the fruit of his glory, and entice his name thereunto in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.

Note.

The Oration
of Q. Fabius
to his fellow
soldiers.

Moreover, the letters of this victory by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the Dictator, were some proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praises with him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in to ill part, that when every man else was joyful for this noble victory achieved, he only shewed anger and sadness in his very countenance. Whereupon suddenly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great haile out of the court, giving out and often iterating these words; Then hath the matter of horsemen in deed as well exerted and overthrown, both Dictators Majesty and military discipline, as defeated the Samnits legions, if he can to go clear away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my express commandment. Whereupon, full of threats and indignation, he hatined to the camp, and I took long journeys: yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Vant-errurs that potted from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and set upon punishment, and at every second word almost, commending the late exemplary justice of T. Attilius. Then Fabius immediately calling an audience, beought the souldiers, that with what valour and vertue they had defended the Common-wealth from most deadly and mortal enemies, with the same they would protect him from the outrageous cruelty of the Dictator, himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victory. "For now," coming he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beside himselfe for anger at another mans manhood and felicity, furious and horn-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his absence, forsooth, we have sped well; who witheth rather in his heart, if he could change the course of fortune, that the Samnits had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is to K rise in his mouth, as, That his commandment was contemned: as who would say, he forbade not battel with the same mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For as then his will was good, even for very envy to hinder and suppress the prowess of another, and went about to take weapons away from most forward souldiers, desirous of fight, that in his absence they might not lay hand to their sword: to now, see how he fretteth and lumeth in great choler at this, that without L. Papius, the souldiers were not disarmed, dismembred as it were, and maimed: and for that Q. Fabius forgot not his place, but bare himself as General of the Cavalry, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, standing at receit, and waiting at an inch when some under Captainship would fall, that he might step into the place. What would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have fretted, if (as the fortune and I doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worse and lost the day; who now that the enemies be vanquished, the field is well fought, the State is well served, as by the most singular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me the General of the horse, even in the honour of my conquest? Neither is he (my masters) cruelly bent and set upon mischief against the General of the horse more then against the Colonels, the Centiniers and common chiefes: nay, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have ragged and fared as bitterly, yea, and executed his ire and furious rage upon all. But because he cannot, now he dischargeth his gall upon me alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, leecheth and mouneth up to the height, to runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glory of M. this brave service, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatsoever he might by law execute against a General of the Cavalry, he would attempt and extend, upon the simple souldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that in standing fast to me and in defence of my cause, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in case he shall perceive once, the same agreement of the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well seen in the battel, and that ye all have a care and regard of the life and safety of one, his stomach will come down, his heart will relent and incline to clemency, and a milder sentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and whole estate to your vertue and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cried into him aloud & bade him take a good heart: for so long as the Legions of the Romans were safe, there should no person do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently N by found of trumpet summoned a general assembly. And the publick Crier after an Oriez made, called by name for Q. Fabius General of the horse. Who so soon as he was come from a lower place where he was, and approached neerer the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand of thee Q. Fabius, since that the rule of the Dictator is sovereign and highest above all others; whereunto the Consuls, endowed with kingly puissance and government do obey, yea & Prators created with the same authority that Consuls are whether thou esteem it meet and right, that a General of horse should be obedient to his commandment or no? I demand likewise, whether I my self, knowing that I took my journey and went from home with doubtful and uncertain Assurance, ought to have put the mainstay of the Common-wealth in hazard against the order and religious observation in that behalf; and not rather, to go again to take new Auspices, that I might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods? And withal, this I demand, whether the General of the horsemen could be freed exempt & discharged of that cruple of conscience, which checked and stayed the Dictator from execution of his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? seeing that if he had departed without saying one word, yet thou shouldst have framed thy opinion and applied thy mind according to the interpretation of my wil and pleasure? Why sayest thou nothing? Answer me I say. Forbid I thee not expressly to do any thing in my absence: Forbid I not thee to fight with the enemies? How

Interrogato-
ries tendered
by the Dicta-
tor to Q. Fabi-
us.

A "How dost thou in contempt of my commandment, whiles our Auspices were uncertain, "whiles our consciences were unresolved and with scruples troubled, against Military customs and statutes, against the discipline of our ancestors, and against the will and direction of the gods: how durst thou, I say, be so hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To thee interrogatories "make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and nothing but this, and at the peril of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Sergeant and do thine office the while. To which several Articles, when Fabius could not readily answer point by point, one while complaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life and death: other whiles crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his Bactes: and as he justified and excused his own self, so he began again to challenge and accuse the Dictator. Then Papius being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General of the horsemen to be stripped out of his cloaths and uncaked, and the rods and axes to be brought forth ready. With that, Fabius calling earnestly for the help of the souldiers, wishes the officers were a tearing and renting his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himself into the ranks of the T. Attilius, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the assembly. From whence there arose an outcry over all the audience. Some were heard to intreat, others to threaten, the Dictator they might be known and noted, beought his Majesty to spare and pardon the General of the horse, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were latest off out upon such a rigorous and merchiefs Dictator. And a little thing more would have made them mutiny: nay, within the very compasses of the Tribunal all was not clear and quiet. The Lieutenant of the matter until the morrow: to give his choler some time to cool, and allow space and respite to consider of it with advice and counsel: saying, "That if Fabius had plaid a youthful part enough. Besides, heing him not to proceed to the extremities of utmost execution nor to let fall such a brand and note of ignominy and shame upon the young Gentlemen himselfe, so rare and gallant a Knight: or on his father, a most honourable and excellent personage, nor yet upon the D noble house and name of the Fabii. But when they saw how little they prevailed by their prayers, and as little by any reasons they could allege; then, they admonished him to have a redom, thus to put more fire to the hot stomach of Souldiers enkindled already, nor to administer more matter of mutiny: and if such a thing should happen, no man would impute the blame to Q. Fabius, who fought and humbly craved pardon of punishment, but to the Dictator: if he overcame with choler, should blindly so far pass himselfe in wilful peevishness, as to provoke the outrageous multitude against himselfe. Finally, that he should not think, how they libelled thus for any affectionate favour they bare to Q. Fabius: but were ready to take an oath, that they thought it not late for the State and Common-wealth that he should proceed at such a time, E to execute the rigor of Justice upon Q. Fabius. By these and such like remonstrances, when as his mood against Fabius they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the Crier had assaid to make silence all in vain, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither the Dictator his voice nor any of his apparitors and halberds about him, could be heard, the night came upon them and ended the contention, as it had been a battel in field. The General of the horse was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avowments, and that the more he was dealt withal the worse he was: Fabius privily stole out of the camp and fled to Rome. And by the means of his father M. Fabius, a man who had been already F the Chief Consul and Dictator, the Senat was called together immediately. And as he was in the midst of a sudden, there was heard before the Council House door, a great noise and hurrying of the Dictator, whiles they made way and voided the prels, and no marvel: for the Dictator himselfe was come with a revenging mind. For so soon as he had heard how Fabius was departed out of the camp, he followed after with his light horsemen. Then began the bell to be rung aloud, body of the Senat began to enterpole themselves by way of mediation: but all their intreaty notwithstanding, he persisted still in his implacable anger. Then slept forth M. Fabius the father, F G as much as (quoth he) neither the authority of the Senat nor mine old age whom you seek to make children, nor yet the valor & noble courage of the General of horse by your own self chosen and nominated, can prevail; nor any humble prayers which are able to appease the fury of the enemy: my oftentimes yea, and to pacify the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawful help of the Tribuns and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And since that you challenge and except against the judgement of your own army, and of the Senat, I offer and give unto you that judge, who only is of more force and puissance, I am sure, than your Dictator selfe. I will see, whether you will yield to this appeal, whereunto the Roman King Tull. Hostilius give place. Then out of the Council house they went straight to the Common place of audience: and

M. Fabius
the Dictator.

unto the sick soldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in itself popular, he handled and ordered with such dexterity: that by curing their bodies, their minds also and hearts were much sooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the speedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptance of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreshed and repaired his army, he encountered once again the enemy with assured hope of himself and his soldiers, to obtain a final victory; and so dismissed and put them to flight, that the Samnites after that day, durst never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor resistance, either in open host, or covert ambush. This also encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole spoil among the soldiers: so that their privat gain whet them on against their enemy, no less then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnites tamed and subdued by these losses and overthrows, sued to the Dictator for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every soldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senat, they made answer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their cause and whole estate to his faithful protection, to his virtue and goodness only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnites, the Dictator with triumph entered the City: and when he would have resigned up the Dictatorship, the Senat ordained, That before he gave over, he should create Consuls, So, *C. Sulpicius Longus* the second time, and *Q. Emilius Cereanus* were elected.

The Samnites not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of *Rome*, true for a year, which they observed not faithfully: so soon were their stomachs up again to make war after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government, Whiles *C. Sulpicius*, and *Q. Emilius* (or *Aulus* as some Chronicles have) were Consuls, besides the reviving of the Samnites, there arose a new war also from the Apulians. Both ways there was a power sent, *Sulpicius* his lot was to go against the Samnites, and *Emilius* against the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themselves no war was made, but contrariwise, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrongs of the Samnites. Howbeit, the low estate of the Samnites at that time, hardly able to maintain and defend themselves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians, were not warred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apulian country, and *Sannium* was wasted: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at *Rome* there hapned a scare by night, which raised every man so suddenly out of their first sleep, and so affrighted the City, that presently at one instant the Capitol and the Castle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cause of this fear.

The same year the Tuscians were judicially convened before the people of *Rome* by process, and that by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the Commons, exhibited M a bill of Encliment to the people that some punishment might be inflicted upon the Tuscians: For that through their assistance and Counsel, the Veliterns and Privernats had taken arms against the people of *Rome*. The Tuscians with their wives and children resorted to *Rome*. Which multitude having changed their apparel, and clad in poor array and habit, as prisoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees to every man. Whereupon pity prevailed more to obtain pardon of punishment, then the goodness of their cause to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except *Pollia*, dismissed and made void the Encliment aforesaid. But the sentence of the Tribe *Pollia* was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, should be scourged and put to death, *Item*, that their wives and children, by martial law, should be sold in open port-sale. And for certain it is reported, that the Tuscians took to deep an anger against the authors of so hard a censure and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in despite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe *Pollia*, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe *Papiria*. The year following, whiles *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fabius* were Consuls, *A. Cornelius Arvins* Dictator, and *M. Fabius Ambrosius* General of horse, having taken a straighter levy of soldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in *Sannium* (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) led forth a goodly and puissant army against the Samnites. But they pitched their camp so carelessly in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnit legions came on a sudden so proudly, that they set forward the trench and rampart, and encamped close to the *Corpo* *O de gard* of the Romans. Howbeit the night approached so fast, that they were hindered for saying the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator seeing that he must fight neerer than he expected or hoped; for fear lest the straightness and disadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his soldiers, leaving fires thick burning in the camp, for to disappoint the sight of the enemies, in the still night with silence leadeth forth his legions: but yet could he not for the nearness of their camp escape, but be criped of them. The horsemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail, and

A and pressed hard upon the army in their march, yet in such sort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay, the very footmen were not all issued out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horsemen adventured to charge upon the Romans and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmost, and partly by skirmishing in places that were hard to be passed over, they hindered their march and kept them behind. In the mean while their Infantry also overtook the Cavalry, so as now the Samnites with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator seeing he could not go farther without his great loss and disadvantage, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he stood: but forasmuch as the light Horsemen of his enemies were overtopped all about, they could not possibly go to provide stakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to call a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go forward, nor stay and fortify, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and let his men in this most of all hearted and encouraged them, were not behind either in courage or in forces. But the enemies retreat was the disadvantage and for that they being ignorant that the occasion of upon fear; and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled the Samnites now a long time had not been used to abide somewhat as the first shout of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eighth, it is said that the battal flood to equal and indifferent. That neither the shout and cry was redoubled, nor heard the second time, after it was once let up at the first buckling: nor the engines were set forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they first were: nor the engines were set with his shield, without breathing or looking back, still fought a-front: the same noise, one resolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter weariness or dark night. Now began the strength of men to fail, now the spear point and edge of the sword, began to turn and whittle what time all at once the Samnites Horsemen, hearing that the carriages of the Romans with one fear reported to the Dictator: Let them alone (quoth he) let them remember themselves with and carried clean away. Whereupon he sent for the General of Horsemen See ye not (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, the battal abandoned of our enemies Cavalry? They stand still and are encumbered usually hapneth to any multitude busy in pillage) find them you shall (no doubt) few on horseback, and as slow with weapon in hand: and whiles they are loading their Horses with spoil, will let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen: have you the honour of the Horsemen service. Then the Cavalry ranged into a Squadron, as exquisitely and skillfully as possibly down, and making a miserable massacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and fardels which they cast from them suddenly, and now lay against their feet to stumble on as they fled, and in the Horses way, that were amazed and afraid, they were not able well, and whelmed all come to naught, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of Horsemen, to fetch a compass, set upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon arose a new fearful cry, which caused the hearts of the Samnites to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, seeing the foremost of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their engines out of order and all their battalions waving and sloping to and fro; called hard upon his soldiers, and exhorted them to re-engage and renew the battal again with him. Thus with a fresh and new shout, they advance the Standards, and set forward the engines: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and induray. And now by this time, the Horsemen also were within the sight of the foremost in the vanguard: and now by this time, the Horsemen bands and companies of his footmen, making sign with hand and voice as well as he could, shewed and made demonstration unto them, that they saw the colours and targets of their own fellow Horsemen. Which when they once heard, and saw withal: presently as if they had forgot the barrel which they endured almost a whole day, and felt no smart of their wounds, they beset themselves against the enemy as lustily, as if they had newly come out of their tents, fresh G and in heat, and seen but now the signal, and heard the found of trumpet, to a battal. Now were the Samnites no longer able to sustain the terror of the Horsemen behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either slain in the mids between, or stricken about in flight. Such as stayed and were environed about, the footmen slew: those who fled, were trodden under the Horse feet and killed: among whom, the General himself left his body on the earth. This battal above all other: so quelled and daunted the hearts of the Samnites, and smothered their forces, that in all their Diets and Councils they muttered and gave out, That it was no marvel that they

From nine of the clock in the morning, until two after noon.

direct them, nor an apical to discover the coasts: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or pitfall: and one looked upon another beholding the armor that within a while they were to deliver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They felt before their eyes, the gallows prepared by the enemy for them to pass under, the cornes and reproachful taunts of the Victor, his proud and disdainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed enemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful dismarch of their disgraced army: briefly, their foul and dishonourable return through the Cities of their allies unto their country and parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors oftentimes had gone in triumph. They were the only men, which without wound, without dint of weapon, without battle fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as draw their sword, and never came to joy or encounter with their enemy; having armour, having strength of lim, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come; which by proof and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woful, than they conceived and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all, to go forth without the trench disarmed, and in their single garments: then were the hostages presently delivered, and had to ward: after this, were the Sergeants and Officers willed to depart from the Consuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and compassion even in them, who a while before with all cursing and banning, judged them worthy to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled despiteously and cut in pieces: that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes as it were from an abominable spectacle, and could not endure to behold that disgracing and disgraging of so great state and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coss, well-near half naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood all the while about them, scornful, mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers set against their hearts, in menacing wise, some were hurt and stabbed to death: namely, such as with their countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of these things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallows, and (that which was more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies, they were not so soon got out of the forest: but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hell to see the day, yet the very light itself was worse than all kind of deaths, when they beheld so illfavoured an army and uncleanly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to *Capua* before night, yet being doubtful of the faithfulness and protection of their allies, or else dismayed for very shame, they cast their poor and silly bodies upon the ground, about the high ways not far from *Capua*. Whereof, when news came to *Capua*, the just and due pity which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogance and pride of that people by kind, immediately they sent unto the Coss, the ensigns and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the Dictors and Sergeants with their rods, they sent armor and Horses, apparel and victual also for the soldiers bountifully: and as they came near to *Capua*, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindness and hospitality, both private and publick, that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage, nor the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yielded them all these comforts they could. So as, besides their grief and sorrow of heart, a certain baseness and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from *Capua*, to accompany them and bring them to their way, as far as their liberties and confines: they were sent for into the Senat-house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news they reported, that they seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and dumb, their hearts clean done and gone together with their armor, not able to greet again, no, not to give a word to those that saluted them, not one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnites had indeed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever; and had now won not *Rome*, as the Gauls aforetime, but also (which was a more hardy and warlike exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutness, and valour. As these news were reported, and audience given thereto, with such assent, that every man lamented now the Roman name, as desperate; and concluded generally it was in the counsel of these their faithful confederates, that they were past recovery: one *Offilius Calpurnius*, the son of *Offilius*, a man right nobly born, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn and resolute silence, (qd, he) tho' eyes fastened to wittily on the earth, those deaf ears to admit all solace and comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expels and certain tokens of them that rolled and rolled from the very root and bottom of their heart, a huge heap and mass of anger & despite. Either (qd, he) I know not the nature of the Romans, or else that stillness & silence will

A will shortly cost the Samnites, woful cries and doleful groans: and the remembrance of this *Caudine* accord, will be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnites than to the Romans: for, as for them, they will ever find their hearts and courages again, wheresoever they shall hap to encounter: but the Samnites shall not meet every where with the *Caudine* straight for their purpose. And now by this time was this shameful overthrow and disgrace known at *Rome*. Intelligence with news more heavy and sorrowful for that ignominious peace, than for any peril and danger they heard, that they had so shamefully yielded themselves, all that preparation of aid and succor was discharged and sent away: and presently without any order from publick authority, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the market place were shut up. A general vacation began of it self, and pleading in all courts ceased, before Proclamation made: the purple and scarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace, with the cautious and lucteties for the same; but hated also the guiltless soldiers, denying flatly, that they were worthy to be received into City or house. Which heat of stomack and wrathful indignation, the first arrival of the army, utterly allayed: which even to angry persons was pitiful and lamentable. C But like captives in habit and countenance; they entered late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within own house: so as the morrow after, for certain dayes following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at doors to look into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in, as private men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which they were forced unto by an Act of the Senat: as *Fabius Ambulstus* for Dictator, and *P. Aelius Paetus*, General of Horse, who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the *Auspices*, were chosen in their room, *M. Aemilius Pappus* for Dictator, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the Horsemen, and yet by them was created the assembly holden for the Election above said. And for almost, as the people were even weary D again of all that years Magistrats, as unlucky and unfortunate, as the people were even weary So Interregents there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Contending of the City, for that in those dayes there were not two more noble and renowned Captains to be found.

These same day they were created, they entered their Magistracy (for so the LL. of the Council had decreed:) and after certain solemn and ordinary acts of the Senat passed, they went in hand to consult about the treaty of the *Caudine* peace. And *Publius*, whose countie it was then to have the sovereignty of rule; "Speak (quoth he) *Sp. Posthumius*, to the matter propounded, "and let us hear your opinion, and what you can say. Who after he was risen and stood up, "with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows, I am not, (quoth he) "O ye Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but to my disgrace; and "for an unfortunate war administrated, and a shameful peace concluded. Howbeit, seeing that "ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our treasurs or our punishment, "setting apart all kind of excuse and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, "before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, whereto men may be "driven: I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded, "ded, which sentence of mine may sufficiently witness and testify whether I mean to spare mine "own life, or save your legions, when as I became bound to that dishonest or necessary stipulation and promise, call it whether ye will. And yet, seeing it was made without the peoples pri- "vity and grant, the State of *Rome* is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Sam- "nites, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the *Feciales* and "Heralds, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all trouble and "of conscience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no let in Law of God or man, "but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and "advice is, that the Consuls levy, enrol, arme, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within "the enemies marches, before all things duly belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, "be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beseech ye, O immortal Gods, that seeing it was nos "your good will and pleasure, that *Sp. Posthumius* and *T. Volumnius*, Samnites, should with fortune "conduct fight against the Samnites, yet ye would be satisfied herewith. That ye beheld us put in "ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands ready to receive upon our "heads even with the loss of our lives, all their anger, malice, and delight, and that it would please "you, that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that sort war with the Samnites, "as evermore the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed and performed. When "he had spoken these words, all men both so wondered at this man and pitied him too, that one "while they would not believe he was the same *Sp. Posthumius*, who had moved and persuaded so

The Creation
of *Sp. Posthumius*
as late Consul
in the Senat;

The Oration
of Sp. Postumus
no.

foul and dishonest a treaty of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that so brave and noble a personage should suffer any especial torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and despite of revering and breach of that accord. When as now they all alter inglorious praises to the man, condescended to his opinion: the Tribuns of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. M. Livius*, attempted for a while to oppose themselves against this proceeding: saying, "That neither the people could be acquit and absolved in conscience, by their delivery, unless every thing were again restored to the Samnites, in the same estate wherein they stood at *Candium*; nor they themselves (in that they subscribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to save the hoit of the people of *Rome*) had deserved any punishment: nor yet, last of all, ought they being sacred Magistrates and inviolable, to be yielded to the enemies, and exposed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth *Postumus*) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom with safe conscience and without offence ye may. And as for these, to sacro-saint as they now be, ye shall hereafter render them likewise to soon as they are out of their charge. But it will be ruled by me, let them before they be thus yielded, here in this common Hall be whipped and scourged, for the injury and interest of their punishment, which they would seem to defer and put off to long. For whereas they alledge and say, That by the delivery and yielding of us, the peoples consciences cannot be cleared and absolved; who is to ignorant in the *Feciales* and *Heralds* law, that knoweth not that these men spake this, for this end rather, that they themselves might not be rendered, than for that the truth requireth so. Neither do I deny my Lords, that bare promises and stipulations are unviolable. and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with those men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulness to men is in regard and estimation: but I deny again, that without the peoples assent and grant, any thing can be established good and effectual, to bind the people therunto. What! if the Samnites, in the same pride and insolency, wherein they ostruded and forced upon us this stipulation, yea, and wrung it from us, would also have urged us to utter and speak, the solemn form of words, which they use to do that surrender up Cities: would ye (my Masters that are Tribuns) infer and lay, that by virtue thereof the people of *Rome* is surrendered into their hands? and that this City, with the Temples, Chappels, Limits and Waters, by strength thereof, are the Samnites possession? Well, I let pass to speak of deduction: because the matter in question is touching only a stipulation. What, I pray you, if we had promised and undertook, that the people of *Rome* should forsake and abandon this City? or let fire on it? or not have Magistrates, Senat, or laws any longer? or to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, say you, Well, it is not the indignity of things, that ease the bond of stipulation. If there be any one case, wherein the people may be obliged then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any whits, (whereat haply some will make a play, and think it is material) whether Consul, Dictator, or Pretor, enter into bond and become surety. And even this was, that the Samnites themselves judged to be, and stood upon: thinking it not sufficient, that the Consuls became bound, but they put the Lieutenants, the Treasurers, and the Colonies there, to the same. And now, let no man demand of me, why I entered to into stipulation, being a thing not incident to the Consul his charge and right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor in your name to promise it from whom I had no commission and warrant. Certainly my Lords M and Senators, there was nothing at *Candium* done at all by mans policy and counsel. The immortal Gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their sense and understanding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our service, stood warily enough upon our good guard: and they again, as they gat the victory full badly, to they lost it as lowly: whiles they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by means of which they had gained the vantage and better hand of us: and while they made such haste, upon what agreement they cared not, to disarm men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their right wits, what an hard matter was it for them in the time that they sent for old aged men from their home, to come to Counsel, for to have dispatched their Embassadors to *Rome*? and so to have dealt and treated with the Senat and people about a perfect peace and final league indeed? It had been but three dayes journey for men not encumbered, but lightly armed. All that mean while there might have been truce until the Embassadors from *Rome* had brought them either certain victory or assured peace. For that had been a covenant and stipulation good in law, the which we should have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples will and approbation. But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more should we have entered into any such stipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there should be any other issue and end of things than this: that both they should vainly be deluded and led themselves aside were, with the fancy of a more joyfull dream than their minds could well conceive and apprehend: and also that the same fortune, which had entangled, snared and brought into danger our army, should relieve the same and rid it again out of perikill as their victory was frivolous and vain, O so a vain and more frivolous peace, should make it trifling and worth nothing: and that such a stipulation and promise should be interpreted and come between which might oblige and bind no person, but the very makers themselves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords of the Senat? or with the people of *Rome*? Who can challenge you? Who an call you into question? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy or Citizen? To enemy ye have passed no promise: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye commanded

A "commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave noight in charge: and with the Samnites as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the Samnites, we are infinitely pledged enough, and answerable to perform that which is our own: for that, I say, which we are able to make good and yield: is in our bodies and lives: not in malice. And as for the Tribuns of Commons, count ye together whether they may be trusted or not, or ought to be relieved and put off to another day: let us in the mean time to deliver, and ye that are the rest) offer these wretched heads and lives of ours, like any thing to B "charge. And by our punishment and execution, deliver and let free the Roman

Both the cause it self, and the Advocate also, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought so much not only with the rest, but also with the Tribuns themselves, of Commons, that they promised to be at the Consuls ordering and appointing. Whereupon immediately they gave up their offices, and were delivered into the *Feciales* hands: with the other to be led as to *Candium*. There was not to soon an act of the Senat passed hereof, but it seemed that the very light rays of the Sun shone upon the City again. *Postumus* was in every man's mouth, him they praised and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the country offering of *P. Decius* the Consul, for the safety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: saying, that by his overture, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a long, dishonourable and unalleviated peace: He (say they) hath offered himself to all the toments of anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made satisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war, war, now cryed every man: and oh, that every they might see the day to encounter on certain

C honest peace: He (say they) hath offered himself to all the toments of anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made satisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war, war, now cryed every man: and oh, that every they might see the day to encounter on certain. New legions were mustered and enrol of again out of the same town diery, and a pillar med and boiled with hatefull ire and indignation, there was an army levied: well near all of Voluntaries. The *Feciales* marched before them, and when they were come to the gate, they were deposed and stripped out of their cloths, and their hands be pinnioned behind him. And when the Lictor or Serjeant, for very reverence of Majesty in *Postumus* his person, bound him at large and at ease, Why doest not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the sword straighter, that he found withal? Afterwards, when they were come into law and as it ought to be, and no fault to be found in judgment: *Postumus* and *A. Cornelius* went one of the *Feciales* or *Heralds* thus spake: For almight as these persons without commandment and commission from the *Quintus* and people of *Rome*, have undertaken by stipulation, That there shall a league and peace be made with you; and in so doing have offended and trespassed against the state, therefore, to the war, that the people of *Rome* might be freed and absolved from a detestable and heinous oath, I deliver and yee do unto you the self same men. No former had he entered these words, but *Postumus* with his knee smote the *Fecial* his thigh, with all the might he could: and with a loud

E voice said, That he being now a Samnite citizen, and the other an Ambassador, and with a loud the people of *Rome*: had against the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the above: whereby the Romans might more justly make war. Then quoth *Postumus*, This delivery neither will I accept of and admit, neither shall the Samnites hold it good and lawful. But why doest not thou *Sp. Postumus*, if thou believe there be any Gods, either unto and on all, or lengthwise, who doest yield thyself again prisoner to the conqueror as traitorally and basely as thou canst? The people of *Rome* I challenge, who, if they repent of the promise and bargain made at the frights of *Candium*, let them bring against the Legions into the promise and bargain: they were environed, enclosed, and compassed. Let no man deceive and delude other, wherein he be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour. Let all day before the Parle, Then let them plain into their own camp, and have whatsoever they had: let them refuse they then, and spare not all covenant: reject they then all treaty of peace, let us have the same fortune, the same opportunity and vantage of the place, which we had before. Let us blame the Consul's stipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulness of the people of *Rome*. And will ye never have done, but always find faults and excuses, and stand to your covenants, when ye are overcome, and have the worst of your enemies? Ye gave a sum of gold you brought again your City of the Gauls, and as they were receiving the same, gold murdered they were by you and heven in pieces. Peace, what a covenant did we make condition that we should restore again our legions unto you: that ye ye can call and name void and ever more yet some colour of right upon your cunning and fraudulent dealing. Alas, it alloweth not the people of *Rome* of the favouring their Legions, by a dishonest and shameful peace. Say it is so, Let peace be on whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions captivat. Is this your faithfulness, dealing after these your covenants & ceremonies of *Feciales*?

"rads? that thou, according to the agreement and accord, shouldst have shut down of thine, H
 "even to many citizens lives saved? and I not have the peace (which by letting unto bold go in-
 "to thee an enemy) I bargained for? What Justice is this, that thou, O *Caudinus*, and yet that
 "heralds, prebide to Nations abroad? Nay verily, I neither will accept of thine perils whom
 "I make a shew to deliver, neither can I believe, that they are yielded in verity and good earnest,
 "Nay, I palls not at all, whether they return again into that City, which is obliged by a covenant
 "made, attended upon with the wrath and displeasure of all the Gods, whose heavenly power
 "and deity is thus decuded. Now go and make war, seeing that *Sp. Posthumus* crewlike thrust
 "and pushed an Ambassador herald with his knee; and so the Gods will believe no doubt, that
 "*Posthumus* is a Samnit citizen, and no Roman; and that by a Samnit, a Roman Ambassador hath
 "been abused: and thereupon you may take a just occasion and good quarrel to make war upon
 "upon us. Are you not ashamed, and basts you not to broach and set abroad, in the view and
 "face of the world, such mockeries of Religion? What? old and ancient grave personages, and
 "such as have been Consuls, to seek such subtle devices (not fit for very children and babes to
 "play with) and all to shift off and falsify their promise made by covenant. Go Licor, loose the
 "Romans of their bands: and no man so hardy as to stay them, but that they may depart when
 "they will at their own pleasure. So they, having thus perhaps discharged the publick fidelity,
 "or at least wile quit themselves undoubtedly of their own, returned from *Caudium*, unhurt, to
 "the Roman camp.

The Samnites seeing that in lieu of a proud and unreasonable peace, there was a most cruel war K
 new sprung up again, not only forecast and apprehended in their minds, but well next saw evi-
 dently with their eyes, all that ever ensued after. Then, all too late and in vain, God wot, they
 praised the two-fold counsel of old *Pontius*: and how they taking the middle way between, were
 deceived, & had exchanged the certain possession of victory, for an uncertain and doubtful peace;
 and having lost the opportunity both of gratifying the Romans, or doing them harm any more,
 were now to fight & wage war with them, whom they might either have disabled for being hur-
 rful enemies, or made their fait and assured friends for ever. And so without any weakening of
 their power and forces of either side by battel, their hearts after this Caudine peace were so
 changed, that *Posthumus* by his voluntary yielding was more honored among the Romans, than
Pontius his bloodless victory among the Samnites: and the Romans made this reckoning, that I
 the possibility of making war was to them almost as undoubted victory: and the Samnites
 believed verily, that the Romans had at once made war again and got the upper-
 hand.

Whiles these things thus passed, the Sarracins revolted to the Samnites: and the Colony at *Freg-
 ges*, by the sudden and unlooked for arrival of the Samnites (with whom it is certain the Sarraci-
 nians were banded) in the night was surprised and taken. But the mutual fear one of the other,
 kept them in on both sides that they stirred not out until the morning. Then began the fight,
 which for a certain time was equal and indifferent: yet, for that the Fregellones within fought
 for their Church and chimney (as they lay) and by reason that the multitude, unmet for arms,
 stood them in good stead in annoying their enemies from off their houses: they held out and M
 found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wily and deceitful policy turned all backwards
 and was their undoing: for they suffered the voyce of the cryer to be heard through the Town,
 who proclaimed, That whosoever laid down weapon, should depart alive and safe with bag and
 baggage. The hope whereof, caused them to slack somewhat of their fight, and therewith they be-
 gan to cast away their armor in every place. But the resolute sort armed still, brake away through
 a postern gate, whose venturousness proved to them more safe, than the inconsiderate fear of the
 other: which made them credulous and too light of belief. For the Samnites compassed them about
 with fire, and for all they called upon the Gods for their help, and to their enemies for perfor-
 mance of their promise, yet they burned them most pitteously.

The Consuls parted between themselves, their Provinces, *Papirius* took his way to *Luceria* in N
Apulia, where the Roman Horsemen given for hostages at *Caudium* were kept in ward: but *Publi-
 us* stayed in *Saernium* to make head against the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and
 distracted the minds of the Samnites: for neither their hearts would serve them to go to *Luceria*,
 lest the enemy should come on their backs: nor yet to stay behind, for fear lest in the while, *Lucer-
 ia* should be lost. They thought it best therefore, to put all in hazard of a battel, and to try it out
 with *Publius*. Whereupon they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when *Publi-
 us* was minded to joyn in fight, he thought it not amiss, first to make some speech unto his men,
 and so commanded them to assemble unto an audience. But, as they came running to the *Præto-
 rium*, with exceeding great cheerfulness, by reason of their moile that called hard for battel, no
 exhortation of the General could be heard: each man his own heart mindful of the former dis- O
 grace, served well enough to encourage and animat them. So they march out to battel, putting
 forward the standard-bearers and post-ensigns. And because they would lose no time, they first
 charge with lancing their javelins and shooting darts: and after that, in drawing their swords,
 they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a signal given them to do so: and with naked
 drawn sword they ran upon their enemies. No cunning was there to be shewed of warlike *Cap-
 tain*: no skill to be shewed either in setting in array the files and ranks, or playing of the reward
 for supplies: the soldiers furious anger, with raging violence, marshalled and managed all.

So,

A So, the enemies were not only discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not
 hinder their flight by retiring to their own camp, they made all the haile they could, disbanded as
 they were, toward *Apulia*. Howbeit they were rallied together in one company, and to came to
Luceria. The Romans, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mids of
 the enemies battel: entered also into their camp: where was more bloodshed and execution than
 in the battel, and the greater part of the pillage was in their choler marred and clean lost.

The other army commanded by *Papirius* the Consul, marched along the Sea coast to *Arpi*: and all
 the Country they passed thorow, shewed them friendship and courteous, more for the outrages
 and losses sustained by the Samnites, and the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people
 B of *Rome*, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnites at that time dwelling upon the
 Hills in Villages, being mountaineers and wild people, and as it is commonly teen, of like disposi-
 tion to the places which they do inhabit, walled the plain Champian and Sea coasts, despoiling in-
 stead their more civil life and conversation. Which Country, if it had been true to the Samnites,
 either the Roman army had not been able to come to *Arpi*, or else the penury and scarcity of all
 things between *Rome* and *Arpi*, would have consumed them, being cut off from all provision of vi-
 duals. For even then, being gone from them, and lying encamped below *Luceria*, as well they with-
 stood in the leaguer & thole that were within the City besieged, were nipped and bitten with hun-
 ger. The Romans were served all from *Arpi*, but so slenderly and scanty, that whiles the footmen
 were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working unceasingly: the Horsemen, were
 C forced to cast the corn from off their Horsebacks, to fight more nimbly. They that were within
 the City, before the other Consul came with his army, had both from the mountains of the *San-
 titus* made all provisions more streight: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother *Con-
 sul*, he rode lightly appointed without carriage, all over the Country, and so beat all the quarters,
 that they were too hot for the enemies to forage and purvey victuals. Then the Samnites, seeing
 about *Luceria*, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give *Pi-
 rrus* battel. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Taren-
 tin Embassadors came between, discharging and forbidding, both Samnites and Romans to fight:
 D professing withal, that whosoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they
 would fight in defence and favor of the others. *Papirius* having heard that embassage, making
 semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would confer with his
 brother Consul: and having sent for him, and bestowed all the mean time in preparation to fight,
 when he had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently
 gave the signal, and set out the bloody banner of battel. Now as the Consuls were busy in sacrific-
 ing and performing duties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to
 go to a battel) the Tarentin Embassadors aforesaid, encountered them and expected an answer. To
 whom *Papirius* The Chick-maister (qd. he) O ye Tarentins, sendeth me word, that the birds feed
 E right, and all is well: and besides that, the Gods in our sacrifice seem passing well pleased. And in-
 manded he to set forward the standards, and led forth his power, mocking the foolish nation for
 their great vanity, who not able to manage their own affairs by reason of home seditions and ci-
 vill discords, thought it meet to be moderators between others, and to prescribe them war or
 peace. The Samnites on the other side, having flaked all their care and desire of war, for that they
 desired peace in good earnest, or else thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof,
 and ready to fight, cried forth aloud, that they rested still in a sudden arranged in battel array
 were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the authority of the Tarentins, and
 F arms out of their fort: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of for-
 tune whatsoever, than to seem to have despised the Tarentins, who had interposed themselves as
 Mediators for peace. Marry (quoth the Consul) we take that for a good sign and prelude of lucky
 success: and we would with no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that
 resolution, not to defend their trench and rampire. So the Consul, when they had parted between
 them their forces, approached the very camp of their enemies, and set upon them with an hot
 G stakes of the rampire, and threw the bank and all down the ditches under their feet: whiles nor
 only their hearts already fretted and cankred at the very roots, for the last disgrace received, they
 entered the camp. Every man for his part gave out and said, Here are not the stratagems
 of *Caudium*, here are not the impassable nor inaccessible passes, and forests, these as proud ramp-
 had gone beyond their silly error and want of forecast: but Roman virtue and prowess, which
 no rampire never so strong, no trench how deep soever, is able to put by and withstand.
 So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and withstood,
 those that retired and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free born, old and young, as
 well under age as undergrown, man and beast, one with another: neither had there escaped any
 living creature drawing breath, but that the Consuls founded the retreat, and with minatory
 words

Corvinus, C. Martius Rutilius, C. Sulpitius, T. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Publius Philo, L. Papirius Cursor, Q. Fabius Maximus: the two Decii, L. Volturnus, M. Curius. Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after in case he had fought the Carthaginians were still (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then passed over into Italy, when he had been well steeped in years. In every one of these there were the same good parts, the like towardsness of nature, as much forwardness of courage and spirit, as in Alexander, yea, and as good Military discipline, which even from the foundation of the City, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For so, after one course the Kings conducted their wars: even so, next unto them the banishers of the Kings, (to wit, the Junii and Valerii) so, consequently the Fabii, the Quinctii, I and Cornelii: so did Furus Camillus, whom those two Romans in their youth (M. Julius Torquatus and Valerius Corvinus) with whom Alexander should have encountered, saw an aged man in the latter end of his daies. And whereas Alexander ventured his own proper person in battell, and performed all Military duties with other souldiers, (which was not the least part of his praise & glory) would Manlius Torquatus have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmish equally matched? or Valerius Corvinus either, both of them brave & stout souldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the Decii have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would Papirius Cursor have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And not to name every one particularly, would that Senat & Council have been overwrought with the stratagems & policies of that one young man? which, whosoever he was that said, it consisted and was compiled altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat. Mary, here was all the doubt (forsooth) lest that he knew how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground to pitch a Camp in, more wisely & cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for victual, to foresee & beware of ambushes, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battell, to set his battallions in array, and to strengthen the same with sufficient succours & supplies from the iuegard, Surely, he would have said himself, that he had not now to deal with Darius, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women, and tender Eunuchs, weakened and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for show and ostentation of his wealth and superfluous fortune, Alexander without any bloushew, with doing nought else but knowing well how to condemn such toys and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the constitution and nature of Italy far differed from that of India, through which he marched at his ease with his drunken Army, leasling and banqueting all the way; but specially, when he should have beheld the woody torrets and unpassable straightes of Apulia, the high hills and mountains of Lucania, and the fresh marks and tokens of the lofts that hapned in his own name and house, namely, where not long before his Uncle Alexander late King of Epirus miserably perished. Our talk all this while is of Alexander, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperity; wherein no man had ever less rule of himself than he. Whom if we consider, as he was arrayed in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so say) of a new nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigured: surely he would have come into Italy more like a Darius than an Alexander, and brought a baldrast army with him nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native country of Macedonia, degenerated already and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieveth me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and variety every while of his apparell, his excessive vain-glory and desire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner by men lying upon the earth groveling and prostrate at his feet. Such abject balences should have been hardly endured of Macedonians conquered and subdued; much less than being conquerours as they were. Abashed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deservient friends, even in the midst of his cups and N dainty viands: last of all, his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himself a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness and unmeasurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes, and wondrous hindrances, to the virtues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which some are wont to give out & alledge even the vainest persons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnifie the glory of the very Partians in comparison of the Roman name) that the people of Rome had never been able to abide the very majesty and name of Alexander the great. (And I think verily that even themselves that talk so much of him never heard the truth, so much as by the brute and fame) and that against whom in Athens, O a City mightily decayed by war with the Macedonians, and even then, when as they might lie before their face the ruins of Thebes in manner smoking still in their eyes, the Orators durst freely make publike invectives (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I say, not one of so many States and noble personages of Rome durst have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly. How much soever the grandeur and greatness of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind. all that shall be but one only man, rising, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years,

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A Which happiness of his, they thereat in this respect, that the people of Rome, although in no war they were subdued, yet in many battels had the soile and loile the day: whereas Alexander never fought field but he won the victory; little understand they, that compare the exploits of one person, and him a young man, with the deeds and acts of a State, which I had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvel, it when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should vary more than in the space of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yearly annals of Magistrates, of B y day-books and journals of those Consuls and Dictators, whose valour and fecit-ity the people of Rome had never cause to repent of and bediscontented for, so much as on day. And that which world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twenty daies; and none the Consulship longer than a year. Their levies and musters now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and best time for war otherwhies overlapped them, and yet they went forth, before their term expired, they were then called home for to be presidents of the Magistrates Election. In the very midle and busiest time of their affairs, the year very often turned a College and companion in government was hindred, and the people took duties another while of C times after the loile and overthrow of their predecessors, and received the army either of raw untrained souldiers or such as were in ill discipline, trained up; whereas kings and Monarchs contriveth, not only freed and exempt from all such obstacles and inconveniences, but also Lords and rulers, and of absolute command over their enterprises, overtimes and seasons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and, omick, and are themselves directed and over-ruled by none. Say now, that Alexander were invincible, and dealt with these Captains as invincible as himself, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he should have adventured and incurred more jeopardy in that many perilous chances: but many Romans there had been only subject but also exposing himself to D forgetfulness of their worthy deeds: who every one should have lived and died according to the maineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of souldiers, or multitude of Allies from whom they had their aids. There we esteemed by computation in the Taxing years and Surveys taken by the Censors of that age; two hundred and fifty thousand polls Citizens of Rome. And therefore in all the revots and rebellions of their allies the Latines, they were able to levy and enroll ten legions: complot of Roman Citizens well near and none else. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in Tuscan, in Hærvia, in Umbria take also the Gauls with your enemies likewise Lucania in Samnium. Besides all these, Alexander should have found all Nations E with the Sabines, Volscians, and Equians; all Campanians, part of Brutia and Hærvia with the Greeks along the nether Tyrrhen sea, from the Tuntians to Naples and Capua, and from thence, the Samnites as far as to Ariminum and Hostia. All these he should have met with either mighty and puissant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquished and subdued by their arms. He should have passed the seas himself, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and those, most of them Thessalians; for this was all his power. And in case he had joyned thereto the Persians Indians and other such nations, he should have drawn along after him, more let and encumbrance, that help and incur by them. Take this over and besides, The Romans had rich supplies always ready and near at hand, at home in the City: whereas Alexander his army (as afterward it hapned to Antiochus) in a strange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapon, a shield or buckler and a spear in manner of a pike. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much heavier and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withall nearhand, or to be used at a far off. The souldier array fill within their severall ranks. The Macedonian huge Phalangians moved not, was steadfast and always after one sort: but the Romans battallion more diuine, and consisting of many parts, each both to divide and display, or to joyn and runne upon one occasion, and consisting of many of painful work and travell, what souldier is comparable to one occasion. To speak now G to endure all sorts of labour? Alexander by the loile but of one battell had been leen done, and his war at an end; for ever. But the Romans whose hearts neither the flames of digrace at Curge had nor the world's deat at Canne, could amate and dunt; what power would have discouraged him? What battell in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, Alexander although here have mist his Persians and Indians, and desire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and dildard Nations of Asia: nay, he would have said, that he had warred before: but with women, as Alexander, King of Epirus (by report) gave out,

when he was wounded to death, conferring the ease of war which this young Prince H. his nephew, met withall in Asia, with the difficulties of his own that he found here in Italy. And verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at sea, in the first Punic war, for the space of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I suppose the wholeage of Alexander would hardly have brought about and finished that one war, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either according to the ancient leagues, or for equal fear of a common enemy, and those two Cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once against him, he would have been overwhelmed with the Punic and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good proof of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had Alexander to be their Captain, nor I whilst the Empire of Macedonia was at the best, and stood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they have, and made head against them under the conduct of Antiochus, Philip, and Perses: and it never cost them the loss and overthrow of their own part, no, nor so much as any appearance of danger at all. I would not be thought to speak a proud word, but be it said without arrogance, and setting all our civil wars aside; never were we distressed, either by horse or foot, never in open field and battel ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of disadvantage, were we endangered. The souldier in heavy and complex harness, I confess, may fear the Cavalry in the plains: may fearshot of arrows, cumbersome forests and woods, straight gulleys, and unpassable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there be a thousand arms greater and stronger than the Macedonians or Alexander, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civil concord, wherein we live at this present, we are able, and ever shall be, to discomfit and put them all to flight.

After this were M. Follus Flaccidus and L. Plantius Vomer Consuls. The same year there came from sundry Nations of the Samnits Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senat, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off and referred to the people, their prayers availed not to such effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat nay. And after they had for certain daies together importuned them one by one apart, with cap and congee: at length after much suit, they obtained truce for two years. And out of Apulia the Theanenses and Canusines wearied with rodes and spoil made in their Territories, after they had put in hostages to Lucius Plantinus the Consul, yielded themselves to his protection. The same year first began Provoits to be created at Capua, to govern under certain laws given unto them by L. Furius the Pretor: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedy for the same, greatly decalated through civil discord. And at Rome were two more Tribes added to the rest, *Mentinas*, and *Falerina*. When Apulia began once to shrink and go backward, the Theanites, being allo Apulians, presented themselves unto the new Consuls C. Junius Bubulcius, and Q. Aemilius Barbula, and sued to enter into a league with the Romans. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and perswasion induced all Apulia to be in peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as sureties and pledges to bring it to pass they obtained their request. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal conditions, but so, as they should be in subjection to the people of Rome. After that Apulia was conquered (for Junius had won also *Tarentum*, a strong town and a rich) they marched forward against the Lucans. Then upon the sudden coming of Aemilius the other Consul, *Nerulum* was by force taken. And after that it was noised abroad amongst the allies of the people of Rome, that the state and weal publike of Capua were established by Roman discipline and government: the Antiates also, who made moan and complained, that they lived without positive (yet laws and Magistrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commissioners, to ordain Statutes likewise for that Colony. So, that not only the Roman arms, but also their law and jurisdiction extended far and neer, and was of great request. C. Junius Bubulcius, and Q. Aemilius Barbula Consuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Cons. by them created, Sp. Nannius, and M. Popilius, but consigned them to L. Aemilius the Dictator. Who with his General of Horse, L. Fulvius, began to lay siege to *Saturnia*, whereby he gave the Samnits occasion to rebell. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one side the Samnits having assembled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitched their Camp not far from the Romans leaguer: on the other side, the Satricans set open their gates suddenly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and corps de guard of their enemies. And so both parts, relying rather upon hope of succour and help elsewhere, than trusting upon their own strength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner displayed, and distressed them. And although the Dictator was assailed both waies, yet was he sure and safe on either side, because he had got a plot of ground, not easie to be compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his ensignes accordingly. Howbeit, he charged more hotly upon them that sallied forth, and without much ado beat them again within the walls. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long first, was neither doubtful nor variable. The Samnits being chased and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their fires, dislodged and departed privily away: and being past all hope of defending *Saturnia*, they besieged *Pistia*, a town confederate to the Romans, to requite their enemy with the like displeasure. The revolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of

Q. Fabius

A Q. Fabius Dictator: and the new Consuls, like as the former remained still at Rome. And Fabius came before *Saturnia* to receive the Army of Aemilius, bringing with him a new supply to make up the broken bands: for the Samnits made no stay at *Pistia*, but having levied and sent out such souldiers from home, prelinning upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braving the Romans, and challenging them with many souldiers, they es against the wals of the war, which depended thereon: and was more easie to the therefore of such importance to the rest of the war, which depended thereon: and was more easie to the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any assault upon the Camp. But the Samnits never gave them rest. Insomuch, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the Camp, the General of the Horse, Q. Aemilius Cacerinus, without advice and direction of the Dictator riding forth in a great noise with all his Cornets, he repelled the enemy. But even part and shewed what he could do, that on either side there be a notable blow, with the glory of his death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnits first taking it to heart, to keep Aemilius to fiercely ride and give the charge, and him self to be distressed and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he advanced himself bravely to be seen amongst his horsemen, received the right. Against whom, as he al of the horse, with spear in rest, a long spear, his men and fought most valiantly, the Roman Gell him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troop besides (as commonly it is taken) at the fall of their Captain so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him charged Aemilius hard as he rally rode without heed, and engaged himself too far within the thickest of the squadrons of his enemies, and lost their pavels at him: but they gave the special honour to the brother of the Samnits Captain to be revenged for his death. He, full of anger and sorrow, plucked Aemilius from his horse, and threw him in the had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnits. But presently the Romans alighted on foot, and the Samnits were forced to do the same: and thus being arranged suddenly in great haste into battallions, there began a cruel night on foot about the bodies of the Captains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of Aemilius, in great joy, intermingled with sorrow, they returned winners into their Camp. The Samnits thus having lost their Captain, and tried their strength what they could do in fight on horse-back, left *Saturnia*, which they supposed could not possibly be defended, and returned again to the siege of *Pistia*. After few daies, *Saturnia* was surrendered by composition to the Romans, and the Samnits by assault won *Pistia*. Then changed they the seat town was revolted to the Samnits, and had slain all the inhabitants therein that were Romans. Against which place, when the Romans were come first by great journey to recover the loots sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legion of the Samnits followed went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called *L. Anula* there was fought a doubt that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better of the war. In some Chronical of the horse, C. Fabius chosen in the room of Aemilius, came with a new and fresh army he should stay and rest, and what time, and which on side he should set upon the enemy: after he The Dictator himself, who had for certain daies after the last skirmish, kept his souldiers within trench, more like one besieged, than besieging: all on a sudden put forth the signal and token of battell: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate and kindle the courages of hardy men, cealed from his souldiers the coming of the General of Horse and his chief forces: so that as there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and rally with violence: so as if he should they by victory we shall make open. Our hold wherein we be fortified is not enough but we are revolted from whence we should have convoy of victuals: and were it that the people were disposed to help us yet the advences & passages are hard, and the place of our abode in mountains. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer by leaving here your tents, on which day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not our arms by fenced holds. Let them have their Camp well fortified, to the forth and to retire thither again at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make along war of it. But let

"us cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a present and final victory. Advance then your engines directly against the enemy: and so soon as our Army is once without the trench and rampiers, let them set the tents a fire, that have the charge to do you shall make up your your losses again my soldiers, with the spoil of all the nations heretobes, that have revolted. At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other semblance but of extreme necessity, the soldiers took heart and were hot set to march straight to the enemy. And the very light of their tents burning behind them, albeit those only which stood next were set on fire, for the Dictator had given commandment was no small provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the first push and brunt they brake the array of the enemies: and withal, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a far off the tents on fire (for that was the signal agreed between them) came hastily upon the back of the enemies and afflicted them. So the Samnites being environed round about, made every man shift he could to get forth and escape, and so fled. But the main multitude that were shuffled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the press, was slain in the midst and cut in pieces the enemies camp won, and ransacked: with the pillage whereof the soldiers were laden and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp: who were not so joyous for the victory, as for that they found (besides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and found beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to *Sora*, where the new Consuls *M. Petilius* and *Caius Sulpitius* took the Army at the hands of *Fabius* the Dictator: who discharged many of the old soldiers, and brought certain new cohorts for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and unaccessible sight of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make assault, and seeing that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certain runaway-Traitor of *Sora* who was lately flown out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being presented before them, promised to betray the Town: and being questioned withal, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, seemed unto them to allege some reasons to good purpose, and prevailed so far with them, that he caused the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner close under the walls, to be removed six miles off the Town, saying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglected, and less careful and diligent to keep the City. Himself the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of footmen to lye in ambush within the woods near the Town, took with him ten thousand and chosen soldiers: and through sleep places, and such as were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought thither more shot and darts to throw than to serve so small a number of men: besides, there was good store of Stones at hand, which lay there, either scattering by chance (as commonly in such craggy and rocky ground) or else heaped together by the townsmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Whereafter he had bestowed the Romans, and shewed them a narrow and steep path-way out of the town into the Castle, from getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greatest multitude that is: ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans: and of Romans the most hardy and valiant: the place will stand you, I know, the darkness of the night will be for your purpose: the night, I say, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part set all in a hurly burly. Look you in the mean time that you duly keep the fortrese. This did he runs down with as great a noise and shouting as he could, crying, Alarm, help! Citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy, come away to defence. These words he reformed ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: these words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streets. This fearful alarm received from one man: was felt abroad by many more all over the City. The Magistrates quaking for fear, sent certain to the Castle in epical to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle was surprised indeed by armed men, and full of armor (for they made the number, and every thing else, more than it was) were clean put out of all hope to recover their Fortrese. So every where they fell so running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well-ware, and those most part unarmed. At one of the gates, those companies of the Romans afore said, who lay in ambush, and were raised with the noise and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this fright ran headlong in their way. Thus was *Sora* won against the Consuls should come in the morning betimes by break of day: and look whose fortune it was to scape out of the massacre made in the night, and to flee away those they took to mercy upon submission: whereof two hundred twenty five, even those who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principal actors in that horrid massacre above said of the Roman Colonies inhabitants, and the authors of their evil they had away with them to *Rome*, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at *Sora* naked and unhurt, and painted there a prison. All they that were brought to *Rome* were in the market-place scourged with rods, and beheaded: with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundry Colonies might in every place live in safety and security of their lives.

The Consuls being departed from *Sora*, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territory

A Territories of the Antonians: for the coming of the Samnites after the battle of *Lutina*, they were all out, full of insurrections and commotions, and many conspiracies: there were in all places about (as *Capua* it self without blame and taints, May this matter passed as to *Rome*, where information was made against some of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Antonians, by reason that the Cities were betwixt, as *Sora*, was reduced under obedience to the people of *Rome*, *Capua*, *Ardea*, *Antium*, and *Freges* were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief people of *Rome*, *Capua*, *Ardea*, *Antium*, and *Freges* were sworn together to betray their own Cities, presented themselves unto the Consuls, giving them to understand, "That their countrymen with long ago for the coming of the Samnites, and to "vanquished and helped the Samnites both with men and munition. But now, say they, that the Samnites were chased from thence, they lived untroubled in doubtful terms of peace, and that not their gates in dread upon the Romans for fear of bringing war upon themselves, yet obdurate bent to shut them if their Army approached toward them. In this way ring, and doubtfulness of their minds, they might at unawares be suddenly surprised. By this persuasion of three towns before named, some in armor, closely to lie in ambush in convenient places near the walls: others in side gowns with swords under them, who a little before day, to from as the gates were set open, should enter into those Cities. By whom the matter was so handled, that at one lay in ambush for to rise at once and come to the town. Thus were the gates forced and possessed, and three towns in one hour by the same stratagem surprized. But he, as the gates were forced and possessed, in the absence of the Captains, there was no lay in execution, and slaughter, but beyond all measure and without all mercy, no less norage was spared: and to the whole nation of the Antonians, where they were detected for certain of rebels, was destroyed and distinguished, as if they had warred mortally and been at deadly feud.

The time year *Lucius* came into the hands of the Samnites, by reason that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garrison to them: but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Roman Army changed to be not far from thence, and at the first attempt the City standing as it did on a point, was won. The Lucerns and Samnites both were put to the sword every one: and so far forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senate late in council at *Rome*, about sending men to inhabit *Lacerna*, many were of mind, that the City it self should be razed to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bore against them being twice conquered and revolved: the distance also of the place so remote, caused them to mislike such a kind of people to cruel and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion took place and prevailed: and 2500 were there planted.

The same year when as the Romans found all unloyal unto them, and nothing but distrust and on all sides: at *Capua* also certain secret conspiracies of the Nobles and best of the City were detected and revealed, Touching which the Senate advice was asked, and thereunto not neglected by them, but Commissions were appointed: and thought good it was that the Dictator himself he nominated for to sit upon the same commissions and inquiries. And *C. Claudius* was named, who named *M. Feltius* General of the Horse, Great was the terror of that Magistrate, and each of them upon either for fear, or guiltiness of conscience, the two *C. Claudius* and *M. Feltius* who were the chief of that complot, before information was given against them by name to the Dictator and his assistants, by their own hands flattered their daies, and so avoided the trial of justice and punishment accordingly. After that, when the Inquisition wanted subject matter on which to prosecute the Iniquities (by interpretation of words in the Commission, provided to be as saying, that the Senat had good warrant to make enquiry and straight search, not by name and precisely, as *Capua* only: but generally, who in any place whatsoever had misdeemments, and conspired against the Common-wealth: and also for meeting by they, and passion for their own Commissions extended larger both for person and reflection. Yes, and the Dictator himself he took upon the Tribunes for to assist them with interposing their negativeness, yet there was not one of them would incur and resist them: the prement was taken spirit then, and they imputed. Then the Nobility I mean not them alone who were in the complot, generally the whole Gentry of the City at once persuaded: That they were not the natural and true Colonies, but new recruits, had been and charged with this crime: who if it were not for their number and indurated spirits, and judgement of the first head: saying, That it was the very cause of the destruction himself, and his Generals of Horse, who were rather put to guilty, and of sedition, and of the confusion of the Colonies, and competent Judges: and that from they well know and understand who mindful rather of his good name and reputation, than respective of his high place and

Sora surprized by craft.

Accomplices of the Antonians.

The Oration
of *M. C. C.*
the
Dictator.

absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake thus to this effect: "My Masters and friends all, Citizens of *Rome*, well assured I am, that private are to the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides that, even this very honour and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to rectify and approve mine innocence. "For to sit upon these iniquities, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed the best and most noblest warrior of all other; but such a one, as throughout his whole life hath most of all millicied and condemned ambitious conventicles. Howbeit, forasmuch as certain persons of noble lineage, (for what cause it is more meet for you to deem and judge than for me being a Magistrate) to speak without book, as they say, and upon no foreground) have endeavoured with all their might and main to overthrow the process of the inquisition it felt; and afterwards seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were *Patritii*) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and their negative, rather than to justify themselves and stand to the trial of their cause: and that having there also a refuge (thinking all means safer than to approve their innocence) have taken upon us, and basted not (private men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man and all the world may know, that as they have assented to compels that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the rendering an account of their life and demeanour; so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations) to offer my self unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call me to mine answer. Here I resign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you O Consuls, if so be this charge be laid upon by the Senat, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentlemen in the General of Horse *M. C. C.*: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocence alone, and not by the countenance and privilege of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from their slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator: and after him incessantly, *M. F. F.* yielded up his roomlike office of General over the Horse. These persons were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them by order from the Senat, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and testimonies of the *Patritii*, were in every point found unguilty, and acquit. *P. Philo* also, albeit he had so many times attained to the supreme dignities of state, after he had achieved so many worthy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man maliced or envied rather of the Nobility, was put to plead for himself, and finally absolved. But this inquiry into such men of name and quality, lasted no longer in force: (as it is usually seen) than whilst it was fresh, and in the first heat thereof. From them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and baser account, until such time, as by the same conventicles and factions, against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was trodden underfoot.

The bruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campains revolt, whereto certain had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnites back again to *Caudium*, who were turned and bent wholly into *Apulia*: that from thence, being so near at hand unto *C. P.*, they might (it haply any insurrection and trouble presented the oportunity and opportunity) seize upon it and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and mighty army: and at the first they staid and lingered about the passes and straits, having on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnites fetching a short compass about, came down with their army through the open places into the plains. I mean the champaign country and fields about *Capua*. And that was the first time that the enemies had a sight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishes on horseback other than on foot, they tried mastery on either side: neither were the Romans one jot discontented with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war-length. Contrariwise, the Samnite Captains perceived their forces to wear daily by small losses, and their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingering war. Whereupon, they came abroad into the field and divided their Cavalry into wings: with a special charge, to have more careful eye backward toward their camp, for fear of any impression and assault that way than to the main battle: which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The Consuls marshalled themselves in this manner. *Salpurnius* led the right point of the battle and *Peitius* the left: the right side (whereas the Samnites also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ the enemies, or for to be compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed it self more abroad and open. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a sudden policy of *Peitius* the Consul, further strengthened. For those cohorts and bands which were referred away in the reward for help at any need, and kept fresh against all occurrences and hazards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vanguard and with all his forces as once charged the enemy at the first encounter & forced him to retreat. When the footmen of the Samnites were thereby troubled and disheartened, the horsemen followed close and entered into the skirmish. But as they rode cross and overwart between the two hosts, the Roman horsemen picked and galloped their horses to flank them: and disordered and troubled the ensigns, corners, squadrons and troops of foot and horse, pell-mell together. Until he had caused the whole battle of that side, to turn their backs. In this left point now *Peitius* alone but *Salpurnius* also joined with him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the soldiers: for he had transported and

dictate!

A distracted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to join battle at the cry & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans there dismaid and daunted. Howbeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed than in show of number, and comforted; and for when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other part, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnites giving over fight, med *Reverentium*. It is left in record that there were upon 30000 *Samnites* either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith from thence lead their Legions to lay siege unto *Bovianum*: and there wintered before the Town, until such time as *C. Peitius* (chosen Dictator together with *M. F. F.* his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls *L. P. P.* *Curio* for the fifth time, and *C. Jun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Cattle of *Fregella* was by the Samnites taken, left *Bovianum*, and went forth unto the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there he retired within the walls, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the rustic peasants about *Nola*. The Dictator having viewed the situation of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the walls, let all the houses well inhabited. And not long after, whether it was by *Peitius* Dictator (I know not) nor *C. Jun.* that would draw unto the Consul the honour of winning *Nola*, and moreover and say, that he won also *Atina* and *Calatia*: and that *Peitius* upon a pelfence that began, was made Dictator, for the setting or fastning of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to *S. over* against their own house within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senat, that to *C. Jun.* also a third Colony there should be sent inhabitants. *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three *Trinivirs*, for that purpose and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnites was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of *Rome* had left the care thereof, a brute was blown of the Tulsans and hostility they more feared; for that their country was to near a neighbour and so populous withal. Therefore, whilst one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the war in *Samnium*, *P. Decius* who staid at *Rome* grievously tick, by authority of the Senat, named the Dictator *C. Junius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger sides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he were thus furnished and well appointed yet he was nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the Tulsans shewed themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the Tulsans about of their own limits.

In that year was there a famous Censorship of *App.* *Claudius* and *C. Plautius*. But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the twain, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that he paved with stone the canal or Port-way (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of water into the City of *Rome*, which works he finished alone for that his College for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made gave over the office. But *Appius* alone, by the motion and means of the same *Appius*, the *Patritii*, to whole family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of *Heracles* called *Alconus*, had taught certain publick ceremonies (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegates) the solemn rites and might strike a temple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve hundred of the *Patritii*, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age: within one name of the *Patritii* became thus extinct but that *Appius* also the Censor within certain years (such was the ire of the gods mindfull of revenge) fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the blind and corrupt Election of some new Senators that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-slips, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly,

That

Sarnamed
Censor, that is,
Blasphemy of Blood.
Appia was,
Out of the
river Anio, and
was called,
Aqua Claudia

That they would not observe and have in any regard such a choice, which without respect of good and bad was made for favour and affection to some and at the pleasure of the Censors: and immediately they cited the Senat by name in that order and form, as had been used before the Censors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

And in that time were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for four Legions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours conferred by the Dictators and Consuls: and few more of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Petilius* and *C. Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the same people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duvvirs at first for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was *M. Decius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

I would let pass one thing that happened this year, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The ministrs that plied upon the flute and hautboies, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the last Censors, to have their good cheer any more in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to an old custome and tradition, took snuff thereat, and in a pelting chafe all in one company went their waies to *Tybur*: so as there was not one of them in the City left to sing and pipe before the pomp of sacrifices, and on their festival daies. The Senat made some conscience hereof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they dispatched certain messengers to *Tybur*, to travel with the townsmen, and endeavour all they could, that these good fellows might be reformed and sent home again to the Romans. The *Tyburins* undertook the matter, and promised right courteously to do their best: and first they sent for these musicians into their Town-Hall, and persuaded with them to return again to *Rome*: but when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another policy and feat with them, that forced and fitted well the humour of such kind of people and of their coat. Upon a festival holiday, under a colour of making merry with minstrelle and muck about them, some invited one and some another to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them with wine (which all the sort of this profection love but too well) that they drank until they winked, and winked so long, till they fell fast asleep. And being found asleep, the *Tyburins* brought them gently to their beds in certain waggons, and thus bestowed, conveyed them to *Rome*. Neither perceived they ought themselves drunken for they, before that their wagons were left in the market place of *Rome*. Nay, before they had slept out and consoled their wine that steamed up into their heads, and dounded there the day-light came upon them and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either got at their hands, or charged them to stay, and make no more such frolics: it was granted unto them, that three daies every year, being disguised and dressed in a mask for the purpose they might range and walk about the City, with lutes, and founding their instruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now daies is yearly used, and their privilege of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely, to such as sung and plained in time of their divine service and sacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidst the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Consuls parted their Provinces between them: To *Junius* fell by lot the Samnites, to *Emilius* the new war in *Hebrunia*. In *Samnium*, *Cluvia*, a fortress and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an assault, was a long time besieged; and forced by extreme famine, was delivered up to the Samnites. After they were on. Masters of the fort, they took the garrison of soldiers, and notwithstanding they yielded themselves yet they whipped and tarred their flesh most heally, and in the end without all mercy killed them. *Junius* exceeding wrath at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done, till than the winning again of *Cluvia*; laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he assailed the walls, took it by force, and flew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought against *Bovinum*. This was the chief place of the *Penetrans* in *Samnium*, the wealthiest City the best provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The soldiers, very eager and sharp for hope of a rich pillage upon the Town, but forth that they were nothing so angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more spoil and baggage from them, than they ever had well near out of all *Samnium*; and as liberally was bestowed every whit upon the soldiers. And forasmuch as no pitched battel in plain field, no Camp so well fortified, no Cities and Forts, howsoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romans in force of open arms: all the Princes in *Samnium* studied and applied their wits to find means of sleight and subtil policy: if haply, as they waited and foraged the Territories after a loose and licentious manner, the Army disbanded once, might be entrapped and enclosed within some ambush. It fell out so, that certain fugitive peasants of the Country, and Captives, some by chance, and other of purpose, coming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the same founding of a truth indeed, namely, that a great flock of sheep and other cattel were driven together into a by-forest out of the way: and so induced them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat booty. Now the Samnites had privily forelaid all the high waies with a mighty army, and after that they saw the Romans to have entered & engaged themselves within the chafe or forest aforelaid all of a sudden

* A Legion consisted first of 4000 footmen, then of 3000, and then of 2000, and then of 1000, and then of 500, and then of 250, and then of 125, and then of 62, and then of 31, and then of 15, and then of 7, and then of 3, and then of 1, and then of 0.

A sudden they role up and with a great cry and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this so strange and unexpected offence made them afraid: while they took them to their weapons, and laid their standards and baggage together on a heap in the midst. But after that every man was cased of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their ensigns; and without the command or direction of any man they themselves put the battel in array. Each one knowing his rank and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Military discipline. The Consul perceiving that he was brought to a most doubtful and dangerous battel, alight from his horse: and protected before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other gods, whom he hailed all to witness: "That the came next to that place to get glory to himself by any enterprise, but only a booty for his soldiers: and that no fault should be imputed unto him, but an overmuch desire and affection of his country, his soldiers him else, but the manhood and prowess of his soldiers: nothing could dice and a quit to slay themselves and endanger all together to set upon their enemy, dedicated and committed in battel driven out of Camp and field, increased of his Towns and strongholds, and to attempt his last and utmost hope of privacy and thereof his means of foraying, trusting upon the advantage of the ground, and not pure force of arms, but his own valour, trusting upon the invincible of the valiant Romans: Here withal he named the Cattle of *Freddie* and *Socra*, and soldiers encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all diffidencies and dangers, marched apace and adheads. Where the Romans found some difficulty at the while they climbed up the cliff or ridge of plain in the top, and perceived they were embattled upon an even and equal ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in wait for them, and being disbanding, scattered, and did on to and lurking holes wherein before they had hid themselves. But each of the diffident places which they had sought of purpose for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encompassed themselves. For very few of them could find the way out and escape by flight, inasmuch as to the number of 20000 were slain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleasure to that booty of sheep and cattel, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

While these things thus went in *Samnium*, all the people of *Hebrunia* by this time, but only the *Aretins*, were up in arms, and entered into a right great war; beginning first with the siege and assault of *Survium*: which City being allied to the Romans, was (as a man would say) the very Barriers of all *Hebrunia*. Thither came the other Consul *Emilius* with an army to relieve and deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romans coming, the *Aretins* cunningly brought the fight they should make a short war of it, by hot assaults, or temporise, in consulting whether they should fight. The morrow water, when as the Captains listed rather of expedition and batty: over signal of battel, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. While it was to the Consul, presently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the soldiers should take their breakfast; and after they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies with food, go straight to arm themselves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Consul seeing them well appointed in readiness, commanded the ensigns to advance forward out of the rampier, and not firing, and waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was paid first, because they should not go away without doing somewhat. The *Tulcans* began to set up a cry the trumpets found the charge, and the standards came forward. Neither were the Romans shy and fery; the enemies more in number the Romans better in hardiness and virtue. The fight were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the end of their wearied fellows. The *Tulcans* forthwith to the forefront of the vanward, into the place any new succours both before and all about their ensigns were been down and slain every man. Never in any one battel had there been less running away, or more bloodshed, if the night had not protected the *Tulcans*: so resolute were they all to die in the place, inasmuch as the winners gave over play before the losers. After the first fight the retreat was sounded: as the winners purrs returned into the Camp. After this, no exploit was performed before *Survium* that year, but the battel deceived and destroyed; and they had none left but the Subsidary soldiers of the rearward, and those hardly able and sufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and also, the Romans were so hurt and sore wounded, that there were more of them died after the battel of their hurts than were slain in the very skirmish outright. *Q. Fabius*, Consul for the year following, succeeded.

Julius the Consul to his soldiers.

that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them sufficiently; whilst some of them al-
 to gave ground and retreated and the whole battle was wavering and unsteady, the Roman *Hastati*
et Principes, came forward with a new shout, and charged them afresh. This violent assault
 could not the *Tuſcans* bear, but turning their ensigns, fled again in disorder toward their camp.
 But when as the Roman horsemen who were rid over through the plains and had gotten before,
 met them afresh in the rout, they left their way unto the Camp, & turned toward the mountains:
 from whence with their whole company in a manner disarmed and fore wounded, they recovered
 the forest *Ciminia*. The Romans having slain many thousands of the *Tuſcans*, gained thirty
 eight ensigns of the field, and won also their tents with rich pillage; began to consult about pursuing
 the enemy. The wood *Ciminia* was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were
 of late daies the German forests: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented so
 much as by merchants. And scarcely any one but the Captain himself durst venture to enter into it:
 for all the rest had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at *Candum*. Then the Consul his
 brother, one that was there, (*M. Fabius*, as some say, as others, *Cato*, and as other some *C.*
Claudius, his brother only by the mothers side) promised that he would go as a scout inipially, to
 defray the wood and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought
 up at *Cere*, among the ancient friends of his house and family, where afterwards he was taught the
Tuſcan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find
 some authors of credit that writ, how in those daies the Romans young child-en went to school
 to learn to pass *Tuſcan*, as now they do to speak Greek. But it standeth more like a truth, that
 there was some special matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and dissimulation, durst
 intrude and infiltrate himself amongst the enemies. It is said, that one only servant accompanied
 him, one who had been brought up and nursed together with him, and thereupon not ignorant
 of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superficially and
 after a general sort, learn the nature and site of the quarters which they were to enter into, and
 the names wishall, of the chief rulers and principal personages of that country and nation: to
 the end that in their speech and talk, they might not falter and trip, and be taken tardy in any ap-
 parent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastoral weeds like herd-
 men, armed like country Kernes or Peasants, each of them with a fashlion and two javelins. But
 neither the familiar use and commerce of the tongue, nor the fashion of apparel which they
 were, or weapons that they carried saved them so much as this one thing, That no man would
 ever believe, that any to reiner and intruder durst enter upon those thick *Ciminian* forests. Well,
 forward they went (by report) as far as to the *Camertins* in *Umbria*. There the Roman ventured
 to bewray who they were: and when he was brought in to their Senat, he treated with them in
 the Consuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, after he had been courteously enter-
 tained and friendly intreated he had his dispatch, and was willing to relate unto the Romans, That
 there should be ready for their army, sufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come
 into those parts: Also, that the youth of the *Camertins* in *Umbria* should be at their command,
 prest in arms at all times. These tidings being reported to the Consul, after that he had sent before
 his carriages at the first watch of the night and commanded the legions to goaster, himself staid
 still with the horsemen: and the morrow morning by day-light he began to skirmish with the
corps de qua of his enemies, which were quartered without the forest, and when he had long
 enough kept them off and amused them at his pleasure, he retired into his Camp: from whence
 he went forth at another gate, and before night overtaken the main army. The morrow after,
 at the point of day-break he was got up to the crest of the hill *Ciminia*: from whence, after he had
 beheld and viewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of *Hetruria*, he sendeth out
 his soldiers abroad to forage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were driv-
 ing in great haile, and of a sudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans: but so out
 of order were they that being come to rescue a prey, they had like to have been a prey themselves. A
 number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romans, having waited and made spoil all o-
 ver the country, enriched with store of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither
 were arrived (as it is said) five messengers or pursuivants with the Tribune of the Commons to
 warn and command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to pass through the forest *Ciminia*.
 But the messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enter-
 prises returned home again to Rome with news of the victory.

By this expedition and journey made by the Col, the war rather encreased and spread farther,
 than was dispatched & brought to an end. For all that traſt lying along the bottom & foot of the
 mountain *Ciminia*, felt the smart of this rode: and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, not only
 the State of *Hetruria*, but also the border: and marches of *Umbria*. Whereupon there came to
Umbria, a greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of
 the wood: but also for the eager desire of fight withal speed, they came abroad into the plain field.
 Afterwards, they found first embattelled in a plot, by them fitly chosen, leaving over against them a
 space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battle: but perceiving the enemies
 to fall off & loath to fight, they approached the very rench and rampiers: but finding there, that
 the guards were retired within their hold all at once they began to cry with one voice to their cap-
 tains for to give order, that the rest of their allowance of victuals for that day should be brought
 them

A them thither out of the camp; for they would stay in their armor and harness, as they were, and
 either in the night, or else in the morning betimes by day light, give the assault upon their enemies
 camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept
 in. Now it was the tenth hour of the day; when as the Consul commandment kept
 he should give them the signal of battle. And in the mean time he kept a short speech unto them,
 praising highly, and letting out of the Samnites wars, debating the *Tuſcans*, saying, that there was
 no comparison between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said
 that he had another feat and fiercer device in store for them, which they should know when time
 served in the mean while they must keep silence of necessity, and hold their peace. By these dark
 speeches and hidden mysteries, he made assurance, as though he had some privy intelligence,
 that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end, that
 the heart of his soldiers (which haply were dismayed and discouraged at their great misadventures)
 might be comforted and refreſhed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold
 and fort, it was more likely and probable, which he pretended. The soldiers having taken their
 refreshment, they laid their bodies to repose and sleep, and somewhat before the rising of their
 watch, they were rised without noise, and armed themselves. The soldiers having taken their
 refreshment as followed the camp, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to call down the ram-
 pires, and to fill up the ditches with the bank, whithers that within the compass and circuit of the
 camp, they were marshalled with the bank, whithers that within the compass and circuit of the
 gates and passages forth. Then at the found of trumpet, a little before day (as high in summer nights
 is the time of the deepest and soundest sleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid open
 and level, issued forth at once, and charged the enemies on all sides lying there: the rampire was
 on the ground. Some before they were stirring, others half asleep and half awake in their en-
 ches: but the great part, making halt in that sudden sight to take arms, were slain and cut
 down, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans in disorder, put to flight, and cut
 in the woods were the last place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was the same day
 taken and won. All the gold and silver there found, was by express commandment brought unto the
 Consul his pavilion: the rest of the pillage, was the soldiers share. Slain and taken prisoners
 D day, there were of the enemies to the number of 6000. This noble a battle (some writers say) was
 fought on the other side of the wood *Ciminia*, before *Persia*, who also report, that the City of
 Rome was in great fear, lest that the army being inclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have
 been surprised and defeated by the *Tuſcans* and *Umbrians*, who were then up in arms together
 with all parts. But wherefore it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came
 Embassadors from *Persia*, * *Corintha*, and * *Artemis*, where were in manner the chief and princeli-
 est Cities at that time of all *Tuſcans*, treating and suing to the Romans for peace, and a league.
 During these affairs in *Hetruria*, the other Consul, *C. Martius Rutilius* was from the Samnites
 the town * *Alipha*. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished, or else de-
 E by way of extrem hostility, or yielded safe and whole unto their subjection. At the same time
 Roman navy also, under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senat ordained Admiral of the
 sea-coast, left sail for *Campania*, and being arrived at * *Pompeii*, the mariners and servants went
 aland to wait and forage the territories about * *Nucerina*, and after they had made spoil, and piled
 by (inches the parts lying nearest unto the sea, from whence they might safely again return to
 their ships; they adventured farther for twelvemonth of gain and booty (as usually it falleth out) and
 so gave the alarm to the enemies for to rise. As they straggled all over the fields, no man in the
 head against them at what time, as they might have been soon slain every one; but as they were
 returning with a disordered march, and stood not upon their guards, a troop of the peasants of
 the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and cald them of their spoils and pillage,
 F and flew some of them: the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were chased to
 their fleet.

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the forest *Ciminia*, as it caused great fear in Rome, so it gave
 occasion of as joyful news in Samnium. For the rumor ran, that the Romans army was shut up
 and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a bold
 and shameful disgrace at *Claudius*; reporting and giving forth, that these Romanes being a bold
 greedy always of encroaching farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashness
 now run headlong into the blind forests impatiently, and invincibly not to such with the power
 and face of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those passages. In such sort as in this joy
 of theirs, they envied also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the
 C Romans, from the Samnites, to the *Tuſcans*. And therefore being well appointed with men
 and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Martius* the Consul
 forever: minding from thence, in case *Martius* would not abide a battle, to go unto *Hetruria*
 through the *Umbria* and *Sabinus*. But the Consul met with them by the way, where as he was
 these and such a doubtful event, and much effect of doubt on both sides. And as
 uncertain as it was, whether part lost more blood, yet the rumor went, that the Romans had the
 B b 2

worfe, by reason of the losse of certain knights and gentlemen of *Rome*, and Colonels, and one Lieutenant; and that which made most, for that the Consul himself was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is seen) got more feathers till it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the L.L. of the Senat in *Rome*, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius* (for should be the man, who in those daies was reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be assured of sending a messenger safe into *Saminius* (considering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Consul was for certain alive. And as for the other Consul *Fabius*, upon an old secret and private grudge, he maliced *Papirius*: which quarrell, left it might hinder the service of the Commonwealth, the Senat thought good to send unto him certain Embassadors (as it were) even such as had been Consuls; who of their own authority, as well as by virtue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsel him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his countries sake. When these peronages were come to *Fabius* the Col, and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senat, and used withall such speech and reasons of their own, as suited well to the errand they had in charge: the Col casting his eyes down toward the ground, departed from the Embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following, in the dead time (as the manner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when these messengers or Embassadors gave him great thanks for mastering and ruling his affections to exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himself, dismissed them; that it might appear, how upon a high mind and haughty stomack, he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and spiteful anger of his. *Papirius* named *C. Junius Brulcus* commander of the horse. And while he proposed an act concerning the regiment and command of his army, before the people assembled by the *Curia* or wards, there happened a matter of ominous presage, which caused that businesse to be put off until the next day: for that the ward *Fancia*, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein the same *Curia* likewise began the suffrages first; namely, the taking of the City of *Rome*, and the Caudine peace, *Macer Licinius* making that ward ominous and unlucky, for a third losse and calamity received at *Cremera*. But the next morning, the Dictator, after he had taken new Auspices, went through with the act, and obtained his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mustered and enrolled upon the fearful alarm given, that the Roman army was passed the wood *Gymnia*, until he arrived at *Longula*: where, after he had received of the Consul *Martius*, the old bands of footsouldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and ranged, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retire. Then they abode encamped near together in rest and quiet for certain daies, neither disturbing their own puiſſance, nor yet disdain and despising their enemies. In this mean time there was doings and war in *Etruria*: for both there was a battell fought with the army of the Umbrians; howbeit, the enemies were rather discomfited and put to flight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animosity as they began: and also near the lake and Meare *Vadimon*, the *Tuicans* had levied a new army, according to a sacred law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as sworn brethren were to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before: and with such heat of anger and malice one against the other they encountered, that of neither side they thought of discharging shot and flaming darts, but began at the very first with their swords to go to hand-strokes: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very skirmish, and continued for a good while doubtfull, that the Romans thought they dealt not with *Tuicans* so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. Noſſow of flight on neither side; downgo the formost, and lay dead before their standards: and left that the ensignes should be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the second range and ward of the battailion came in place to supply the first: and so till new succours and fresh were set even as far as from the rearward behind, destined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremity of travel and perill they proceeded, that the Roman horsemen abandoning their horses alighted on foot, and were fain to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground; which new troop and battailion risen and sprung (as it were) a fresh, to reinforce and strengthen their distressed fellows, disordered the squadrons and ensignes of the *Tuicans*. The other legionary footsouldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard and seconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the *Tuicans* as thiffe as they stood alone, began to have the worfe, and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they once turned back, they fell plainly to take their heels and run away. This was the first day, that overthrow and laid along the puiſſance of the *Tuicans*, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperity. Their whole flour and strength which they had, was in this battell slain, and at the same time their camp won and ransacked.

With like hazard and glorious successe of the end, was the war managed with the Samnites soon after; who besides all other preparations and ordinary furniture of war, gave order that their

A their army should glitter and shine againe with a new kind of garnishing their battelle and armors. For having divided their forces into two armies, the one had laid their shields with gold, the other with silver. The tunic and fashion whereof was this, that upper part where with the belt growing downward to the girth, was broader, and the head of it of even height: but the nether end their breast and flonack was more pointed wedgewile, for to weld it more nimble; and morions with high crests made a shew of tall stature. The footsouldiers wore a good greave, their wore coats of livery colours; the other with silvered, white linnen: and these had the leading ledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armor: and their Captains had damasked gold and silver, but trulling in the sharp edge of iron and steel, and a good heart and fair and replendent, before men come to the sharp point and uncleanly amongst bloody wounds. They went commonly with victory: and to conciliate, that a rich enemy would leave well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never so poor and needy. With these speeches after that *Curia* had animated his footsouldiers, he leadeth them into the field: himself he put in the right wing; the left he committeth to the conduct of the General of horse. So soon as they charged one another there was between the Dictator and him; striving much whether of them twain should be commanded, he charged right lustily the right wing of the enemies: from the left point which That he offered and sacrificed unto the Devil and infernal spirits, they lay ever and anon, created already unto them after the manner of the Samnites, and decked with their, conveylivery, and bright silvered armour, tuting in colour thereunto: and withall advanced forward his standards, brake their ranks, and made the battell to shrink evidently and give ground. Which shall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in person, come behind and follow the battell: and other, and not carry away with it the greater part of the victory? Herewith he setteth on his footsouldiers, yet gave the horsemen no place in manhood to the footmen, or the service of the Lieutenant, *P. Decius* on the left, both Consular themselves and chief commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right horsemen ranged in the wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and rode out to the cross on the sides and flanks of the enemies. Whiles this new terror upon the former, had on every side entered the battell of the enemies; and the Roman legions, to terrify them the more, had redoubled a fresh shout, & charged them with great fury, then began the Samnites to flee again. Now were the fields overtrodden with the bodies of slain men, and the sword thick with armor, ere while there, were not able so much as to keep them, for they were won and rifled before night; but being taken from the enemy, made the goodwill pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried so lately a shew and magnificent, that the guilded shields were divided amongst the warders of the company of Bankers and Goldsmiths, to the beautifying of their Hall and Market place. And hereof began first the custome of the *Allices*, to adorn and set out the common place of the City in their solemn processions, when the sacred images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in silver chariotes. And the Romans verily for their part put this goodly trim and pride and inveterate hatred that they bare against the Samnites, into their arms their pride and fencers at the sharp (which was a solemn fight and pastime they had at their great feasts) with this same attire, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnites.

The same year *Fabius* the Consul fought with the rest of the *Tuicans* at *Pernia* (which City also had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town it self he had forced & won (for in the same train of his conquest he approached a good garrison at *Pernia*, and lent before him to yield the City. When he had planned for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictator, made his triumphant entry into the City during the Samnites, was alienated to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*, and *M. Valerius*, therefore at the next Election, the people with general assent declared the one Consul, and the other Pretor, for the league *P. Decius* was created Pretor the fourth time, and the other Pretor, *M. Valerius* was created Pretor the fourth time, and had for his Colleague, and had siege to the City of the Albiates, and won it by assault; and not withstanding they made it. With the Samnites he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

vanquished, Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marston first took arms and warred with the Romans. After the Marston were revolved, the Pelignians did the formidable and sped alike. Decius also the other Consul had good success in his wars. He drove the Tarquinians for fear, to find the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain castles and holds of the Volturnians, he forcefully won: some of them he utterly rased, for that they should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuiscan nation made sure to the Consul for peace and confederacy. It they could not obtain: but truce for a year was granted. In regard whereof, for that year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every soldier was exacted and taken of them. This was the pension and fine that their truce cost them.

But now when all was quiet among the Tuiscans, the sudden revoking of the Umbrians, a nation free, and (save hitherto from the calamities of war, but only that the Roman army passing through their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth and solicited also a great part of the Tuiscans to rebel, levied so great a power that making no account of Decius, whom they left behind them in *Hebrunia*, they gave out proud words of themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right forth to assault *Rome*. Which designe of theirs, so soon as it was reported to Decius the Cos, he made speed, and by long journeys departed out of *Hebrunia* toward the City, and in the Country of the Papinians, encamped himself; listening ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Neither at *Rome* was the Umbrians war neglected and left light by: for their very threats and menaces scared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the foil they had at the Gauls hands, how unsecure a City they inhabited and not unpreparable. Therupon messengers were dispatched to the Cos, *Fabius*, that if he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnites war, he should with all speed lead his army into *Umbria*. The Cos obeyed, and by great journeys went forward to *Mevania*, where at that time the forces of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of the Cos, whom they thought verily occupied in *Samnium* far enough off from *Umbria*, to the tenth of the Umbrians, that some gave advice to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call *Maierona* not only kept the rest in arms, but also let them on to fight immediately, so as they charged upon *Fabius*, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Cos saw rushing upon his rampiers in such heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground & time would give leave, he marshalled them in order of battel: and after he had encouraged his soldiers with a true report & discourse of many glorious and honourable journeys achieved as well in *Thuleia* as also in *Samnium*, he willed them to dispatch this small residue of the Tuiscan war, that hung by and remained behind, and to be revenged of that accursed and impious speech, whereby they threatened to assail the City of *Rome*. These words of his were heard by the soldiers with such alacrity and cheerfulness of heart, that before their General had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and interrupted him: and thus before commandment and signall given by sound of trumpets and cornets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and thole also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the banners and streamers out of the bearers hands, after that, the ensign-bearers themselves were led to the Consuls, and the soldiers armed as they were, transported out of one battalion into another, and where there was any scuffling, they fought not so much with sword as buckler: and what with their bodies and iron pikes, and what with juggling, shouldering, and striking the enemies about the arme-pits, they were overthrowen and felled. In which skirmish, more men were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon, down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendered themselves: and the morrow after, and other daies following, the rest of the people of *Umbria* likewise yielded. The Oriculans by stipulation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And *Fabius* having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, let back his army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the people the year past continued his Consulship so the Senat against the year following, when *Ap. Claudius*, and *L. Volturnius* were Cos, prorogued his martial rule till, maugre the heart of *Appian*, who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that *Appian*, while he was Senator fued to be Consul, and that his Election was crossed and staied by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of Com. until he had resigned up the Ceniorship. Being created Cos, and the war with the Salentines (declared new enemies) allotted unto his Colleague, he remained at *Rome*: that by civil policy, and managing home-affairs, he might augment his own fate and authority, since that the honour of war-service rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volturnius* had no cause to repent of his charge and province: for many fortunate battels he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. He was a bountiful giver of the spoil away unto his soldiers: and this bounty in it self alone acceptable, he helped much with great courteisie and gentleness, by which vertues and artificial means, he made the soldiers both venturous in perils and hardy in travel.

Q. Fabius on the other part, in quality of pro-Consul, gave battell to the Samnites near the City *Alifia*, where the day was nothing doubtful. The enemies were discomfited and beaten into their camp: neither had they been able to have kept the field, but that there was but a little

A little day left behind: and yet before night, they were set round about in their hold, year, and watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yield themselves, and to capitulate, that as many Samnites as there were among them, should be lent forth in their single garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederats and allies, there was no such promise nor capitulation made: but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were sold as slaves, and were a galled. As many thole *Fabius* lent to *Rome* to be Henicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forth comers. All in a publick mulier they were pressed soldiers or voluntarily served under the Samnites against the Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among sundry nations of the Latins: during thole were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senat. The Henicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet or General Councell in the round Cirque, which they call *Maritima*, of all the Cities of that Nation, except the Alatrinats, Ferentians, and the Verulans. Where the whole State of Henicks proclaimed war against the people of *Rome*. In *Calatia* and *Sora* were forced, and the Roman garrisons that there lay, were put to the sword, and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exercised much torture and cruelty. Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Consul was thither sent. And to *Martius* were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was, That war should be made upon the Anagnins and the other Henicks.) At the first the enemies had solicited all the convention of paces and waies between both the Consuls camps, that there could not readily passe a lackey or carrier between, in so much, as for certain daies both Consuls abode doubtful how the world went, and uncertain one of the others fate. The fear whereof, spread to *Rome*, so as the younger sort [from seventeen years of age to seven and forty] were to leave, as all sudden occasions, and occurred whatsoever, two full and compact armies were levied and equipped. But the Henick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the ancient glory and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthy adventures, and within the few daies lost their camp thrice, they covenanted forth to have thirty daies truce: during which time, they might send Embassadors to the Senat of *Rome*: and in consideration hereof, they D promised to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every soldier one coat. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Martius*: unto whom by order and so he took the whole nation as yielded to his devotion. The other Consul in *Samnium* being in forces more puissant then the enemy, was not withstanding encumbered much with the difficulty of the ground. All the passages had the enemies stopped, and possessed himself of the difficult woods which were thorow faires, that no way victuals might be conveyed unto him. Nevertheless the Consul, for all that daily he displayed banner in field, train them forth to fight: so as it was well seen, that neither the Samnites could aside present battell, nor the Romans long de- E lay of war. But the arrival of *Martius* who upon the subduing of the Henicks, made halt to aid his Colleague, caused the enemy to defer no longer the trial of the field. For, they, who thought themselves not good enough to match so much as the one army, knew full well that if they suffered two Consuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore set upon *Martius* as he marched without order of battell. Hereupon in all halt their trunks and standards were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he let his soldiers in array. At the first encounter, the shout was hard into the camp of the other Consul. Afterwards the dust defered afar off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Consul presently commanded to arm: and hastily bringing his soldiers forth into the field, entered upon the battell of the enemies in the flank, whilst they were busied in another skirmish. Then the Consul prebald to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to suffer the other army to carry away dou- F ble victory, and not themselves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge. Thus, wherefoever he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a great lane through the midst of the enemies battell, he passed on towards their camp, which being void of defendants, he took and set afire. Which when the soldiers at *Martius* saw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind: then began the Samnites on all hands to flee: but killed they were every where down right: all places full of murder were thirty thousand of the enemies slain, the Consuls founded the retreat, and gave both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time beheld there were G defenced a far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a supply; and they gave occasion of a new and fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandment of Consul, or any signall received from their leaders, the Romans advanced fully, crying aloud, that these Samnites were not welcomed with an ill battell, and this their first training should cost them dear. The Consuls seeing the old beaten soldiers to altoned already and flying away, would soon have enough to fight, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion; for the whole forces of the Samnites as well old and new, fled space unto the next mountains: and thither the Romans

Romans also make as great speed. But no safe place could those vanquished enemies find; for even from the very hill tops which they held, they were beaten down, so that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Consuls had imposed upon them corn for three months, and a years pay, and for every soldier a livery besides, they were permitted to send Embassadors to the Senat, to treat and capitulate thereof. During which time, *Corneilius* was left in *Sanninius*, and *Manlius* returned into the City, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree passed, that his scarre riding on horseback should remain in the common place of assemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of *Castor*. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the *Alatrinis*, the *Verulanis* and *Ferentinis*, their own laws, and ancient liberties were restored again, because they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and permitted they were to marry amongst the Romans, which liberty they only of the Hernicks for a good while enjoyed. The *Anagnins*, and those that had born arms against the Romans were incorporated free denizens of *Rome*, but without the privilege of giving voices and suffrages: debarred they were of holding any Councils and making marriages with them, yea, and denied at all to elect any magistracy, but only the function and ministry of divine service and sacrifices.

The same year the Chappell of dame *Salus* was by *C. Junius Bubulcius* now Censor, set out at a price to be built, which he in his Consulship had vowed, in the Sannitis war. By his direction and appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high waies and caueys made, of all sides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expences. The same year also, was the league renewed now the third time with the Carthaginians: and *K* their Embassadors who came for that purpose, were courteously entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator *P. Cornel. Scipio*, with *P. Decius* General of the horse: and these were Presidents at the Election of Consuls, for to that purpose they were created, because neither of the two Consuls could be spared from the wars. Consuls were created *L. Posthumius* and *T. Minucius*. But *Piso* sayeth, that these Consuls immediately succeeded *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*: leaving out those two years, wherein he hath written that *Claudius* with *Volturnius*, and *Corneilius* with *Martius* were Consuls. Whether he forgot himself in digressing his Annals and yearly records, or of set purpose overhight two couple of Consuls, thinking that they were not in truth Consuls, I wot not.

The same year the Sannitis made rodes into the territories of *Stella*, within the liberties and appurtenances of the Campains, and therefore both Consuls were sent into *Sanninius*: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for *Posthumius* took his journey to *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* to *Bovianum*: first there was battell fought at *Tifernum*, under the leading of *Posthumius*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the Sannitis were discomfited, and put to the worle, and thirty thousand of them taken prisoners: others say, that the conflict was equal, and that they departed on even hand: also that *Posthumius* making semblance of fear, journeyed by night, & closely retired unto his adjoyning, & the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified also themselves in strong places of advantage. The Consul, because he would be thought to have fought and chose a safe place, and plentifully stored with all necessities (as it was no lesse indeed) where he might keep a standing camp: after he had fortified the same, and furnished it with all kind of provision, leaving behind him a strong garrison for defence: at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the secret way, his legions not encumbered with carriage, to his Colleague, who also himself lay in camp over against another army. There, by the perswasion & advice of *Posthumius*, *Minucius* gave battell: and when as the conflict continued doubtful untill it was far on the day, then *Posthumius* with his fresh legions, on a sudden charged the battallions of the enemies, now already overtroyled: but partly for weariness, and partly for wounds, they being disabled for to flee away, were out of all measure slain every one, and xxi. banners were taken: and so from thence they went forward to the camp of *Posthumius*. Where these two victorious armies finding the enemy discouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, set upon them, discomfited, and put them to flight: and wan from them xvi. enignes: where the General of the Sannitis *Stratius Cellius*, with many a man besides, was taken prisoner, and both their camps won. *Bovianum* also, which the morrow after began to be assaulted, was shortly after forced: and finally with great glory of no noble acts achieved, both Consuls triumphed. Some write that the Consul *Minucius* being grievously hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there dyed: and that *M. Fulvius* was substituted Consul in his room: and that it was he, who being sent unto the army of *Minucius*, wan *Bovianum*. The same year *Sora*, *Arpinum*, and *Consentia* were recovered from the Sannitis: and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitol set up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpicius Saverius*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Coll. the Sannitis desiring either to see an end of war, or else to delay it, sent Embassadors to *Rome* pretending peace. To whom as they pleaded and intreated most humbly, this answer was given: That if the Sannitis had not so often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain entertainments, and conferences passed between them, obtain their suit: but since that evermore untill that time, their words were but wind: now they would trust to their deeds, and nothing else. *P. Sempronius* the Consul, shall shortly be in *Sanninius* with an army: who would not be abused, but soon see, whether their minds be inclined to war or peace: and as he found and saw every thing, so would he bring word and make relation: and therefore their Embassadors were to attend upon

A Upon the Consul when he departed out of *Sanninius*. The same year after that the Romans any had passed peaceably to and fro, and visited all *Sanninius*, having victuals by the country countermans their forces against the *Aequian*, their old enemies; but for many years making semblance of the *Rogianis*, where as indeed their peace was little to be trusted: for that the Hernick nation was and also after the ludding of the Hernicks, the whole nation in a manner without dissembling, and averring all they did by publick councill and authority, had fallen away unto the enemy: and after that the Romans had made league with the Sannitis, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hostility, they said, It was but a tempting of them to see, whether upon fear of war they would suffer themselves to become Romans. Which, say they, how greatly it were to be with'd, the Hernicks was able to teach them: for they as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, chose rather to live under their own laws, then to be enfranchised citizens of *Rome*: but others, who had not the same scope to choose to their liking, they were constrained to accept of the Burgeoisie of their City, by way of a punishment. Upon these speeches and arguments commonly tolled in their assemblies and Councils, the people of *Rome* decreed war against the *Aequians*: to which both the Consuls went, and encamped four miles from their nearest hill and made no war like as if their army had been levied of a sudden and in haste, without certain Captains appointed, and without any Generall to command, were afraid. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themselves, and keep within their camp: most of them were moved to think aforehand upon the wailing of their country afterwards, and consequently the destruction of their cities left but with slender garrisons. Therefore after that, as every man to regard his own privat state, and at the first watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the wals: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and embraced it. Now when the enemies were thus scattered abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner displayed went forth into the field: and when they saw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order space towards the enemies camp. But when as they could perceive there, neither warders before the gates, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor so much as the usual noise of a leaguer; being moved with this unaccustomed silence, for fear of forelaying and treachery, they stood still: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they set forward to pursue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading first they wandered out of the way, and missed of them; but afterwards knowing by their epials the purpose and intent of their enemies, they went round about and besieged every City, and in three dayes wan forty towns all by assault: most part wherof were razed even with the ground, and consumed into ashes, and the nation of the *Aequians* utterly in a manner destroyed. Over the *Aequians* there was triumph: Whole calamity and desolation was so fearful an example, to the *Marrucins*, *Mariti*, *Pelignis*, and *Ferentinis*, that they sent Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace and amity: and to all those nations at their request, a league was granted. The same year, *C. Flavius* a Notary or Register by profession, whole father *Cneus* was no better than of a slave loquent withall, arose to be an *Adile* Censor. I find in some records, that when he gave audience in his calling to the *Adiles*, and saw that his own Tribe were willing to give him their hogst his living by his pen, he cast aside his books and papers, and Iware an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and use penance, but *Maecius Licinius* avoucheth, that he before, that he gave over his writings, namely, after he had been Tribune, and born two Triumvirships, the one for the night magistrates, the other for the placing and transporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very stout, and in great contumacy opposed himself and made head against the Nobles that contemned his base birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great secret by the *Pricils*, and *Prelats* in their Arches, law published abroad: and set up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calendar, wherein all men might know workes daies from holy-daies; when it was lawfull to plead, and when not. Also in despite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patricis*, he dedicated the temple of the goddesse *Concordia* upon the Court of *Falcan*: and by the general nounce the certain form of words thereto belonging; norwithstanding he contended and denied, that by the customs of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unless he were either Consul or General of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senat, a law was presented to the people, *Cornelius Barbanus* the high Priest was compelled to endite and protest a thing, of itself not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons against the pride and insolence of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to visit his Colleague lying sick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle-

gentleman of the Patricians: that sat by his bed side, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one so much as rose up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of State to be brought unto him: and set him self upon it; and so he outfaced his adversaries, that were vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity. This *Flavius* was nominated & chosen *Ædile*, by the bare faction of the commons: banding together in the place of assemblies: who first took heart by the Consorship of *Appius Claudius* the first that ever distained and polluted the Senat, by bringing in the Sons of Libertines: and when he saw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawful, and perceived withall, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he sought for; he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the most base persons of the Commons: and so he corrupted both the common place and *Mars* field also. In so much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed to unworthy an indignity, that most of the gentlemen of *Rome* laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horses which were the ornaments and ensigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One side was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, such as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of ruffe-raffe and scum of the City; untill the time that *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Censors. *Fabius* to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withstand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magistrates should not be carried away by the strong hand of the vilest and most abject persons, made a separation of all that base rabble, and call them into four Tribes and called them *Verbanæ*. Which action of his (men say) was accepted with so great contentment and thankfulness, that upon the good temperance of degrees, he purchased the surname of *Maximus*, which in so many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him also (by report) it was ordained and instituted, that on the Ides of *July*, the horsemen rode, as it were, in a solemn muster, and shewing their great horses to the Censor.

* Tribes of the City such as were born to no lands in the country: all the rest were named *Rustici*, or.

The Tenth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Tenth Book.

Two Colonies were planted in *Sora* and *Alba*. The marquis of Carleola, were reduced under obedience. The fellowship of the *Æquians* was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but five. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people was now the third time proposed by *Valerius* the Consul. Two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Anienis* and *Terentina*. War was denounced against the *Samnites*, and fortunately fought with them. When time as there was a battell given to the *Tuscani*, *Umbrians*, *Samnites* and *Gauls*, under the conduct of *P. Decius*, and *Quintus Fabius*, and the Roman army was in great extremity of danger, *P. Decius* following the example of his father, devoted and exposed himselfe to die voluntarily, for to save the host: and by his death obtained the victory of that journey, to his countermen and fellow Citizens. *Papirius* Curior put to flight an army of the *Samnites*, who were bound by a solemn oath not to depart out of the battell without victory, to the end, that with more magnanimity and resolution, they should enter into the field. The Census was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the solemn purging and Lustration of the City. And affected there were 262322 souls.

The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

When *L. Gentilius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Consuls, there was rest in a manner from all wars abroad; in such sort, as they had leisure to place certaine Colonies at *Sora* and *Alba*: And for *Alba* there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to assist the *Æquians*. As for *Sora*, it had sometimes belonged to the *Volscians* territory; but the *Samnites* usurped the possession of it, and thither four thousand were sent to inhabit. The same year, the *Arpinati* and *Trebulani* were enfranchised denizens at *Rome*. The *Frustrans* were fined with the losse of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have solicited the *Hernicks* to rebellion: and after that the Consuls Commission from the Senat, had made due inquiry into the principall heads of that conspiracy, were scourged and beheaded, yet because there should not pass a year clean without war, a journey was made (such a one as it was into *Umbria*); upon news, that there used to issue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entered with their ensignes displayed: where by reason that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and specially by throwing of stones

A stones; untill such time as they found the other mouth of the cave; for it was a thorough-fare. So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and let it on fire: with the smoke and vapour whereof there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who rushing at last into the flame desirous to escape were smothered and burnt to ashes.

When as *M. Lucius* *Denter*, and *C. Æmilius*, were Consuls, the *Æquians* began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure that a Colony should be planted upon their borders, as a lustily repulsed by the Inhabitants only within the town. Howbeit, such a fear they made at *Rome*, because it was not thought credible, that the *Æquians* alone of themselves, to difficult as they were, would be so hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble a Dictator was named to wit *C. Junius* *Brutulus*, with *T. Titinius* General of the horse. Who at the Dictator was named to the *Æquians*, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: the now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of *Salus* which he had vowed being Consul, and put out to workmen for to be builded while he was Censor.

The same year a fleet of Greeks under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a Lacedæmonian, arrived upon the coast of *Italy*, and won *Thurium*, a City of the *Salentines*. Against this enemy was the Consul *Æmilius* sent who in one battell discomfited him, and drove him aboard. Thus *Thurium* was rendered again to the former Inhabitants, and the *Salentine* Country obtained peace and quietness. I find in some Records, that it was *Jun. Brutulus* the Dictator who was sent to the *Æquians*.

C and that *Cleonymus* before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of *Italy*. From thence he fetched a compass, and doubled the point of *Brundisium*, and sailed with a fore-wind through the midle of *Venice* gulph: for that on the left hand the flavens and harbours of coasts of *Italy*, and on the right, the *Illyrians*, *Liburnians*, and *Istrians*, betwixt nations, and for the most part reputed intemperate, for roving and robbing by the sea-side, put him in exceeding fear. So he discovered the Coasts: but hearing that the strand that lay out against them was not broad and spawled with the sea-sides, and that not far off might be seen the champion fields near hand, and his beyond: and discovering by this means the mouth of a very deepe river, into which he saw, that the ships might be brought about as into a sure harbour (now that rivers name was *Medea* stream). The heavie vessels the chanel of the river would not bear: but the souldiers were transported in lighter barks and small pinaces, and so fell at length with the level and the plain Country.

D that the ships might be brought about as into a sure harbour (now that rivers name was *Medea* stream). The heavie vessels the chanel of the river would not bear: but the souldiers were transported in lighter barks and small pinaces, and so fell at length with the level and the plain Country. Being once landed, and having left a slender guard for their ships, they take Towns by assault, burnt houses, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and cattell: and when they had once tasted of the sweetness of booty and pillage, they went far from their ships. The alien hereof was given at *Pavanius* (now the *Patavins* were always in arms, because of the *Gauls* their borderers.) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led in to those quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks foraged here and there all abroad: the other, because they would not meet with the Greeks foraged here and there all abroad: way to the harbour, where the ships lay (about fourteen miles from the Town). And after they had slain the warders, they charged upon the small barks. Whereupon the mariners were afraid, and were forced to retire their vessels to the other bank-side. Likewise upon the main they peyled about, the *Venicians* encountered them afresh, and made head against them. So the enemies were environed in the midle, and most of them slain: some that were taken prisoners, bewrayed showed the prisoners sure enough in ward within the next village: some men with soldiers

F the river-vessels, made fitly and framed with flat bottoms, to pass over the meers and shallow way space to give an assault upon the main fleet, and beat the ships which rid at anchor, and made durst not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, so much as the unknown coasts. These I open sea, without any resistance at all, they were pursued and chased into the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ships, and fired others, newly such as forer and *Cloromus* hardly saved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any coast of the Adriatick sea, he departed. The fleets of the ships, with their beaks, heads, and brazen pikes, together with the spoils of the *Lacedæmonians*, were let up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many at this day alive, which have seen them. The memorial of this sea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very same day that it was fought) at *Pavanius*, with a solemn skirmish and combate of ships repleined upon the river, within the midle of the City.

The same year was a League made at *Rome* with the *Vellins*, who came to sue for peace and amity. But from that time, there arose many and divers fearful occurrences. For news came that

that *Heituria* rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occasion of the civil dissention and discord of the Arctins: who began to expell by force of arms the house and family of the *Licinii* (mighty and puissant above the rest) for very envy and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the *Marfians* stood out, and by arms maintained their title to that part of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of *Carcolians* brought, to the number of four thousand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Against which stir and tumults, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* was created Dictator, who made choice of *M. Amylius Paulus* to be the Commander of the Horse. Which I rather beleve to be true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of those years and that worth, after so many honourable dignities, should be under *Valerius*. But I would not deny, that the error might grow by reason of the surname of *Maximus*. The Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell discomfited the *Marfians*: and after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, *Milontana*, *Plefsina*, and *Frefilia* within few daies, he won them also over their heads: and having fined the *Marfians* with the loss of some part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all the forces were employed against the *Tufcans*: and whiles the Dictator was departed to *Rome* to take his Auspices anew, the General of Horse, being gone out a foraging, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certain ensignes, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul slaughter and shameful flight of his men. Which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in *Fabius*, nor only, be cause if ever he deserved his surname of *Maximus* by any commendable parts, it was especially for his prowls in war; but also, for that in remembrance of *Papirius* his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the commandment or permission of the Dictator. This difcomfite and loss being reported at *Rome*, caused a greater terror than there was cause. For no less than if the Army had been utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a stay and cessation of all law-matters, warders bestowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every street, and armour and darts carried up to the walls. And after that all the younger fort were sworn and prest to serve the Dictator was sent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through the careful diligence of the General of Horse. The Camp was removed to a place of more strength and safety, the bands and companies which had lost their ensignes, left on the bare earth without the rampiers, destitute of tents and covert; and the army eager and desirous of fight, to do away and rale out the former ignominy and shame. Presently therefore he raised his Camp, and removed forward into the country of *Rafella*. Thither followed the enemies also hard at heels: Who albeit upon their late good speed, they were in right great hope and affiance, to be strong enough even in open field and plain field; yet they afraid the enemy also by the same sleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There fortune to be in the country thereabout, not far from the *Romans* Camp, certain houses half pulled down and ruinate, belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had bestowed choicely certain men in arms, they drave their beasts and cattle in the very sight of the *Roman* corps de garde, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which bait, when as there stirred no man from the *Roman* wards, one of the Heardmen advanced even under the very trench and fortifications of the *Romans*, and called aloud to the rest (that seemed for fear to drive but slowly from the ruins of the village aforesaid) asking why they staid behind, seeing they might safely march, and pass forward still (as it were) through the middle of the *Roman* Camp? These words certain Carists interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, every band or company of souldiers took great indignation, but durst not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commanded those that were skillful in the tongue to mark whether their language sounded nearer to the speech of peasants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, and also the habit and fresh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civil than for country shepherds. Go your waies then, quoth he unto them and bid them beware and discover their ambush: which in vain they seem to hide: forth that the *Romans* were cunning in all things, and adverted of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by arms. When these words were once heard and carried to those that lay in wait, presently they start up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their ensignes all abroad into the open field. The Lieutenant supposing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withall and marked by his corps de garde, with all speed sent for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced and the souldiers to arm and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the ensignes and took weapon in hand: and scarcely could they be held in, but that they would run again. For not only the speciall anger of the late received loss pricked them on, but also the shouts of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker according as the skirmish grew hotter and hotter. The greater haste therefore they made, whiles one pursued forward another, and urged to the port-ensignes to go faster and mend their pace. But the more haste the Dictator seeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keep them back in their march: and to hold them in: willing them to go fair and softly. Contrariwise the *Tufcans*, who rose up at the beginning of the battell, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the

legions

A legions of the *Tufcans* were entered into the fight, and that his men already were not able to resist any longer. Nay himself also, from the higher ground, might see in what danger the corps de garde lay. But presuming and resting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain that the enemies might be wearied and have him out of peril, he was delirious and in heart, should set upon them overtoiled. And albeit they had that his own eyes fresh time had the *Horietans* but a very small ground to take their run with, yet by this chace the ensignes of his legions, that the enemy should not fear any covert and privy stratagem, but might have room and liberty enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battailon of the Infantry set up a cry and shout when they charged, and withall, the Cavalry, with reins at large entered within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled and set in order against such a blustering storm of *Horietans*, were with a sudden fear astounded. Whereupon, the troop of *Fulvius* too late, now all in general breathed themselves at ease, and had help and rest as almost came fresh and lusty undertook the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in dismay made haste to recover their camp, and when as the *Romans* advanced against them with banner displayed, they quit their camp, and retreated, gathering themselves round into heaps in the farthest part of the camp: and as they would have fled out, they stuck fast in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the bank, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the bank was not well rammed, the rampier was surcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a cry all together, that the Gods had made them way to escape, and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battell, were the forces of the *Tufcans* once again utterly abated: into much as, after they had capitulated and promised a years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to *Rome* for a treaty of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the City. I find in some writers: that *Heituria* was by the Dictator quietted without any notable battell, only by composing the variance and debate of the Arctins, and reconciling the family of the *Licinii* with the *Commons*.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Consul. Some have believed that he was created without his own suit, yea, and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Interregent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consulship with *Apuleius* *Paulus*. Whiles *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius* were Consuls, all was well quiered abroad: for the *Tufcans* of one side, partly upon their ill success in war and partly by reason of their truce, were forced to be still and in repose. The *Sannites* also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrow of so many years together, repented not yet and were not weary of their new league. At *Rome* likewise the *Commons* were quiet, and found themselves much eased, and discharged of a great number of base and poor people, which were withdrawn and sent away into Colonies. But because their rest should not be every where entire and perfect, there arose a quarrel between the chief and principal men of the City, as well the Nobles as *Commons*; and that by the instigation and infligation of *Q. and Cn. Ogulnius*, Tribunes of the Com. Who having sought occasion and matter every way to accuse and blame the Nobility unto the *Commons*, when they saw all means assayed in vain at length entered into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meane, but even the chief heads of the *Commons* such as had been Consuls and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies, which as yet were not differently common to both States. They propoied therefore a Law, that whereas at that time there were but 4. Augurs and as many Prelats or Bishops, and forasmuch as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be increased, there might be choicely to the rest, 4. Bishops, and 5. Augurs: all out of the body of the *Commons*. But how this Colledge or Fellowship of Augurs, was reduced to the number of four, but by the death of two, I can not find: time this is certain, that among the Augurs the number must be odd: namely that the three ancient tribes, *Ramneses*, *Fetientes*, and *Lacertes*, should have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they should with equal number increase those Priests: like as it is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit five being put to four, made up the number of nine: that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit Nobles took it as grievously to the heart, as when they saw the Consulship parted equally in them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be polluted, should light upon the common-weal. But less earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resistance, for that they were used already in all such broils and contentions, to have the worst and least advantage: and that they were used already in all such broils and contentions, to have the scarce hope for; namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had already obtained all, for which they had strived so long in so doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Consuls, &c.

Cen.

P. Decius Mus
against Ap.
Clandius.

Censorships, and Triumphs, Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to it and from the law propoſed, was maintained (as men ſay) between *Ap. Clandius* eſpecially, and *P. Decius Mus*: and after they had contended and diſcounted in their *Orations pro & contra*, the ſame reaſons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Commons, which ſometimes had been alledged, both for, and againſt the law *Licinius*, at what time as it was let on foot for the Commons to be Conſuls: *Decius* (as it is ſaid) repreſented in open audience the very reſemblance and ſhew of his father, in ſuch manner, as many of them who were then preſent at the aſſembly, had ſeen him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Gabinie robe, ſtanding over his javelin, in which geſture, habit, and faſhion; he offered himſelf to voluntary death, for to ſave the people and legions of the Romans: “Seemed (quoth he) *P. Decius*, that I then was Coſ, as pure and religious in the fight of the immortal Gods, as if *T. Manlius* his colleague had been likewiſe devoted and offered? and might not the ſame *P. Decius* have rightly been choſen, to execute the publick divine ſervice and ſacrifices of the people of Rome? or is this all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would give leſs ear to his prayers, than to *Ap. Clandius*? or doth *Ap. Clandius* with more devotion ſerve God privately, and worſhip the Gods more religiously, than himſelf? Who was there ever that repented or miſliked of the vows, which ſo many Conſuls and Dictators of the Com. either at their firſt ſetting forth to their armies, or in time of war and battel, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief Captains, year by year ſince the firſt time that the Commons began to have the leading and conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever ſince: it will appear that the Commons are no no whit abaſhed, and have no cauſe to complain of their own nobility. And this I know for certain, that if any new ſudden war ſhould ariſe, the Senat and people of Rome would repoſe no more hope and confidence in the ancient *Patritii*, than in the Com. for to bethe Captains and Commanders. This being ſo, quoth he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to adorn thoſe perſons alſo with the titles and ornaments of Biſhops and Angurs, whom ye have honoured with chair of Ivory, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms embroidered and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple, wrought with divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and garland of lawrel? whole houſes ye have beautified above the reſt, with ſetting up the ſpoils of enemies? Or who can think much, if he be ſeen with a ſacring cup, or holy-water pot, and with a crozier ſtaff, and his head vailed, either to kill a ſacrifice, or to take Angury by flight of birds from the caſtle hill: who hath been adorned and decked with the enſigns and ornaments of the great God *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in whole Title, inſcription and ſtile over his image, men ſhall with content read Conſulſhip, Conſulſhip and Triumph: will not the ſame abide to ſee and read that ye have added thereto either Angurſhip, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the diſpleaſure, and with reverence of the Gods be it ſpoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of Rome are ſuch, as for our quality and worthineſs, may and will yeeld no leſs credit and honor to our Prielt-hoods than we ſhall receive thereby: and who deſire, in regard of the honor and ſervice of God more than for our own ſakes and proper intereſt, to have the means, That whom we M ſerve and reverence in private, thoſe we may alſo worſhip and honor publickly. But why have I hitherto to plead the cauſe, as if the *Patritii* were entirely alone intitled and inveſted in the prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already poſſeſſed of one right honorable and principal Prielt-hood? We ſee that the Decemvirs for celebration of ſacrifices, and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her Prophecies, and other the fatal deſtinies of this people, the Prelates alſo and Miniſters of *Apollis* his ſacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Commons. Neither was there any injury done unto the *Patritii* at that time, when for to gratify the Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increaſed: thoſe I mean, who ſhould overſee (as ſuperintendents) the offering of ſacrifices. And now at this preſent they have no greater cauſe to complain, if the Tribune, a ſtout and brave man hath added five places more of Angurs, and four N of Biſhops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to diſpoſſeſs you of your rooms, or to diſplace you, O *Appius*, but that men of the commons might aſſiſt you in the function and miniſtery of divine ſervice and Church matters like as they do their part, and perform good ſervice in human and civil affairs. And be not aſſhamed, O *Appius*, to have him for your colleague in the Prielt-hood, whom you might beſeem to have in Conſulſhip or Cenſorſhip, your companion and fellow: unto whom being Dictator, you might be Colonel of Horſe, as well as he to you in your Dictatorſhip, I thoſe ancient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their number and order a Sabine ſtranger, the very head and top of your nobility, one *Ap. Claudius*, or *Ap. Claudius* (choſe you whether.) You muſt not think much then, to accept us into the number of Prielts. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the ſame that make you ſo proud, and O to beſee your head aloft. *L. Sextus* was the firſt Commoner, created Conſul; and *C. Licinius Stolo* the firſt Colonel of Horſe. *C. Manlius* was the firſt Dictator and Cenſor, and *Q. Publilius Philo* the firſt Praetor. We have heard this ſong evermore ſounding in our ears, That to you alone pertaineth the taking of Antipia: that you only are of noble deſcent and gentility: that ye and none but ye, by right and duty ought to manage the affairs, and the ſovereign government, both at home and abroad: and yet always hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done and ſped as well as the *Patritii*, and henceforth ever ſhall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never

A ſoon ſpoken, that the *Patritii* were at firſt made and created, and not deſcended from Heaven: but ſuch as were able to name their father and grandfire: that is to ſay, even free men juſt, and no more? What? I my ſelf can nominate already mine own father to have been a Conſul, and ſhortly ſhall my ſon be able to alledge his grandfire. There is nothing elſe, O *Quintus*, in the matter whereupon we ſtand, but that we may obtain all which hath been denied us. For the Nobles deſire only to maintain a ſide and to contend, and care not greatly what ill ſue their contentions come unto. As for me, I do adviſe, and this would I have, That (to the good profit) and ſoon it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was ſtrid to croſs it, and then with exceeding content of all hands it paſſed clear, So there were created Prelates or Biſhops; ſirſt, *P. Decius Mus* himſelf (that he pleaded for the law) with *P. Scipio*, *Sophus*, *C. Manlius*, *Publius*, and *M. Lucius Dentor*. Likewiſe five Angurs of the Commons, were eight Preſts in number, and nine Angurs.

The ſame year, *M. Valerius* the Conſul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more ſurely to be eſtabliſhed and confirmed. This was now the third time after the depoiſition of the Kings, that this one Act was revived: and alwayes by the ſame honie or family of the *Valerii*. The ſome few great men of the *Patritii*, was no more I ſuppoſe, than this; for that the mightineſs of Commons. Only the Law *Porcia*, ſeemeth to have been enacted for to ſave the back and ſides of the Citizens from whipping, became that it awarded and let a grievous puniſhment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a Citizen of Rome. The Law *Valeria*, which forbade, to ſcourge or paſſed any man whoſoever, that made his appeal had this annexed on y, that if any one had treſdredly and reverenced of men in thoſe dayes, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient bond to ſtrengthen the Law. But now adayes, would a man ſcarcely threaten his fervant or ſlave in that manner.

D The ſame Conſul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, againſt the Equians that rebelled: who (ſetting aſide their ſtout and proud ſtomacks) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and eſtate. The other Conſul, *Appuleius*, beſieged the Town *Nequinum* in *Umbria*. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one ſide ſteep down right (whereas now ſtandeth *Narnia*) ſo that it was impregnable either by aſſault, or countermines and ſcones whatſoever this enterpriſe, left undone and unfiniſhed by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominating: *Macer Licinius* and *Tubero* do write, that he himſelf laboured to have that charge put off, and reserved unto a year of more war: alledging, that for the preſent he would ſerve the Com. what he rather deſired, nor yet looking for it, he was made Addele of the Chair, with *L. P. Porcius* Writer of Chronicles, ſaith, that the Addeles Curſe of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *C. M. A. Calpurnius*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That ſurname, I ſuppoſe verily, gave occaſion of the Elections of Addeles and Conſuls together. The ſame year was held a ſolemn ſurvey and purging of the City by ſacrifice, called *Lexfrons*, by *P. Scenponius Sophus*, and *P. Scipio*, *Acerrius*, and affairs at Rome.

F But now to return to *Nequinum*; after much time ſpent in long and lingering ſiege before the Town two of the inhabitants, whoſe houſes joyned cloſe to the wall undermined the ground, and beſe the Conſul, and promiſed him to let in and receive what garriſon and troop of armed men he would within the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected nor to be neglected, nor yet two other ſpies were ſent by the ſame mine to diſcover the rain. By whoſe relation, when it appeared, ſaid, 300 armed men by night entered the City, & ſeized that gate which was next to them: ſurpriſed the City. In this ſort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the people of Rome. A Colony was thither ſent to Frontier againſt the Umbrians, called of the * Rivers name] which

The ſame year the Tiberius, contrary to the tenure of the tract, made preparation for war, vaded their marches, and for a while altered their deſignments. Afterwards, by the means of enemies to be ſome their friends, and ſollicited them to band together, and to jointly to maintain

* Narnia, now Narni.
* Tiberius, now Tiber.

tain war with the Romans. Their society and friendship the barbarous people refused not; only, they stood upon the sum what they should have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things else in a readiness for to go into the field; when the Tuscans wild them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any consideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatsoever they had taken, it was because they should not wait the Tuscan Land, and by way of hostility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuscans were minded to employ them, they would be willing to serve; but for no other reward and recompence, than to be admitted into part of their territory; that at the length they might have some certain place of abode, to settle themselves in. Many Diets and consultations hereabout were held by the States of Tuscany, but nothing resolved and concluded: not to much, for that they feared to part with some of their Lands, as because they were in great dread of every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them such neighbours, descended from so savage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and dismissed, having away with them a huge mass of money, which they got without any travel or peril of their.

* Ma ca An-
conia.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and insurrection, together with the Tuscans war, caused no little fear at Rome. Whereupon, more hast was made to consinde a league with the * Picene people. T. Manlius the Consul had the charge of the Tuscan war allotted unto him. Who scarcely was entered into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exercising amongst the Horcmen, he ran his Horse with full carter, and suddenly as he turned about, was cast off, and presently lay for dead: and so the Consul, three days after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuscans taking hold of, as a good omenous token and preface, got heart and were very jolly; saying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at Rome, both for the loss of so brave a personage, and for the time, wherein so unhappily it fell out: so as, the assembly held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to substitute a Consul in his place that was deceased, frightened the Senators from choosing a Dictator. All their sentences, and all the centuries gave with *As. Valerius* to be Consul: who was the man, whom the Senat was about to have picked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tuscany to the army. Whole coming up, pressed and kept under the Tuscans; so as not a man durst once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a siege unto them: for that the new Consul neither by waiting the fields, nor firing their houses in such sort, as every where, not only the small villages, but also the good and well-peopled Towns were seen to smoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there arose a bruit of another; (which, considering the mutual losses of both sides, was for good causes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the Picenes their new allies, namely, that the Samnites were about to take arms and rebel, and had solicited them also to do the same. The Picenes were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tuscany to the Samnites. The dearth besides of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extrem famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was a fiddle that year) by provident purveying and diligent conveying of corn, had not been as careful and industrious, in the dispensing of victual now at home, as many times before in war affairs. The same year there was an Interregnum, but upon what occasion, it is not known. The Interregents were *App. Claudius*, and after him *P. Sulpicius*, who held an Election of Consuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Fuluius*.

In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the Lucans to these new Consuls, for to make complaint, that the Samnites, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entered into their confines, and made wast of the country, and by very force provoked them to war: saying, That the Lucans had long ago over-
"flour and passed themselves that way: but now they were so fully resolute, that they could
"find in their hearts, sooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatsoever, than ever after
"to offend and displeasure the Roman name. They besought the Senat therefore, to receive the
"Lucans into their protection, and so to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of
"the Samnites. And for themselves, albeit entering into war already with the Samnites, they were of necessity obliged to befall and true unto the Romans: yet for better security they were ready to give a sufficient hostages. The Senat was not long consulting hereabout: but all with one consent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucans, and to summon the Samnites to make amends and restitution. The Lucans be desired a courteous and gracious answer, were accepted into the league. Then were there ferial heralds dispatched to the Samnites, to give them warning to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucans. But the Samnites sent out certain messengers to meet them upon the way, and to denounce unto them, that if they presented themselves in any Council within *Samnum*, they should not depart again with safeguard of their persons. When these news were heard at Rome, both the Senat advised, and the people allowed, to make war upon the Samnites. The Consuls parted their Province, and charges between themselves. To *Scipio* fell *Ugentum*, and the Samnites to *Fulvius*: and in they take their journey divers ways, each one to the war allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defensive service of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and arranged,

arranged, encountered him and gave him battle near to * *Volturne*: where they fought the better. The victory went, the night came between. But the morning after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tuscans in the still and dead time of the night dislodged, and went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men but full of rich pillage. (for he retired his forces into the territory of the *Volturne*: and was matter thereof. From thence and biggish with a meetly garrison there; lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a running camp, waited the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: drove away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, wait and detain, but set fire also upon Castles and borough Towns. Only he forbore to assault the great and strong Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuscans for refuge. On *Fulvius* the Consul on the other part fought a noble battle in *Sannum*, near * *Bovianum*, and the victory was no whit doubtful. After which he afflicted *Bovianum*, and not long after *Asidenum*: and both Cities he won by force. The time the Consul triumphed over the Samnites.

When as now the time of the Consuls Election drew near; there was a rumour raised, that the Tuscans and Samnites were levying and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that they had waged the Gauls to war, whatsoever it had cost them: that they had not bated, for expelling that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided against their enemies the Lucans. For now seeing that the enemies both with their own power, and also with the help of their allies, were come to war: they thought not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other numerous and renowned persons, stood to be Consuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourites of *Q. Fabius*, who at the first made no suit, and afterwards, seeing the limitation of their age, refused also to be Consul. Demanding what they meant to trouble and molest him, so aged a man as he was, and one, who as he had passed also the rewards, and travels of this world, he feared fortune her self, kept haply the might be thought of any and last for ever: and their strength of body, nor vigor of spirit, could always continue the time and last for ever: and besides, he feared fortune her self, kept haply the might be thought of any and last for ever: and pious and favourable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and course of this world would permit. Therefore, like as himself had grown up after the glory of his elders, and succeeded them, so he saw and beheld with joy of heart others also rising up after him, to succeed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at Rome high promotions and ad, and honors and dignities. But by this refusal of his to modest for joy and worth for to receive choice and kindred more and more their earnest affections, and favours towards him, which he thinking E dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the laws, commanded a statute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the same man within ten years to be created Consul twice. But scarcely for the notice that the people made, could this law be heard read: and the Tribuns of the Com. said, that this should be no let: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and dispensed withal from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he stood still in his refusal: demanding of them to what purpose and end were the laws made, if by the very makes thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For so (as he) laws ruled not, but were over-ruled. But nevertheless, the people went to a running and began to give their voices: and as every Century was called into the rolls, they named and chose *Fabius* Consul whole City: God say Amen (quoth he) *Q. Quirites*, to that you do and are about, but for as much as you will have your will and dispose of me at your pleasure, do me this favour yet, that I may have the chusing of my Colleague. I beseech you make Consul with me *P. Decimus* man approved unto me already, with whom I have stored well in the fellowship of another officer: a man I say, answerable otherwise to the greatness of his name, and worthy of his fathers virtue, from whom he is descended. This favour which he requested, seemed unto them just and reasonable. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decimus* Consuls.

The same year the *Adiles* served provols upon very many Citizens: for holding and possessing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in manner was able to acquit himself hereof. Which was a great bridle and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decimus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the Samnites, and the other the Tuscans; and consulted what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that Province, and exploit; and to whether war either of them were the more meet and sufficient Leader: certain Embassadors, from *Syracus*, *Neptis*, and *Ferentis*, advertised them, that the States of Tuscany, were now consulting in their Diets, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into *Samnum*. The Consuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier provision of grain and victuals,

Victuals, and the enemy be more to seek, which way they would assail them, led their Legions into *Samnium*; *Fabius*, through the territory of *Sora* and *Decius* by the way of the Sidicini. When they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them pitched themselves all abroad, and fell to forage and spoil the country: yet so, as they went out their camps farther than they waited. Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, within a close and secret valley near *Tifernum*: what way as they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground, and to set upon the Romans so soon as they were once entered in. *Fabius* having removed his carriages into a sure place, and set there a competent guard for defence, foretold his soldiers that there was a battle towards: and in a four-square battailon marched directly to the forlaid Embalcado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnites then, despairing and out of all hope to do any great exploit, by sudden tumult, considering their troops were discovered: and seeing they must once at the length come to the trial in open field, were themselves also more willing to put all upon a set battle. Thereupon they descended into the plain and even ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victory. But were it, that they had assembled together the whole stout and manhood out of all the Nations of the Samnites, or that the hazard of the main chance made them more hardy and take the better heart: surely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great fear. *Fabius* seeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded *M. Flavini* and *M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the forefront, to go to the Horsemen, and to exhort them; if ever they remembered and called to mind, that the Common-wealth had been helped by the valour of the Gentlemen on horseback, they should that day endeavour to make invincible and eternal, the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For seeing that the enemies stood unmoveable against the Infantry, there was no other hope but in the force of Horsemen: and here withal he called upon those two young Gentlemen, and plied both the one and the other with like courtesy, one while praising them, another while leading them with fair and large promises. But when as the assay of that force likewise, prevailed not, thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tried and practised, he caused *Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javeliniers of the first legion, and as closely as he could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill some way from the fight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a sudden to I. shew himself behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned another way. Now the Horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a sudden before the standards, troubled their own fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against their troops and cornets of Horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnites battle stood unmoveable, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horsemen when they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensigns, and departed out of the battle. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them: neither had the vanguard of the Romans been able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encroaching, upon their own confidence, but that the second ranges in the middle ward, by the Consul his commandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their fresh strength, M. slayed the Samnites, being now ready to enter forcibly upon them, and to gain the ground: and withal, at the time appointed, the ensigns shewed themselves from the hills, and came down un-awares to the enemies; and setting up a shout, not only danned the hearts of the Samnites [but also encouraged the Romans.] For both *Fabius* cried aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached, and every soldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the other Consul was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and mistaking, as it turned to the good of the Romans, so it caused the Samnites to flee, and to be surprized with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they should be overcharged also with fresh and lusty forces. And for that in their running every way, they were scattered asunder, there was less slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victory. For 3400 N only were slain, and of prisoners were taken, wellnear three hundred and thirty: and three and twenty banners and ensigns won and carried away. The Apulians had joyned with the Samnites before the battle, but that *P. Decius* the Consul encamped against them at *Makventum*, and having drawn them forth to fight, discomfited them. Where also there were more that died, than died upon the sword: for not above 2000 Apulians were slain. And *Decius* making no reckoning of that enemy, conducted his legions into *Samnium*. Where, two Consular hosts, having over-run the country in divers parts, within five months space laid all wast and desolate. Five and forty places there were in *Samnium*, where *Decius* had encamped: and eighty six, wherein the other Consul had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of stakes, rampires, and ditches, but also many other more notable signs and tokens of the country wasted all about, O and utterly spoiled by them. *Fabius* besides, won the City *Cimbrina*. Where there were taken prisoners two thousand and four hundred armed soldiers, and slain there were in fight upon 430.

From thence he went to *Rome* against the Election of new Consuls, and made all the haste he could to dispatch that business. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suffrages, named *Q. Fabius* for the Consul: then *Appius Claudius* a Consular man, and one of the Competitors, a grim fir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and ad-

vancement,

A vancement, than to recover again into the *Patricii*, both the rooms of the Consillship, and employeda well his own device, as also all the means and assistance of the *Patricii* and *S. Pontifici*, to have himself chosen Consul with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the first uptake and charged in his own be half, the same reasons in manner which he had used the former year, and related to be the Consul. The whole body of the Nobility took about his feat, praying instantly, and entreating him to pluck the Consillship out of the mire and bate degree of these Commons, and to restore the ancient Majesty both to the Magistracy itself, and also to the *Patricii*: and their bowles and nappees and allayed their hot affection, promising and assuring them, that no would willingly accept himself: for at this present Election, if he might see, that they would not any other Consul nominated Consul, and give to him a precedent to prejudice all consule of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volturnus*, out of the body of the Commons, was created Consul, for the time to come, who likewise in the former Consillship had been matched Collegues together, The Nobility used to object unto *Fabius*, and reproached him, that he avoided *App. Claudius* to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a singular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Consuls were commended to war in *Samnium*, having their Government continued, and their commission renewed, six months. And to C who being Consul, had been left behind his Colleague in *Samnium*, ceased now Consuls, *P. Decius*, and name of Proconsul, to wait the country: until at length, when the Samnites would in no place of the field, and excluded out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out that with so huge a multitude of armed men, they shoud do that more effectually with increase and prayers, mingled with threats among, which by so many Embassages they had to effect: employed in vain; they called for a Diet and general Council of the States and Princes of *Italia*. Which being assembled, they declared and shewed, for how many years space they had maintained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom; that they had played all means, if happily they might have been able by their own puissance alone, to sustain and support the weight D of so huge and important a war: that they had sought for peace of the aids of other neighbours, but to little effect: that they had besides made proof of the aids of other neighbours, with that subjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuscan: knowing well enough, that for men, the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural disposition fierce and cruel, but especially in any quarrel against the people of *Rome*: of whom they do find not mutually re- pore: that they were by them vanquished and constrained to ransom themselves for gold. E Now, if the Tuscans were of that heart and courage, as *Po Jenu* sometimes, and other their neighbours were: there were no doubt, but that they might deliver the Romans, and preserve them of all the ground on this side *Tiberis*, and make them fight for the defence and preservation of their lives, and not for the intolerable seignory and Dominion of *Italia*. They said moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnites, well appointed and furnished with armour, and stored with pay and money, who would it slow down forthwith, even to the assault of the City of *Rome*, if they would lead them.

Whiles they were thus braving, and gloriously boasting themselves, and preparing of war in Tuscany, the Romans war at their own doors, lay fore upon them, and preparing of war in For *P. Decius* having learned by the spies, that the Samnites army was, and flung them at the heart, their voyage, assembled a Council and said, What mean we thus to rage over the fields, and no army now, that defendeth *Samnium*: gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and banishment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his army to assault the strong City *Mercatuna*. And to fortify the motion, he led forth his provisions burs to their Captain, and also for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby, than by the sword. Where two thousand and one hundred Samnites, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the sword, or were taken prisoners, with a great and rich booty but d.s. For for so far that the purchase and encumber the army with heavy carriages *Decius* caused his soldiers to be called together unto an audience, and thus to them he said, D "this victory only, and this prey? Or will ye build your hopes ill, answerable to your prowess and valour? All the Cities of the Samnites, all the substance and riches that both and remaineth in their Cities are yours Forasmuch as ye have in so many battles vanquished their legions and after your chapmen and merchants to follow the army, I will from time to time still help you to wares and commodities for to sell. Let us go from hence freight to the City *Rome*, where your toil shall not be so great, but the spoil far greater. So when they had made tale of their pillage, and willingly of themselves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,

to *Romula* they go, Where likewise, without mure and platform, without warlike engines of battery, so soon as they advanced their engines, and approached the walls, they could by no violence be driven from thence, but set up ladders in all hail, at the next place that every man could find, and so raised up the walls. Thus the Town was won and ransacked, To the number of 2300 were slain, and 6000 taken prisoners. The soldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced to sell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given unto them were they led to *Ferentinum*, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulness. Howbeit it ere they found more difficult and perilous service: for the walls were with all terrible means defended, and the place it self was both by mans hand, and natural situation, surely fenced: but yet the soldiers now being fleshed, and enured to spoil, overcame all difficulties. Three I thousand men about the walls were slain: and the baggage fell to the soldiers share. The greatest part of the honor in assaulting and winning of these Cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles to *Fabius Maximus*. For they write, that *Marcus* was by *Decius* won, but *Ferentinum* and *Romula*, by the conduct of *Fabius*. But some attribute the glory hereunto unto the new Consuls. And there are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, *P. Volturnus*, unto whom befall the Province of *Sannium*.

Whiles these affairs thus went in *Sannium* (by whose leading and managing it skills not) in the mean time a mighty war was preparing in *Hetruria*: and that, of many nations banded together: the principal author whereof was *Gellius Equestris* a *Sannit*. The *Tuscan*, in manner all, had taken arms and levied their forces, and the neer society, caused also the people of *Umbria* ad- joining to take their part: besides, Gauls also were waged for money to aid: all which multitude assembled together, and met in the *Sannits* camp. The news of which sudden and unexpected tumult, being brought to *Rome*: for so much as *P. Volturnus* the Col, with the second and third legions, and with 5000 confederates was gone already into *Sannium*: it was thought good and determined, that *Appius Claudius* with all speed possible, should go into *Hetruria*: and alter him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and fourth, with twelve thousand allies: who encamped not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came their best times, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep in awe certain nations in *Hetruria*, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skillfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Consul. Many skirmishes there passed in places of disadvantage, and at times inconvenient: in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew nearer to this point, that neither souldier could well reckon of the sufficiency of Captain, nor Captain trust upon the loyalty of the souldier. In three several Annals I find, that *Appius* dispatched his letters to his fellow Consul, and sent for him out of *Sannium*: howbeit, I am loth to let this down being so uncertain as it is: seeing that the very Consuls themselves of *Rome*, who now the second time were coupled together in one government, contended, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Appius* denied flatly that he sent any script at all, and *Volturnus* again avouched, that he was sent for by *Appius*: his letters, *Volturnus* by this time had won three Castles in *Sannium*, wherein were slain three thousand enemies, and almost halfe many taken prisoners: and compoled besides the seditions and quarrels of the *Tuscan*, which arose from the Commons and needy persons: and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chief and principal personages of the country, by the means and mediation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconsul, who was thither sent with the old army. This done, he left *Decius* to wait and pill the country of the enemies, and himself with his forces marched toward his Colleague into *Hetruria*. Who at his first coming, was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine own part, I suppose verily, that as *Appius* had good cause to cary an angry stomach with him, in case his confidant bare him witness that he wrote not unto him: so as yet if he had need of his Collegues aid, he shewed an illiberal, unkind, and unthankful nature of his own, in that he would to dissemble, and not be knowy thereof. For being once forth to meet him, before they had well greeted and saluted one another. How now, quoth he, *O L. Volturnus*, is all well? How goes the World in *Sannium*? What hath moved you to abandon and leave your own charge and province, and to depart? *Volturnus* made answer, that in *Sannium* all things went well and chievely prosperously, and that himself was now come, as sent for by his letters: which if they were counterfeited, and that there were no need of him in *Hetruria*, he would presently turn his engines, and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you: you may be gone when you will and no man holder you: and ill beleeving it is, that you who perpetually are not able to wield and manage your own affairs of war, should glory thus, and make your boast that you are come hither to help others. Hereat *Volturnus* should reply again and say, It is well, and God send us good luck: I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have happened, whereby one Consuls army were not sufficient to deal with *Hetruria*. Now as the Consuls were parting asunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his army came and stood round about them both: some requested their own General, that the aid of his Colleague which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required: now that it was effected so willingly, and of his own accord, should not be refused and rejected. But the more part encountered *Volturnus*, as he was ready to go his way, and earnestly besought him not for any forward contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common-weal. For if any overthrow or misadventure should happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the for-

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A "faker than the forsaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of the war in *Hetruria*, prove it well or ill, should fall upon *L. Volturnus*: for that no man would enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him but of the fortune and success of the arms: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewell and passport, the weal publick and the army hold him still by the sleeve, and for proof hereof, let him but make try of the souldiers hearts and affections. Thus with remonstiances, perswasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the other, they drew them both, in manner against their wisest piny in publick audience before the whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discourses, but to the same end: before the feet as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *L. Volturnus* (as having the better cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace & words enough against that singular eloquence of his Colleague: and that *Appius* in trumping and taunting manner gave out and said, That they were beholden to him and might con him thank, that of a dumb and tongue-tied Consul they had one now, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Commithip and especially in the first motions, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Orator: God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then let you to speak finely: and in conclusion he said he would tender him an offer, which he should determine and put out of all doubt, whether he would tender him an offer, which he should determine and put present the Common-weal stood not in need of such jost the better warrior and Orator (for at this C "al. Whereas therefore, there are ii. Provinces, *Hetruria* and *Sannium*, it is to be in your choice (qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I myself will with my own army make war in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they were so jointly enter both upon the *Tuscan* war, which consent and accord of theirs, when *Volturnus* had so jointly enter "For almuch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I will not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: let me know therefore by a "flout of yours, whether you would have me tarry or depart? Whereat they let up such a note, that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp: and presently they caught their weapons up, and came forth into the field, *Volturnus* likewise caused the trumpets to sound, and the standards, and engines to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* as it is reported) leaped, plammammering and supple for a while: but afterwards fearing, let that his own actions should follow *Volturnus* gave likewise unto his men the signal of battell, which they in turn called for. But neither they, nor the enemies were the signal of battell, which they in turn called for. him: whereupon the souldiers rather of their own heads, than by conduct or direction of their rans, began to charge: and also the Roman armies were not both led to other nor yet had time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volturnus* which gave the charge before that *Appius* could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the foremost were not equall matched together: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were weak to fight withal: E the *Tuscan* presented themselves to *Volturnus*, and the *Sannits* who stayed, and waited that their General was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heat of his skirmish was slain in the front of the foremost engines, to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise, "O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victory and the honor of this day then be sure, I owe now thee a thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the Colleague had put life into him, and animated his courage, both himself made the colour of his Colleague, and his army answered the virtue of their Commander. For he perceived the danger of his Colleague, and his army General. The souldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endeavored and streined all that ever they could: Whereby, they dilated, did omitted, and put to flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the coming in of *Gellius* and the *Sabellian* bands, the battell for the time was chiefly renewed. But when they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by their enemies, but when whiles *Volturnus* for his part entered with banner displayed unto the very gate, and *Appius* ever and anon reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victress, and all, to set on fire and incline the courage of his souldiers: there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back. So the camp was won and sacked, and a huge pilage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 2120 taken prisoners. During the time that both Consuls, and the whole puissance of the Romans, were thus more bent and employed in the war within *Tuscany*: there were new forces raised in *Sannium*, to wait the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the *Vetins*, into *Campania* and the country of *Faleris*, drave huge prizes and booties away. And as *Volturnus* by great journeyes returned into *Sannium* (for by this time *Fabius* and *Decius* were come to an end of their foraged government) the bruit that was blown abroad of the *Sannits* army and their foraging of the territory of *Cepus*, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and consoles rans. So soon as he was entered into the country *Calerum*, both he himself saw the fresh marks and tokens of great damage and desolation: and also the *Calenians* advertised him there the

of the people, held a middle course in all his speech; that he might seem neither to encrease, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war; and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he contended thereunto, in regard of other mens fear, more than for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a condutor and companion in war, how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consul of whom he had so good proof and experience in so many Magistricies, which they had born and admittred together. Of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one sooner: and having *P. Decius* with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if peradventure the mind and heart of his Colleague stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volturnus* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senat, and also by the Consul himself. And when as *Decius* shewed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into *Sannium* or *Tuscanum*, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* and *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistricy, went into *Tuscanum*, without any mention of calling lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Collegues, which I have set down. There became again, who having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a surcease of matter, touching the invectives of *Appius* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence; as also the obdurate stubbornness of him being Pretor, against the Consul, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance between the two Consuls, from the time that both Consuls went out to war, and to forward.

But before that the Consuls arrived in *Tuscanum*, certain Gauls called Senones, came with a great power before *Clusium*, ready to give assault upon the Roman Legion and the camp. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered aforehand the wayes and passes all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back and beat down, and thus it was enclosed and environed round, by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not far from *Clusium*, had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gauls were in sight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horsepoittels, others sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed, singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write that they were the Umbri and not the Gauls; and that the defeat and massacre was not so great; also that when the foragers for the camp under the leading of *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy; then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them, and that the Umbrians who first had the better, afterwards when the battell was renewed, suffered the foil and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the Umbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and rifings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to war with four legions, and great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of *Capua*, chosen out of purpose for that war, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans; there were two other armies not far from the City of *Rome*, opposed to frontier and make head against *Tuscanum*: the one in the Faliscian territory, the other in the Vatican, *Cn. Fulvius* and *L. Posthumius Megillus*, both Pro-pretors, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountain *Apenninus*, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinats. And there about four miles off, they lay them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point; not to be intermingled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazzard all their forces at once in one battell: But that the Gauls should take the Samnites unto them, and the Umbrians join with the Tuscans. The day of the battell was appointed. The Gauls and Samnites had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battell the Tuscans and Umbrians were commanded to assault the camp of the Romans. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three *Clusian* fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consul *Fabius*, and disclosed the intents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Consuls write unto *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the Faliscian country; and the other out of the Vatican directly unto *Clusium*: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these rodes & invasions, caused the Tuscans to remove out of the

Sentinat

A Sentinat territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battell in their absence. And for two dayes space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and challenged him to the field: but for thole two dayes, no worthy deed of import was achieved. A few on both sides were slain, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, and their homacks whet to a full set battell then any trial or hazzard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battell array, there fortuned a Hind to be chased out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midle of the plains between both armies: then, parted both thick wild beasts; and the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his courie to the Romans. The Wolf had way given him through alothe ranks and files: but the Hind was killed among the Gauls. Then a Roman souldier, one of the foremost, who was to fight before the Ensigns: There with the fight (quoth he) there will the slaughter be, where you see the beast fared and dedicated to *Diana* laid dead: but here on this part, the martial Wolf, consecrated to *Mars*, having with victory gone clear away safe and unwounded hath put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our first founder, the son of *Mars*. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnites in the left. Against the Samnites, *Fabius* marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and *Decius*, the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second and fourth he led in *Sannium* under *L. Volturnus* Pro-consul. At the first shock and encounter, the battell was to indifferently fought, and with equal force, that if the Tuscans and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have light in either place, whereas they had bent their forces. Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battell went equal and indifferent, and that as yet to come had not determined, which way the world on line and give the victory; yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of *Fabius*, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length until it was very late in the evening: because the Captain was enforced and periwaded of the Samnites and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was fittest to keep off at length and at staves end. As for the Samnites, their courages would abate and fall by any long conflict and the bodies of the Gauls (who of all other can least away with travel & heat especially) would turn all to sweat, & melt away: who at the beginning, fight more fiercely then men but in the end more faintly then women. Against that time therefore, when the enemy used to fall & give over, *Fabius* had kept his souldiers in breath & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But *Decius* being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the Infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he led the Cavalry awork: and himself personally in the thickest throng and troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and beought the foremost gallants of thole lusty youths to join with him & to charge upon the enemy: saying that they should carry away a double honor if by the means of the men of arms, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemen to turn side and back; but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard yell merrily among the squadrons of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of sight which troubled and terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots & wagons with a great noise of their steeds, and rumbling of the wheels, ran full upon them & mightily distressed the bodies of the Romans which had not been acquainted with such uncouth & strange noises. So the horsemen who had the upper hand before, & were at point of victory, were now with a loud fear full confounded and scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, & the devil himself had been amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddenly & not looking before they were overthrowen by them that were slain. By this occasion the ensigns of footmen were distressed & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven, rostrerough the battellions, trodden under foot, and their guts squashed out. Herewith the battellions of the Gauls horsemen, seeing their enemies thus scared followed on apace, & gave them no time of resting. *Decius* cried out aloud to his men. Whither flee ye? Or what hope have ye to save yourselves by flight? *Decius* opposed himself against them that retreated and fled: *Decius* called those that were disbanded and scattered but seeing that by no force or means he could stay them thus amazed & astonished as they were; he called upon his father *P. Decius* by name and said: Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is destined to my house & name? It is given to our race & family to be sacrificed in lieu of propitiatory sacrifices for to assuage & save the publick weal from dangers menaced & threatened unto it. Even now therefore, will I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed with my self to Dame *Tellus* and other infernal gods. When he had spoken the words, he commanded *M. Livius* the high Priest (whom as he marked into the field, he straightly had charged not to depart from him) nor to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and betake himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirits and people of *Rome*. Which when he had done by the same form of prayer and in the same habit wherein his father *P. Decius* at the river *Volturnus* in the war against the Latins, sacrificed himself to be offered to death: and besides these solemn prayers, added moreover these words: That he drive before him Fright, Flight, Murder, Murther, Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of God: Heaven & fiends in Hell, and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses smite the ensigns, weapons, and armors of his enemies; and that one and the same place, should be

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both

both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and destruction. After these cursed, horrible, and detestable speeches against his own person and his enemies: look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horse, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could it hardly be seen, that the battle was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans so soon as they had lost their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to invite a terror into them) stayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battle afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troop which stood about the Consul, his body, fared as though they had been out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, and in vain: some of them stood still, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. But on the other side the high Priest *Livius*, with whom *Decius* had left the sergeants, and whom before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as loud as he could, that the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Consul, were acquitted and excused from all other fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were destined and forfeited (as it were) to mother *Tellus* and the infernal spirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) hailed after him and called to follow him, the army that with him was devoted, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of injuries and fearful fright. Then, as these aforesaid began the skirmish again, behold there came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Marcius* with a supply of succours from the rearward: who by commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, were sent to aid and rescue his Collegue. Where they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all hazards in the service of their country and Common-weal. Therefore, when as the Gauls stood close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another featherwise, so, as to deal with them affront, and to cope together at hand strokes, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts and lances which lay strewn upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and flung against the pavilions or tortoise-sense of the enemies targets above laid. And by reason that these javelins and spears light and stuck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies, it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battailon (as huge and close as it was) disbanded, in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down allonced one upon another. So how fortune altered the case, and changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is before said) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanced, had the same vigor and force, as before he commanded the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnites, that upon a signal given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence they could, whilst his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without all doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his subsidiary companies of the rearguard, which he had reserved until that time and business, fresh and in heart: and at once, both set forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signal to set upon the enemies. But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp fast by the battailon of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-sense, stood thick and close together under it. Then *Fabius* advertised of the death of his brother Consul, commanded a wing or Corner, to the number almost of 500 horsemen of *Capua*, to withdraw themselves out of the conflict, to cast about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he caused the *Principes* of the third Legion to follow: and wheresoever they espied the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen disordered and broken, there, to second them, and press on still, and kill them whilst they were in disarray, and afraid. Himself vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the spoils of his enemies. Which done, he advanced straight forward to the camp of the Samnites, thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray. And for that the gates were not able to receive so great a multitude, crowding together, they that were kept out, and could not get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where *Gollius Equatius*, the General of the Samnites was stricken down and slain: after this, the Samnites beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after small resistance won. The Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were slain of enemies five and twenty thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victory cost the Romans blood: for of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000 and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having sent out to seek out the body of his Collegue, gathered up all the spoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Consul his body be seen, for reason it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his soldiers. Then *Fabius* setting all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the burial and funeral obsequies of his fellow Consul, with due commendation and condigne praises, and with all honor that could be devised.

In Tuscany also about the same time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had fortunate success to his hearts desire: for besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions & rides into the country, he fought also

Also a notable battle: wherein of Perusins and Clusins were slain above 2000, and twenty on signs won. The Samnites, as they fled through the territory of the Pelignians, were by them intercepted and enclosed: and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battle that was fought in the Sentinate territory, if a man hold him on to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written, that the enemies were 40330 foot, and 46000 horse strong: also, that they had a thousand chariots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the Umbrians and Tuscans withal: who also (as they say) were at the battle. And to encrease also the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volturnus* Propretor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victory was achieved by the two Consuls only. *Volturnus* in the meantime warred in *Samnium*: and having forced and driven the army of the Samnites, to take the hill *Tifernum*, nothing afraid for the disadvantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the army of *Decius* behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the Gauls, Tuscans, and Samnites. His soldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude military thimes and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the illustrious and event, as well publick as privat, with the praises of his son. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the soldiers had given unto them 80 Asles apiece, with a livery cloak, and coat of good reward for a soldiers service in those days.

For all these notable victories achieved, yet neither the Samnites nor the Tuscans were at quiet. For, both the Perusins began to rebel: so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the Samnites came down to forrage and spoil into the territory of *Vulturnum* and *Formisium*, and another way into *Etruriam*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, sent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuscany, which began new war, slew four thousand and five hundred Perusins, took prisoners 1740, who were ransomed for 3000 Asles a piece. The rest of the spoil was all bestowed upon the soldiers. The Legions of the Samnites being pursued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volturnus* Proconful, met all together in the territory of *Stella*. Where both the Samnite Legions abode, and also *Appianus* and *Volturnus* joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battle fought on both sides. The Romans were incensed with anger and choler against those that had so often rebelled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazard the utmost. So there were slain of the Samnites, 16300; 2700, taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand seven hundred.

This year so fortunate in war, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted; and for certain prodigious tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth and that in the army of *Appius Claudius*, there were many lightning & blasted with lightning. In regard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were perused and sought into. The same year *Q. Fabius* being Consul, his son, fined and punished by the purse, certain wives who had been convicted and condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money so raised by their fines, he caused to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which standeth near the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnites, whereof we have now continued our history in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *An. Cornelius* were Consuls, who were the first that warred in *Samnium*. To let pass therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrowes given and received between both nations (so many years one after another, for all which calamities and losses their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnites, in the Sentinate country, in the Pelign territory, at *Tifernum*, and in the territory of *Stella*, were defeated both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by four armies, and four Roman Captains: I left the bravest and most noble General of all their nation: saw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same predicament as themselves, not able to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their own power, or with help of forraign forces; yet for all this, would they not abstain from war, so little weary, were they of defending their liberty, although it were unfortunately: choosing rather, to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think it irksome, and tedious, either to write or read this long suit and train of wars, which they in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the brute went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade and over-run afresh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Posthumus* by reason of sickness remained at Rome, but *Atilius* went presently with an army forth, to the end that he might surprize the enemies on a sudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the field: for so the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as if it had been so of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance and so far off were they from wasting the lands of the Samnites, that they could not once enter into their

their confines; nay, the Samnites debarred them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another; that, which the Romans being so often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (see how utter despair driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnites attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this so venturous enterprise sped not well in the final effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chanced to be a foggy mist, which continued a good part of the day, so thick and palpable, as men could not see before them. I say not, so far as without the trench, but not so much as those that came close to speak one to another. The Samnites hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambushment, before it was full day light, and the same much overcast and dim with the mist, came as far as the *Corps de garde* of the Romans, who in the gates and entrance of the camp were but negligently: being thus taken on a sudden, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back-side of the camp, they assaulted the great gate *Decumana*, seized the *Questors* pavilion, and that quarter about it where the *Questor* himself (*L. Opimius Pansa*) was slain, and thereupon the alarm was given. The *Col.* being with this tumult raised, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies, to wit the one of *Lucanians*, and the other of *Suessans*, which haply were next hands, to defend and guard the *Pretors* pavilion, and that quarter. In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the high broad street in the camp, called *Principalis*, and before they had buckled and fitted their armor about them, they were ranged in battle array: and had knowledge of the enemy, by the ear and oncries, rather then by the sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what *K* number they were. At the first, as doubtful of the event, and mistrusting their fortune, they retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midst of the camp: but then the *Consul* cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own ramparts and holds first, and alter have a new piece of work to assail and win them again? So, they set up a shout, and put all their might together, and first made resistance only and kept their ground: but afterwards they set forward, and pressed upon them: and having once beat them back, they drove them afore them: with the same fear, that they themselves began, yea, and chased them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to pursue the chase, they durst not, for fear of some ambushment, by reason of the misty and troubled weather, contenting themselves with the saving of their camp and no more: and so they retired within their ramparts having slain to the number welnear, of three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as weltho that were in the first *Corps de garde* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surprised about the *Questors* lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnites speeding so well, made them take better hearts: so as they would not permit the Romans to encamp farther into the Country, no, nor so much, as to go a foraging into their territory: whereupon they were compelled to retire again, and to parvey forage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about *Sora*.

The bruit of all these occurrences more troublesome and fearful then truth was, being come to Rome, caused *L. Posthumius* the *Col.* before he was well recovered of his sickness, to take the field: but ere he departed the City, he proclaimed the *Rendezvous* at *Sorbus*: for his soldiers there to meet. Himself now dedicated unto the goddess *Victoria*, the Temple: which in the time of his *Carnie* Edilship he took order to be built, with the money raised of certain fines taken of persons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and so went forward from *Sora* directly into *Samnium*: to the camp of his brother *Consul*. But the Samnites distrustful themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dislodged, and departed back: and the *Consuls* also parted one from another, sundry ways, to waste the country, and assault the towns. *Posthumius* at his first coming, assayed by meet force to assail the town *Milvonia*, and seeing he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms; he approached close to the walls, and waited: and albeit the town were thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all streets and parts thereof, from the fourth hour of the day until the eighth, with doubtful and variable events for a good while: but in the end the Romans became masters of the town. Of Samnites were slain 3200 and 4000, were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other booty and pillage. From thence, he led forth the legions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the still night season, and departed in great silence at a contrary postern gate, which opened from the camp of the enemy. The *Consul* so soon as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at *Milvonia*: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and desolate throughout the City, seeing neither men nor munition within the towers and upon the walls: he held back his soldiers: desirous and greedy to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and disformed of defence: and doubting to fall headlong ere he were aware, into the trains of some hidden and privy ambush, he commanded two Cornets of the Cavalry of *Latine* confederates, to ride about the walls about the counter-tarp, and well to view and consider all places: The horsemen finding one or two gates near together standing wide open, and in the very face ways that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies, as they fled by night; rode softly neerer and neerer to the gates: and there they might see straight afore them safe entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word back to the *Consul*, that the City was abandoned, and the enemies

A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very solitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging and departure: as also by the stuff and goods that lay here and there scattered all abroad, whiles they halted fearfully in the dark, to take their flight. The *Consul* upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the town, which the horsemen were at: and pitching down his ensigns not far from the gate, commanded five other three of them should stay behind in the lane place, if they saw all safe and out of danger: and the other two, bring him word what they had seen and found. Who being returned, made relation of nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both far and near: then forthwith, the *Consul* entered the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the mean while to fortify the camp. The soldiers being once entered, fell to break open the doors: where they found a few filthy old folk, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such moveables as were hard to be conveyed and transported: those they rifled, and ransacked: and by certain captives they understood, that divers other towns thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the Cities, they should find the like emptiness and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so it proved indeed: and the *Consul* possessed himself of those forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other *Consul M. Attilius*, had so calie war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was besieged by the Samnites: the enemy encountered and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battle: and the anger and indignation on both parts, but the end and issue more heavy and dolorous on the Romans side: both because they were not used to be vanquished; and also for that in the very loose and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmish, they found that many more were hurt and slain of their part. Which fearful sight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had surprised them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them. No doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a carefull night, and full of anguish, thinking verily that the Samnites would presently assault their camp, or at leastwile that in the morning betimes they must of necessity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loss was less, so their heart and courage was never the more: For so soon as the day brake, desirous were they to be gone without any battle. Howbeit there was but one way, & that lay close and near to their enemies: which they were not so soon entered into, but they made shew a far off, as if they marched straight to the assault of the camp. The *Consul* commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies, he gave several charges to do as he thought needful and requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever; but they said withal, that their soldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and sit up all night, amongst the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groan: of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the camp, so daunted were they, that they would have abandoned their colours and even now for very shame and nothing else, they forbore indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they clean spent. The *Consul* hearing this, thought good to go about him self in person, unto every one of his soldiers, and to speak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and saw them so backward, and going about so coldly to take arms and weapon in hand: he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, and asking why they sat still? why they loitered and made such delay? saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unless they made more haste to fall forth: yea, and forced they should be to fight before their rent doors, if they would not give battle without the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (saith he) and will fight manfully, shall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming, must either die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in these terms, they answered flatly again, that they had enough of yesterdays work, and were utterly done and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seem more in number then they were the day before. Amid these speeches the army approached and being now but a little way off they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see every thing. Whereupon they said confidently, that they saw the Samnites to bring with them their stakes and pales to cast a palliado, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this, the *Consul* cried out upon them for very shame to suffer so foul a reproach and disgrace of a most daftardly enemy. And shall we be (quoth he) beset and empaled within our own camp there to die for hunger and famine with shame rather then by edge of sword (if there be no other remedy) with honor, like men? G The gods speed us well (quoth he) and their will be done: and do every man as he thinks best: as for *M. Attilius* the *Consul*, he is resolved even himself alone (if no man else will follow) to meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and die amongst the Samnite ensigns, than see the Roman camp besieged with arrows, cast, and ramparts rife about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands and Cornets of the Cavalry, yea, and the principal Centurions of the foremost companies liked well of this, and repeated the *Consul* his words. Then the soldiers for stark shame, full faintly take weapon in hand and as slowly God woe go forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files; not close united together but broken here and there, with hea-

* From ten of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon.

ty cheer, and as men half vanquished already, they marched after a sort toward the enemy, who
discovered the Roman Standards, suddenly from the vanguard to the reereguard, there went a
muttering and bruit from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they
always feared) to empeach and stop their passage, so as now there was no way for them to fly and
escape from them, and save themselves, but must either die in the place, or slay their enemies and
make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardels, they cast together upon an heap in
the midst: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marshalled themselves in their
own arrays. Now was there a very little space between the two armies, and they stood looking
one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the first charge, and set up the
first shout. But neither of both had any Romack to fight, And surely on both sides, they had gone
fundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken, but that they feared both, lest if
they had dismarched of one part first, the other would have come upon them, Thus of themselves
they began a faint fight, as unwilling and loath thereto, with an uncertain and unequal flourish: nei-
ther flured any man one foot. Then the Roman Consul, to begin the skirmish, sent out some few
Cornets of horsemen from a side, without the battailions: whereof the most part sel from their hor-
ses; and others were disarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnites ran out to kill
those that were fallen, and Romans also to rescue their fellows. Then the skirmish began a little
to wax hot: but the Samnites advanced forward in greater number far, and bestrid themselves
(as it seemed) more lustily: and withal, the Roman horsemen being disordered and in confusion,
with their horses affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to rescue. Who begin-
ning once to flie, cauled the whole Roman army also to turn their backs. And now the Samnites
played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Consul rode before a gallop to
the camp gate, where he bellooded a good *corps de guard* of horsemen, opposit in the way: and
made proclamation, that whosoever came toward the camp, were he Samnit or were he Roman,
should be taken and used as an enemy. With these and such like threats, he put himself against
the fouldiers, that marched to fall in heaps to the camp. Withther away sirrah, (quoth he to every
souldier that he met) even here shalt thou find men in arms to fight withal: here shalt thou
meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entering here into the camp without
victory, so long as thy Consul liveth: chuse therefore whether thou hadst rather fight with thy
own countrimen or thine enemies. While the Consul entreated them with this welcom, the
horsemen also with spear in rett, and bent full against them, came all about, charging the footmen
upon their peril to turn again to battel. Thus not only the Consul his virtue and prowess firmed
in good deed, but fortune also went on their side: for the Samnites followed not the chase to hard,
but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their enligns, and to di-
rect their battailions from their camp against the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to
battel again. The Centurions furnished the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them
forward: declaring to their fouldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how disorder-
ly and out of all array they came against them. In this while the Consul lift up his hands to hea-
ven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if so be the Roman
army slayed their flight, and by rennyng the conflict should kill and vanquish the Samnites Legi-
ons. Hereupon endevoured they on all hands, the Captain and souldier, both horsemen and
footmen, to re-encloise the battel. And even the very gods from heaven seemed to have a spe-
cial regard of the Romans at that time, so quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were re-
pelled from the ramparts, and withina small while forced again to the very place where the bat-
tel began. Where by reason of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the
midst, and now lay in their very way, they were stopped in their very passage, and for fear lest
their goods should be rifled and spoiled, they cast a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then
the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compassed them, and charged upon them
right fiercely: where in the midst between, they were either slain or taken. The prisoners were
in number 7300, who were all put naked under the yoke, and sold: the number of them that
were slain was about 4800. The Romans for all this had no great lift to boast and brag of their
victory, for the Consul taking view and account of his loss the two days, found by computati-
on, that he misd 7300.

on, that he missed 7300.

While these things thus passed in *Apulia*, the Samnites with another power, assayed to surprize and get again *Interamna*, a Colony of the Romans: situate upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be masters of the town, they overran and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattle, one with another; whiles they were driving the same before them, together with certain Colonizers whom they had taken prisoners, they light upon *Confil* as he returned with victory from *Luceria*: where they not only lost their spoil, but were themselves slain as they marched disorderly in long files. The *Confil* made proclamation, That every man should repair to *Interamna*, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the same again: and there leaving his army, went to *Rome*, against the Election of new Magistrates. When he laboured infinitely for a triumph, he was denied that honor; both for that he had lost so many thousands, and also because he had put his captives under the gallows, and fold them, without farther imposition.

Times are the Samnites

The other Col., *Posthumus*, wanting subject matter of war to work upon among the Samnites, passed

A passed with his army into Tuscany and after he had first pillaged and spoiled the Volturnians territory, he gave them battle not far from their walls, who issued forth to defend their frontiers: where there were 2200, Tuscans slain: the rest, by reason that the City was too near, escaped and saved themselves. Then led he his army into the territory of *Reffellum*, where he not only laid the fields waste, but won the town also: took prisoners above two thousand and slew under two thousand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in *Heimria*, was more honorable and renowned than the war had been. For three of the strongest and most puissant States, even the very Capital Cities of Tuscany, to wit, *Pisum*, *Perusia*, and *Arretum*, desired accord. And having conditioned with the Consul, and promised, to find his soldiers clothing and corn, so they might

And for that present, each City was fined to pay * 500000 Asles. For these acts done, the Consul having requested triumph of the Senat, for manner and fashion, rather then upon any hope to speed; and perceiving some of them to deny him flatly, as pretending that it was to late ere he departed the City; and other some, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he passed out of *Sabinum* into *Tuscanay*; and that partly his adversaries, & partly the friends of his Colleague, who might take some comfort and contentment, that heallo had the repulle with him, were against his triumph: My Matters (quoth he) you that are Senators of *Rome*, I will not be so far mindful of your honor and majesty, as that I will forget my self to be a Consul: and by vertue of the same authority of commision, wherewith I have conducted and managed these wars: for so much

Cass, I have happily brought them to end, and subdued *Seminum* and *Tifany*, achieved victory, and obtained peace; triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there arose a debate and disention among the Tribuns of the Commons. Some of them said, they would enterpole their negative, that he should not in this manner triumph, and give so illa precedent. Others gave out, that they would assit him in his triumph, maighe the heads of all their Collegues. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Consul being thither called, alleged, that *L. Horatius*, and *M. Valerius* Con'suls, afo'said *Cains Martius* Routine of late days, even the father of him, who then was Cenfor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and besides, he added and said, that himself also would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the

D Tribuns of the Commons, who were become vassals and slaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and crost the bill. As for himself, he protested, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatsoever. So the morrow after, by the assistance of three Trib, banded against the opposition and negative voices of seven yea, and against the general resolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy folemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do vary much about the acts and affairs of this year also, *Claudius* writeth, That *Polphemus* having won certain towns in *Sannium*, was after in *Apulia* discomfited and put to flight: and that himself in person being hurt, was with some few slaves, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Artilius*, that fought in *Tusfany*, and triumphed, *Fabius* contrariwise reporteth, That both Consuls E were in *Sannium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was transported into *Tusfany*: but which of the Consuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not set down withal: also, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many slain: and how in that battel, there was a Temple vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times past: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected, but only a *Fannus*, [i. a place pronounced, destined, and consecrated before to build a Temple on], but in this year at that place, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the same vow, made a conscience of it, and moved the Senat to decree and take order, that the house and temple aforesaid should be edified accordingly.

After this year, there succeeded a brave and noble Count, *L. Pappius Censor*, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Also a mighty great war, and such a victory as never any General was like at the Samnitis hands before that day, but *L. Pappius* again the Consul father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the same endeavor and furniture of most costly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they used the help and favor of the gods beides, by a frange kind of induction and institution of the fouldiers, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremonial custom, as if they were to take orders in some holy mysteries; yea, and levied mutters throughout all *Samnium*, after a new form of a law and edict: That whosoever of the younger sort and serviceable men, fit to bear arms, shewed not themselves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclamation, and whosoever departed without his leave and licence, his head should be forfeit unto *Jupiter* as accursed and damned. Which done, the *Remanensis* was appointed at *Aquilonia*, for all the forces to assemble. Where there

gathered together, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of *Samnium*. There, about the middle of the camp, was a plot of ground let out, well fenced and enclosed all about with hurdles and boards, and the same covered all over with linnen cloaths: the place was two hundred foot square, every way. Then there was a solemn sacrifice celebrated and divine service paid, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen and the same by a certain Priest, one *Ovius Paccius*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he set these sacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnites, according to the manner and custom, which in times past their ancestors had used, at what time as they

conspired secretly and conspired, to surprise *Capua* out of the Tuscans hands. When the sacrifice was done, the General of the army by his Porfivant at arms, commanded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage, or ads achieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity (which were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying slain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the souldier was caused to approach near the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by virtue of an oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal, whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to swear, after an horrible and dreadful form of words, framed and tending expressly to the cursing of his own person, his house and all his race and linage, in case, he went not into any battel, whereoever the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field; or saw any one to run away, and slew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts, which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the Samnits had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the sovereign Captain, who every one had in charge to chide himself a fellow, and they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Limenta Legio* [i. the linen Legion] taking the name of the covering of that inclosure, wherein the Nobility of the Samnits were sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armor, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage, nor in martial prowels and reputation, nor yet in furniture and setting out, were inferior to the linen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all *Samnium*, assembled and encamped in *Aquilona*.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of *Rome*, and *C. Carvilius* first; unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year, had left in the territory of *Interamna*. And with them he marched into *Samnium*. And, mean while that the enemies were over much busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mystical counsels, he won by force from the Samnits, the town *Amisernum*. Where almost 2000. men were slain, and 4270. taken prisoners. But *Papirius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new army, forced the town *Duronia*: took fewer prisoners then his Collegue, but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards, the Consuls overran the whole country of *Samnium*, but they spoiled and wasted especially the lands about *Atinum*. *Carvilius* marched as far as *Cominium*, and *Papirius* to *Aquilona*, where the whole power of the Samnits lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, and were altogether idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly would have succin still; or in lying off and giving ground, to those that assailed them: and thus, I say, with threatening, rather then offering battel, they passed the day. For whilst they began ever and anon, and gave over as quickly, there was no issue seen of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrences were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off: and albeit the other Consul was absent, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight and charge at *Aquilona*, then at *Cominium*: so *Carvilius* had a more careful eye that way, then to the place which himself besieged. *L. Papirius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Coluegue, to signify unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy battel: and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise should with all his forces assault *Cominium*: that the Samnits within, might have neither means nor leisure to send any succour to *Aquilona*. This post had that one day allowed him to doe his message, and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Collegue, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papirius* then immediately dismissed and sent away the courier aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave and goodly for shew and ostentation then effectual and of importance in the end: "For they are not the plumed crests (quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romans spear and lance it is, that is able to pierce their gilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering army with milk white diaper coats must be died red in blood, when they come to strokes, and to try it out by dint of sword. The golden and silvered armies of the Samnits, were sometimes by my father put to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honour the victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, and destined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be opposed against the greatest puissance and attempts of the Samnits, and to bring away with them, those spoils which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods

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A "no doubt are present to defend and assist us in our quarrel, against those that so oft have sought for peace and alliance, and as often broke the same themselves. And if a man may conjecture and guess of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adverse and full of indignity, then to that, which being tainted and polluted with the blood of beasts and men, massacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind of sacrifice; and vowed to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance of the same gods, witnesses off their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other side the detestable and abominable curses, comprised in an oath, taken against all covenant and promise; hath sworn by constraint and perforce: hatred and detesteth the oath whereby they are perjured, and at one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own selves, and their enemies. Thus having shewed unto his souldiers (who were already of themselves badly and maliciously enough bent against the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all these things, by the constant relation averted by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him: they all being now full of assured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cry called for battel: and nothing grieved them more then this. That it was put off until the morrow; hating in their hearts the rest of that day behind, and that one night, for being so long. About mid-night, *Papirius* having received letters back from his Collegue, gat him up closely when all were fast asleep, and sent the chick-matter to take token, & observe the presage of the pullets. There was not one throughout the whole camp, of what quality or degree soever but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captains might behold and see the souldiers affection and courage that way, and the souldier likewise the Captains; in so much that the same ardent desire of battel which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Auspices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-master adventured to lye and falsifie the token, and made report to the Consul, that it was *Tripudium solistimum*. Whereat the Consul right glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they were to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods; and hereupon he put forth the signal or bloody banner of battel. As he was now marching forth into the field with his army, behold a fugitive out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Samnits, and those were about 4000 in a cohort, were gone to *Cominium*. And because his Collegue *Carvilius* should not be ignorant hereof, he presently dispatched a courier in post unto him, and himself commanded the Ensigns and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speed, ordaining the bands in the rearward for succours, and disposing them in divers places, with Captains over the same, accordingly. He appointed *L. Volturnius* to lead the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the horsemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Cedinius*, and *Trebatius*. As for *Sp. Nautius*, he charged him in all haste to take off the pack-saddles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that serve in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seize upon an hill there in sight, and in the heat of the conflict, to shew himself from thence, and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possibly he could. Whiles the General was occupied hereabout, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-masters touching the Auspice or presage of that day; in so much as they were overheard of the Roman horsemen: who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised *Sp. Papirius*, (the Consuls Nephew, or Brothers Son) that there was some doubt and question about the Auspice. The youth born in those days when there were no Atheists, nor Lecturers read of despising God and Religion; enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certify any thing whereof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledge thereof to the Consul: who said thus unto him, "God blest theemy ion, and be not thou dimayed thereat, but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best endeavour. As for him that has the charge and oversight of the Birds and Auspice, if he have made a wrong report, and give up a contrary presage, or false sign, all the mischief and perill light upon his own head for his lewd lye. As for me I was told of a *Tripudium*, and that the birds fell heartily to their meat and I hold it for a lucky Auspice and token of good success unto the people of *Rome* and the army, and for no other. This said, he commanded the Centurions to set those pullerets, in the forefront of the battel. The Samnits also for their part set forward their Ensigns, and their battalions follow after gallantly set out in gorgeous armor and brave apparel, in such sort, as the very sight of the enemies repented a magnificent and stately shew to the beholders. But few what hapned before the first shout given, before the first volly of shot and encounter, the principal Pulleriet chanced to be stricken with a javelin, lanced at adventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Ensigns, which being reported unto the Consul, "Behold the handy work of God (quoth he) the gods are present in this battel, the guilty person hath his due reward. And as the Consul was a speaking these words, lo, just before him a Raven set out a wide clear throat, and cried with a loud noisate which Augury the Cons. rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evidently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to sound, and to set up a lusty shout: then followed a cruel and terrible fight on both sides, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Romans were ravished and carried on end to the battel, with anger, hope and heat of conflict greedy of bathing their swords, and embruing their hands in the enemies bloodshed. But the Samnits many of them by force of necessity, and constraint of a blind and superstitious religion, even against their wills, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather then to fight

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and offend the enemy. Neither had they sustained and held out the first shout, charge and shock of the Romans (as having now for certain years past been used ever more to go away defeated and vanquished) but that a mightier fear imprinted and settled in their heart roots, held them perform from running away: for they ever had continually represented in their eye, the whole furniture of that secret sacrifice; of those armed sacrificers and Priests with naked swords that hideous butchery of men and of brute beasts; lying slain one with another in their blood intermingled together: of the Altars besprinkled and stained with the lawful shedding of the one, and the detestable effusion of the other of the dreadful and horrible execrations and to conclude, of that frantic, furious, and detestable form of words, composed and devised to the detestation and malediction of their line and race. Being fast bound, I say, with these bonds for fleeing away, they stood to it, and stirred not back, fearing their own countrymen more than the enemies. The Romans from both points; and from the middle and main battalion charged hotly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces; thus amazed and astonished as they were with dread of gods and awe of man. Small resistance made they, as who only feared to flee and run away: so as by this time, there was execution and havoc made of them almost to the very Standards. At which very instant, there appeared overhead from the one side a dust, as if a mighty army had raised it to their march; namely, *Sp. Nautius* (or as some say, *Obolus Metius*) who had the leading of certain Cohorts called *Aleria*, mounted upon Mules, which on purpose made a dull greater, then for that number they were. For those varlets and new horsemen, as they sat on their Mules and Sampter-beasts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of trees full of boughs and leaves: and first, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through a duskish and dim light) their armour and ensigns: but the dust behind them, rising higher and thicker, made shew of a troop of horsemen flanked an army of footmen: wherewith not only the Samnites but Romans also were deceived. And the Consul himself, to avow the error and bear them down it was so: cried aloud amongst the former Ensigns, so as his voice reached unto his enemies; That *Cominium* was won, and his Brother Consul was come with victory: and therefore, they should endeavour and enforce themselves to get the day, before that another army should win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horseback galloping among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the men of arms. Himself afore, had willed *Trebonius* and *Cedinius*, that when they espied him to bear his spear upright and to shake it, then they should with all the might they had, put forth the Cavalry and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as they were directed and instructed before-hand. The ways were made wide between the files. The horsemen flung out, and with spear in rest charge upon the middle battalion of the enemies, and brake their arrayes whersoever they charged. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* seconded them with the Infantry: and while they were disarrayed overthrow them, and bare them to the ground. Down went these linen Cohorts now, when God and man fought against them, and were discomforted: and as well those that took the oath, and the other that were unworn, fled again: and without respect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that escaped the battle, were beaten into their camp at *Aquilonia*. The Gentlemen and the men of arms fled toward *Bovianum*. The Cavalry of the Romans pursued the horsemen, and the Infantry chased the footmen. The wings took divers ways, the right toward the camp of the Samnites, the left unto the Town. *Volumnius* was somewhat before, and got the Camp. *Scipio* found more resistance in the City: not for that vanquished men, as they were, had more courage and resolution, but because that walls are stronger to endure an assault, and better to keep out armed men, then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Couraine, with stones they beat and repulsed the enemy. *Scipio* foreseeing well enough that they should be longer about the assault of a strong and fortified town, unless he dispatched the matter quickly and went through with it, in their first affright and confusion, before they took heart again: demanded of his souldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to see the camp won by the other point of the battle, and themselves (being likewise Conquerors) to be repelled from the City Gates? When they all cried, No: and said they would never endure that disgrace: himself with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-kenel, rush into the City, thrust down the Samnites about the Gate, and gat to the Walls: but to engage themselves farther into the City, they durst not, being so few as they were. The Consul himselfe at the first knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men: for now the sun was well near down, and the night coming on apace, caused every thing even to the very victors to seem dangerous and suspicious. But when he was advanced farther, he saw on the right hand the camp taken: and on the left, he heard a confused cry and tumult in the City, compounded of the noise of fighting men, and frightened persons: and even at that instant, it fortuned, that they skirmished at the gate. Then he rode on, neerer and neerer, and saw his own men upon the Walls, howbeit nothing yet fully performed; but through the rash adventure and fool-hardiness of some few, an overtone only made, and some advantage got of performing a great piece of service and worthy exploit. Whereupon, he commanded the forces that were retired to be called, and with banner displayed to enter the City. So soon as they were in, they took the next quarter to the Gate, and for that the night approached, there they rested, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town.

There

A There were slain that day before *Aquilonia* 30340 Samnites, and 3870 taken prisoners: and of field enighs they went away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of *Papirius*, that there had not been lightly seen a General in any battle more lightome, chearfull, and merry; were it of his own natural disposition, or upon assured confidence of victory. Upon which courage and resolution, he could not be revolved from battle, albeit there was some question and scruple about the Auspice: and even in the hottest time, and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Fitor*, if he be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to present him with a cup of a sweet and pleasant mead; before he drank any strong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and liked of, and turned the ill presage of the Auspices to good.

The other Consul had as good speed at *Cominium*: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the wals of the town, and invested it round about: and set strong guards at the gates, for fear they should issue or fall forth. And even as he was about to give the signal of assault, there came a messenger post from his fellow Consul, who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the succour of them within the City: which both kept him short from giving the assault, and caused him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counter-camp to assail the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Diems Brutus Scaevola*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the first legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horsemen, to make head against the rescue of the enemies aforesaid; and whersoever he met them, there to impeach them, yea, and if occasion served, to give them battle; and in no case to suffer that power to come to *Cominium*. Himself commanded that ladders should be reared on every side of the town, and under a fence of targets approached the gates. So that in an instant the gates were burst open, and the wals scaled on every part. The Samnites, as their hearts served them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they saw any armed men upon the wals: so, after they perceived, that they were assailed not aloof with stones and darts, but fast by and with hand-strokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained and surmounted the place (which they most feared before) could fight at ease from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground; quiet their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for a while tried the utmost hazard of battle. But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15400 of them yielded themselves to the Consul his mercy. There were slain 4380. Thus went the game at *Cominium*, and thus at *Aquilonia*.

In the mid way between these two Cities, where a third battle was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were seven miles off from *Cominium*, they had a counter-march to their own country-men, and were called away, and so came not to the rescue, neither in the one battell nor the other. In the shutting in of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the sight of the Camp of one hand, and *Aquilonia* on the other; they might hear a like noise and cry from both parts, which caused them to pause. But afterwards, when they were over-against the Camp which was fired by the Romans: the flame spreading far abroad declared the defeat of the Samnites more evidently, and staid them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour (as they were) and passed a restless and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and so soon as it began to peep, while they were uncertain and doubtful what way to take, they hapned to be discovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and suddenly in a fearful amazement and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great disorder. Those horsemen having pursued the Samnites, who in the night season escaped out of the town, chanced to spy this foresaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good corps de guard. This company was defrased also even from the wals of *Aquilonia*: wherupon, by this time the legionary footmen likewise made after them; but they could not overtake them in the chase, so fast they fled: howbeit the horsemen cut off some, and slew two hundred and fourscore in the tail of the reregard. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen ensigns, and so the rest of the army saved themselves, and as well as they might in so fearful confusion, recovered *Bovianum*. The joy of these two Romans armies was wonderfully increased, to see one another have so good and fortunate success in their enterprises. Both the Consuls, by each others advice and consent, gave their towns thus won unto the souldiers to be sacked and filled: and after the goods were out, to set fire on the empty houses: in such wise, that in one and the same day both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were burnt to ashes: and the Consuls, with mutual congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themselves, feasting one another joyned both their Camps in one. Afterwards in the sight of both Armies, *Carvilius* highly commended and praised his souldiers every one as he was deserved, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papirius* also for his part, who had performed many and lundry skirmishes as well in the field and battle, as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, bestowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius* and *Sp. Papirius* his brother-son, as also upon four Centurions and the band of the *Haspi* or Javelineers, bracelets and coronets of gold: namely, *Nautius* for that he bare himself so worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his counter-camp troop of horsemen upon Mules, he so terrified the enemy, as if he had conducted a main army of men at arms: and young *Papirius* for his good service with his cavalry as well in the battle and con-

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flect.

first, as also in that night, wherein he forced the Samnites to flee secretly, and quit the City *Aquidunum*. The Centurions and soldiers, in this regard, that they were the first who seized the gates and walls of that town: as for all the horsemen, in consideration of their manifold travels, and brave exploits (threw in sundry places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of silver. This done, forasmuch as it was time now to withdraw their army from out of *Samnium*, either both twins, or at least one alone, they late in Council and consultation thereupon: and thought it was the better course (to the end that the Samnites might be brought lower, and their state more sensibly decayed) to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resolution, and to pursue the rest that was behind; that *Samnium* might be delivered up to the Consuls their successors, utterly tamed and subdued: since that the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battle; and there remained but one manner of making war, even to besiege and assault their Cities and strong Towns: by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich and make their own soldiers for ever, and withall impoverish their enemies, and make a hard of them quite being now at the last left forced to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senat and people of *Rome*, containing the effect at large of all their exploits: and then divided themselves, and took two several waies: *Papirius* marched with his legions to the siege of *Stipurnum*; and *Carvilius* with his to besiege *Volturnum*.

The Consuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Council of the City, as in the Common Hall of assemblies; and this publique contentment and rejoicing was solemnized with general processions, for the space of four daies, and with marvellous zeal, affection, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to lay a truth, this victory was to the State of *Rome* not only great and honourable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good and commodious a time. For even then, news came, that *Tuscanus* was revolted and rebelled, and men began to cast in their minds, and discourse how they should do (in case ought should hap but well in *Samnium*) to withstand the forces and invasions of the *Tuscans*: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnites, and their cusied and everable oath, by vertue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utmost extremity, embraced the occasion and opportunity of taking arms again, whilst both the Consuls and the whole forces of *Rome* were diverted and withdrawn into *Samnium*, and there employed. The Embassadors of their allies and confederates, were by *M. Attilius* the Praetor brought into the Senat, and had audience given them: where they complained, that their Territories were over-run, burnt, and spoiled, by the *Tuscans* their next neighbours; and all because they were unwilling to revolt from the people of *Rome*: humbly beseeching the LL. of the Senat, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Answer was returned unto the Embassadors: That the Senat would have regard, that their allies should have no cause to repent of their faithfull allegiance, and constant loyalty; and that ere many daies went over their heads, the *Tuscans* should taste of the same cup that the Samnites had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been slack and cold enough in dealing with the *Tuscans*, had not fresh news come, that the *Falsci* also, who had for many years continued in amity and friendship with the people of *Rome*, were combined with the *Tuscans*, and entred into arms, as well as they. The near neighbourhood of this nation, gave anedge to the Senators, and whet them on, to take care and ordain, that their Fecial Heralds should be addressed thither to demand restitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods restored; by the advice and authority of the Senat, together with the grant of the people, war was proclaimed against the *Tuscans*: and the Consuls were commanded to cast lots, whether of them should pais out of *Samnium* with his forces, unto *Tuscany*.

By this time now *Carvilius* had won *Volturnum*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculanum*, towns appertaining to the Samnites. *Volturnum* was forced within few daies: *Palumbinum*, the same day that he came before the walls: but at *Herculanum*, he fought two severall battels, with doubtful and uncertain issue, yea, and with more loss of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his camp before the town, beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and won it in the end. In these three towns there were either taken prisoners or slain in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so, as through fear the greater part by far, suffered themselves to be captives, rather than to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls cast lots for their Provinces; and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into *Tuscany*, as the soldiers wished and desired, who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before *Stipurnum*. Many a time he was fought withall in battell arranged: oft skirmished with in his march: yea, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies sallied out against him from the Town, in such sort, as he could not tell what to make of it: for neither was it to be called properly a siege alone, nor yet altogether a battell fight; considering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls: than the walls were defended by force of arms, and men of war: howbeit in the end, what with fighting, and what with skirmishing, he hedged them within the City, so as they durst come abroad no more, but kept themselves close, and were besieged indeed: and after long siege, as well with forcible assaults, as by trenches, battels, and rampiers, he was master of the town: and therefore after he was possessed of it, upon anger and choler

A cholier that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, that there was more blood-shed; and seven thousand died by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnites had laid up all their goods in some few Cities, was given to the soldiers. And now lay the snow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without house and harbor: and thereupon the Consul retired his Army out of *Samnium*. Against his coming to *Rome*, it was decreed by the general voice of all men, that he should triumph: and so he triumphed whilst he was in his Magistracy, with great magnificence, and impetuous pomp, as those daies would afford. For as well his footmen as horsemen marched and passed by in a shew, adorned with their gifts and prizes of honour. Many a civick, vallare and mirale garland was seen worn that day. Much looking and wondering there was at the spoils also of the Samnites armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hues, were they comparable to those that his father had won before him, which were commonly seen, and well known in the publique places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and prisoners of noble blood descended, men of great worth sometime, and name, as well for their own deeds, as their fathers acts. Great store of Bras Bullion in Ingots, and not coined, was carried in shew, amounting to the weight of 2000533 pound: which malle of bras or copper was raised of the ranome of prisoners. But the bras and silver was laid up in the common Treasury of the City, and nothing at all of the by, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an exaction and contribution for soldiers pay; whereas if the Consul had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City-Chamber, such sums which he had gained from the enemy there might a good portion thereof have been bestowed freely amongst the soldiers, & so the forlump Temple of *Quirinus*, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for that he himself vowed it the very time of the battell. I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoils of the enemies, whereof there was such store and abundance, that not only the foreland Temple and the market-place were therewith fet out and bravely decked, but they were distributed abroad to their allies also and Colonies, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and publique places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the *Vetins*, because those quarters were distressed and annoyed by the Samnites.

In this mean while, *Carvilius* the Consul, having at his first coming given the assault unto *Trojanum*, a City in *Tuscany*, granted license to 470 of the richest Citizens, to depart from thence and by composition, to pay a great sum of money unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his hands, after he had won the town by mere force. This done, he took five Castles, situate in places of great strength: where were slain of enemies 2400, and not all out 2000 taken prisoners. He granted to the *Falsci* (who sued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make present payment of 100000 Asles, and to discharge the soldiers wages for that year. After these exploits achieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was less honourable and glorious than that of other of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnites: he brought into the common Chest 300090 pound: of the surplussage of the pillage of the same goddes, dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. To the soldiers that served on foot, he gave of his booty 102 Asles a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horseman. Which reward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the nigardi: and misery of his Colleague before him. And so gracious was this Consul, that he protected and saved *L. Volcanius*, one of his Lieutenants, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by *M. Cincius*, a Tribune of the Commons fled for his last help to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the danger of their judgement: for that during his absence in that charge his accusation might well be set on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitiv cience, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entred their office: and for that there was supposed some error in their creation, the fifth day after were other chosen in their stead. The same year there was a *Lustrum* or solemn survey of the City, held by *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and *C. Marius Rutilius* Censors. In which were numbered and assessed 262322 pols of Roman Citizens. These were in order the six and tweneth Censors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth *Lustrum* after the first institution. In this year, and never before, the spectators of the Roman Games and Plaies, in regard of their happy success in wars, flood adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the fashion at *Rome*, borrowed from the manner and custome of Greece, to honour those with branches of the date tree, who won the prizes, and were victors in those solemn Games.

The same year the *Ediles Curule*, who exhibited the idle pastimes and exercises of activity, paved

* For saving of a Citizens life in battell, made of gra.

* For mounting first over the rampier of the enemies Camp, slain-ed like the pikes in a rampier.

* Whole footing over the walls first of an enemies City, and formed to the manner of the curtain or battlements of a wall.

* Two millions five hundred thirty three Asles in value, and of english 1114140 lb. within starting.

* 3990 pound sterling after five shillings annuance.

* 312 li 10 sh.

* 137 li 1 qth.

* 7 asles.

* 6 sh. 5 d. b. 10 d.

paid the caufey or high-way with flint or pibble ftone, from the Temple of *Mars* unto *Bouille* H and the fines of certain Publicans or farmers of the City, that were graiers and condemned, paid the charges. Then *Papirius* held the great Affembly for election of new Confuls, and created *Q. Fabius Gurges* the fon of *Maximus*, and *D. Junius Brutus Scaeva*, Confuls. *Papirius* himfelf was chofen Prætor. This year, fo joious and fortunate in many refpects, could hardly countervail chofen Prætor. This year, fo joious and fortunate in many refpects, could hardly countervail which confumed and devoured both town and country. In fuch a manner, as for the ftangeneſs and extremity thereof, it was held for a prodigious and portentous ſign beyond all courſe of nature, and reach of reaſon. Whereupon, the books of *Sibylla* were perufed, to know out of them, what iſſue and remedy the gods would vouchſafe to ſhew of this malady and miſery. Wherein they found, that the Image of *Æſculapius* muſt be ſent for, from as far as *Epidaurus* to *Rome*. But for that by year, reaſon that the Confuls were buſied in the wars, nothing was done, but only one day beſtowed wholly in ſupplications and devout Letanies, to the honour of the ſaid god *Æſculapius*.

The ten Books next following of *T. Livius* (uſually called the ſecond Decade) are loſt: The Arguments whereof remain yet extant in the Abridgments or Breviaries of *L. Florus*, which inſtead of the Hiſtory it ſelf, are ſet down in this place.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the Eleventh Book.

VVhen *Fabius Gurges* the Conful, had fought an unfortunate battle againſt the *Samnites*, and the Senate were about to diſcharge and remove him from his Army; *Fabius Maximus* his father, beſought them for his ſake, not to offer him that diſgrace and diſhonour. For rather than that ſhould come to paſs, he promiſed to ſerve in perſon under his ſon in quality of his Lieutenant. Which moved the Senate, and prevailed more than any thing elſe. And he was his words maſter. For he went to the field, and by his means and good advice, the Conful his ſon was ſo well aſſiſted, that he defeated the *Samnites*, triumphed over them, led captive before his triumphant Chariot *C. Pontius*, Lord General of the *Samnites*, and afterwards ſtruck off his head. Whiles the City [of *Rome*] was pitifully viſited and afflicted with the plague, there were certain Embaſſadors addreſſed and ſent to *Epidaurum*, for to tranſlate the Image of *Æſculapius* from thence to *Rome*. And inſtead thereof they brought away a great ſnake or ſerpent, which of it ſelf embarked in their ſhip, and wherein they were verily perſuaded, that the piſſance and divine power of the ſaid god was reſident. And when they had conducted it with them by ſea as far as to *Rome*, it went forth of its own accord, and ſwam to the Iſland within *Tyberis*, where it ſetled: and in that very place where it took land, they erected a Temple to *Æſculapius*. *L. Poſthumus*, a Conſular man [i.e. who had been Conful] having the charge of an Army, was condemned, and had a round ſue ſet upon his head, for that he employed his ſoldiers about ſome work in one of his farms. The League was now the fourth time renewed with the *Samnites*, at their earneſt ſuit and requeſt. *Curius Dentatus* the Conful, after he had defeated and ſlain the *Samnites*, vanquiſhed the *Sabines*, who were revolted and rebelled, and received them under his obedience, triumphed twice during the time of one Conſulſhip. Three Colonies were erected, and poſſeſſed, to wit, *Caſtrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. The three Triumvirs to ſit upon capital crimes werethen created. A ſiſſing was holden, and a ſolemn Lutrurn, wherein by juſt account were numbred 273000 Citizens of *Romans*. The Commons, becauſe they were deeply engaged in debt, in regard of grievous and long ſeditious and diſſentions, retired in the end to *Janiculum*, from whence they were reclaimed and brought again into the City, by the means of *Q. Hortenſius* the Dictator, who died in the very time of his Magiſtracy. This book containeth moreover the exploits againſt the *Volſinians*, and alſo the *Lucanis*, againſt whom it was thought good and ordained, to ſend aid and ſuccours to the *Tyrrenians*.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the twelfth Book.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors being murdered by the *Senonis* in Gaul, and war thereupon denounced and proclaimed againſt them, *Lucius Cæcilius* the Prætor, furniſhed with his whole army, to be defeated by them, and put to the ſword. When the *Roman* fleet was ſpoiled and raiſed by the *Tarentins*, and their Admiral beſides ſlain, the Senate diſpatched their Embaſſadors unto them to make complaint of theſe wrongs and outrages: but they were evilly intreated and ſent away with great abuſe. Whereupon, ſiſſance was likewiſe given unto them, and war proclaimed. The *Samnites* revolted. Againſt whom together with the *Lucanis*, *Brutians*, and *Tuſcans*, ſundry battels were fortunately fought by divers *Roman* Captains. *Pyrrhus* the King of the *Epirots* [or the *Albanos*] paſſed over into Italy for to aid the *Tarentins*. When a Legion of the *Campanians* was ſent under the conduct of *Decius* *Jubellius* to *Rhegium*, there to lie in garriſon, they treacherouſly ſlew the natural inhabitants, and ſeized the City of *Rhegium* to their own behoof.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the thirteenth Book.

Valerius *Levinus* the Conful laſt the field againſt *Pyrrhus*: by occaſion principally that his ſoldiers were rariſhed and amazed at the unuſual ſight of the Elephants. After that battell, when *Pyrrhus* viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the *Romans*, lying ſlain on the ground; he ſhewed and marked, that all their faces were threatward the enemy affront. From thence he went forward ſpeſting and miſting all the way to *Rome*. *C. Fabricius* was ſent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ranſom of the priſoners: and was ſollicit by the King (but in vain) to abandon the ſervice of his own country. The foreſaid priſoners were enlarged and ſent home without paying any ranſom at all. *Cynæas* was ſent as Embaſſador from the King unto the Senat; who required, that the King his Maſter, ſhould to end and compoſe all quarrels, might be received into the City and amity of the people of *Rome*: but when it was thought meet to debate and conſult of this important matter, in a more frequent aſſembly of the Senators, *Appius Claudius* who many a day had not intermeddled with the affairs of State and Council, preſented himſelf in the Court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter clear away, and *Pyrrhus* his demand was ſtily denied. *P. Domitius* beſt Cenſor of the Commons, held a Lutrurn or ſurvey of the City, in which were found 278222 *Roman* Citizens by the poll. A ſecond field was fought againſt *Pyrrhus*, but with doubtfull event and iſſue. With the *Carthaginians*, the alliance was renewed now the fourth time. When a certain fugitive traitor that ran from *Pyrrhus*, offered to *C. Fabricius* the Conful for to poiſon the King, he was ſent back again, and the treaſon was diſcovered to the King Oer and beſides, this book containeth the proſperous affairs in war againſt the *Tuſcans*, *Lucanis*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fourteenth Book.

Pyrrius paſſed the ſeas into *Sicily*. When among other prodigies and fearful tokens the image of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll was overthrowen and ſmitten down with lightning the head thereof was recovered and found again by the ſoothſaiers. *Curius Dentatus*, as he was taking miſters, ſold in poſſeſſe the goods of one that would not anſwer to his name when he was called. He defeated *Pyrrhus* after his return again out of *Sicily* into Italy; and forced him to avoid and depart once for all. *Fabricius* a Cenſor, called and diſplaced out of his Senators room *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, one that had been Conful, for that he had in ſilver plate to the weight of ten pounds. There was a Lutrurn holden by the Cenſors, and therein were found 271224 Citizens. A ſociety and alliance was contraited with *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*. *Sextilia* a profreſſed veſtall Nun was convicted of uncleaneſs and fornication, and buried quick. Two new Colonies were erected, to wit, *Polidonia* and *Conſa*. A fleet of *Carthaginians* arrived to aid the *Martians*; by occaſion whereof the league was broken. This book compriſeth alſo, the happy exploits againſt the *Lucanis*, *Samnites*, and *Brutians*: together with the death of King *Pyrrhus*.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the fifteenth Book.

The *Tarentins* being vanquiſhed both peace granted, and liberty alſo reſtored unto them. The ſoldiers of the *Campan* legion aforeſaid, which had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Rhegium*, were beſieged; and after they had abſolutely yielded were every one made ſhorter by the head. Certain luſty youths of *Rome*, who had miſuſed and beaten the Embaſſadors of the *Apolloniats*, ſent unto the Senat were delivered unto their hands to be uſed according to their diſcretion. The *Picentes* were overcome in battell, and obtained peace. Two Colonies were ſent, the one to *Ariminum* within the marches of *Picenum*, (i.e. *Ancona*) the other to *Beneventum* in *Sannium*. Now and never before began the *Romans* to uſe ſilver coin for their money. The *Umbrians* and *Salentinians* were vanquiſhed, and their ſubmiſſion of obedience received. The number of the *Queſtors* was augmented [to be eight].

The one and twentieth book of T. Livius.

THe same may I well say, in the Preface and entrance of this one part of my work, which most writers of histories have promised and made profession of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the most famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of *Annibal* fought with the people & State of *Rome*. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warred together so more wealthy and puissant than they; nor at any time ever were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came notoriously now, to wage war, without knowledge of the prowess and martial skill, one of another; for trial they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punick war. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the field, so doubtfully were their batels fought, that nearer loss and danger were they, who in the end won the better; and achieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man observe the whole course and proceeding of these their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whilst the Romans took foul scorn and disdain that they, whose hap before was to be vanquished, should unprovoked begin war against with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as male-content, and thoroughly offended, as taking themselves (notwithstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands by their proud, insolent, and covetous rule over them. Over and besides all this, the report goeth, that *Annibal* being but nine years old, or thereabouts, came fawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father *Amilcar*, that he would take him with him into *Spain*; at what time, as after the African war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, ready to pass over thither with an army, where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon; and to touch the sacrifice; and so to swear, that so soon as ever he were able, he would be a professed and mortal enemy to the people of *Rome*. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himself, a man of high spirit and great courage; for the loss of the Islands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: for not only *Sicily* was overthrally yielded (as he thought) as despairing too soon of the State thereof; and doubting how it should be defended; but also *Sardinia* was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans surprised out of the Carthaginians hands; L whilst they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of *Africa*; and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted, I say, and troubled with these griefs and discontents, to bare himself five years space in the *African* war, which infused immediately upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewise after, in *Spain*, for nine years together, enlarging ever still the dominion of *Carthage*; that all the world might see, heightened and designed a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have been well seen that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that war upon *Italy*, which afterward they waged by the conduct of *Annibal*. But the death of *Amilcar* happening in so good season [for the Romans] and the childhood and tenderness of *Annibal* together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the mean time, between the father and the son, *Asdrubal* M bare all the rule for the space almost of eight years. This *Asdrubal* had been *Amilcar*'s minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say), for the very prime and flower of his youth; but afterwards in regard of the singular towards of a brave and haughty mind, which his soon appeared in him, and for his forwardness to action, he was preferred to be his son in law, and married his daughter. Now, forthwith as he was *Amilcar*'s heir in law, he was advanced to the sovereign conduct of the war, with no good liking at all and content of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the Barbin faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the souldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and face counsel, than by force and violence: and using the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries; and by entreating friendship with the chief Rulers, won daily the hearts of new nations still; and by that means enlarged the power and influence of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, rather than by any want of force of arms. But for all this peace with foreign States, he was never the more sure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for anger that they were attendant about *Asdrubal*'s person, he kept the same counsel hold on by them that were attendant about *Asdrubal*'s person; as he kept the same counsel still; as if he had escaped and gone clear away; yea, and when he was by cruel tortments all manner mangled and torn, he looked so cheerfully and pleasantly on the matters; as if he had seemed to smile at his joy of heart surpassed the pains and anguish of his body. With this *Asdrubal*, for that he had for singular a gift and wonderful dexterity in soliciting and annexing unto his dominions the most far situate, the people of *Rome* had renewed the League, upon these two capitulations and conditions; first, that the river *Tiber* should limit and determine the feigneries of them both: *Teem*, that the Saguntines, leaved in the midst between the territories of both nations, should remain free, and enjoy their ancient liberties. No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the room of *Asdrubal*, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the souldiers: who presently brought young *Annibal* into the General his pavilion, and with exceeding

Asdrubal b
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The wonder-
full constancy
and resolution
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A ding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General. For this you must understand, that *Afamb* by his letters misivive had lent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age, yea, and the matter was debated first in the Council-tious at *Carbage*, where they of the *Barchine* side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that *Ambib* should be trained in warfare, and grow up to succeed his father in equal prowess & greatness. But *Hamo* the chief man of the contrary faction : " It is but meet and reason (quoth he) " that *Afamb* doth demand : and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his request " should be granted. When they muted and marvelled much at this doubtfull speech of his, and wist not what contruction to make of it, " Why then? quoth *Hamo*, to be plain, That *Afamb* " and beaury of youth, which *Afamb* himself yielded and parted withall sometimes unto *Amnibals* father, for to use or abuse at his pleasure : the same he thinketh by good right he may " challenge and have again, from the son, to make quittance. But it becometh not us so to acquaint our young youths with the Camp that under the colour, and instead of their military institution and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the " Generals. What? Is this the thing we fear, That the son of *Ambur* should tarry too long ere he see the excessive grandeur and sovereignty of his father, and theately shew as it were of his " royalty? Or doubt we, that we shal not soon enough serve in all dutiell allegiance his natural son, unto whose son in law all our Armies have been leafe (as it were) in lawfull right of inheritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in awe at home, under obedience of laws, under civill Magistrates, and learn a while to live in equall condition with the rell of the Citizens and subjects : for fear least at one time or other, this little spark do burn outright, and raise a mighty flame. A few, and those were, in a manner, all of the best sort and foundest judgment, accorded with *Hamo*. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number over-weighed the better.

Thus *Annibal* was sent into *Spain*, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him: so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old souldiers beleev'd verily, that *Annibal* was alive again, and came amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & visage, the same quickness and liveliness in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had wrought and wound himself into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in quality most contrary; namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more dear unto the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither *Annibal* would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the souldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprise, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards and dangerous adventures: right provident and wary again, at the very point of peril and jeopardy. No travel was able to weary and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and break his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his natural appetite, and not by pleasure and delight some taste. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploit: if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: so that should not be upon a foot bed neither, nor procure with great civility by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good souldiers jacket and homely caskock call over him, even among the sentinels and *corps de guard*. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: many, in his armour and hories he loved ever to be goodly be-seen above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would always be a great way foremost. And to conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will ever the first: and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these his noble qualities and many virtues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him again, to counterpoise the same. Cruelty most savage and inhumane, ill-mood and treachery more than * Punick: no truth, no honesty, no fear of God, no regard of oath, no conscience, nor religion.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature, to virtues, and vices, he served still three years under General *Asarbal*. During which time, he omitted and forgot no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himselfe another day to be a Captain and Chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chozen and declared Lord General; as if at the same instant, *Italy* had been the Province assigned unto him. as if, I say, he had received Commission to war with the Romans, he thought good to make no delays, for fear lest haply whiles he lingered and slackt the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first; and *Asarbal* afterwards: but pre-determined to make war upon the *Saguntines*, by assailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrel. But first he led his army into the marches of the *Oleades* (a nation beyond *Iberus*, rather siding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have set out the *Saguntines* and

* Similar the father of *Annia* but was the son of *Barcha*, from whence arose the Barchin faction of often named in this story. The speech of *Hanno* in the Senate of *Carthage*.

The naturall
disposition of
Annibal.

His virtues.

is vices.
Ordinary in
arthracinians.

A people
within the
kingdom of
Cede in Spain
near the City
of Asia.

intende

* *Merveilles*.

Saguntum be-
sieged by An-
nibal.
* Zanto.

The description of a weapon or dart, called

In the mean while new came, that there were Embassadors arrived from Rome: unto whom *Aniball* dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea-side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations: nor their Master *Aniball* amidst those dangerous and troublesome

- * The Islanders of *Sardegna*.
- * The Islanders of *Cosia*.
- * The people of *Istria*.
- * The people of *Slavonia*.

i. 300 to a Legion.

**The Oration
of a Senator in
Carthage.**

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Consuls: but then were they commanded by calling lots, to part them between them, to *Cornelius fell Spain: To Sempronius Affrick and Sicily*. Likewise decreed it was, that for that year, there should be levied six Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: also that as great an army as might be, should be rigged and set out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of Horsemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horse, 220 galleys, with five course of oars on a side, and twentyfoils, were set afloat. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might please them to determine and grant, that war should be proclaimed against the people of *Carthage*. And in regard of that war, there was also a solemn supplication holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to prosper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of *Rome* had determined. And betwixt the Consuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, consisting of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse a piece: also of allies sixteen thousand foot, one thousand and eight hundred Horse, besides 160 galleys, and twelve barks or foils. With this power for Land and Sea he went, *Sempronius* lent into *Sicily*, from thence to pass over into *Affrick*, in case the other Consul were able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* had the charge of a smaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was sent in person into *France* with a sufficient army: but in the number of ships especially, was *Cornelius* scant 60 galleys of five banks of oars he had, and no more, (for it was supposed that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of service) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of Horsemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of arms. That Province of *France* (in those parts where the Carthagian was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 allies, besides 2000 Horse from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with justice: and that all due complements might be performed, they sent certain grave and ancient personages in Embassie into *Affrick*, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *L. Amilius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Publius*. First, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whether *Anubius* by their publick warrant and authority, besieged and assailed *Saguntum*? then, if they avowed the Act, and stood to it (as they were like to do) confessing that it was done by the counsel of the State; to give defiance, and proclaim open war against them. The Romans being arrived at *Carthage*, had audience given in their Senat-house: where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing else, but that one thing which he had in charge and commission, then a principal Senator among the Carthaginians stood up and said:

“Your former Embassage, my masters of *Rome*, was even as vain as this, when ye required and
 F “would needs have *Ambial* to be yeelded unto you; as if he had beleeved *Saguntum* of his own
 “head. And as for this, that you come with now, howsoever in words it seem more mild and
 “flood, yet in deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Ambial* only
 “charged and demanded to iustice; but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and also
 “to make ample restitution and satisfaction out of hands: as if we had avowed and confessed the
 “action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the case ought thus to be laid, and the ques-
 “tion brought to this issue, not whether *Saguntum* was besieged by a privat person, or publike
 “Council; but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen
 “and subject have done this by our advice, or of himself, pertaineth to us alone, as also to censure
 “and punish him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might stand
 G “with the league to do it, or no? And therefore since it pleaseeth you, that we should dispute and
 “distinguish, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterprize
 “proceeding from his own motive; ye shall understand, that there was indeed a league between
 “you and us, contracted by *Lutetia* the Confil, wherein there is a clause, comprising the allies
 “of both parties: as concerning the *Saguntins* (who as then were none of your confederates) there
 “was not one word at all therein: but in that league, (ye will say) that was contracted with *Af-*
 “*ricus*, the *Saguntins* are expressly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but
 E “even that which I have learned of you, For ye say yourselves denied, that ye were bound to stand

to that accord which C. Laetanius your Consul first made with us, because it passed neither by consent of the nobles, nor grant of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew drawn out, and by publick agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe your leagues, unless they be authorized by the nobles, or ratified by the people, more can the league of Afrubal oblige us, which he concluded without our privy and knowledge. Forbear there fore to speak either of Saguntum, or Iberus: and what your mind hath so long conceived, let it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then Q. Fabius the Roman Ambassador, having made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his side gown, Here quoth he, within this lappet, we present and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all cried out at once with as great romack and boldness: Marry even which you will your self, I Whereat he let his robe loose again: Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongst you. Let come fay they all again, and welcome be it: and as willingly as we accept thereof, so shall we follow and manage it as thoroughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing of war, seemed more for the honor of the Romans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the covenants: a vain matter before, but now especially, after the winning and destruction of Saguntum. For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of Afrubal which was exchanged for the former of Laetanius, was not the same nor the tenor thereof to be compared: seeing that in the accord of Laetanius, this bran h and proviso was expressly added, [That it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of Afrubal, K there was no such condition at all: and besides, the covenant for so many years space during his life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrary: that when the very maker and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should have stood upon the former alliance: the Saguntins weretherein well enough complied and provided for, in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this clause added [They who at that time were allies:] nor yet were they excepted against, who afterwards should become, or be admitted allies. And seeing that it was lawful to entertain new confederates, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received unto amity for any good desert whatsoever: or being once received into protection, should not be defended accordingly? Provided always, that no allies of the Carthaginians should either be solicited to rebellion, or received again, if of themselves they once revolted.

The Roman Ambassadors, as they were commanded at Rome, passed the seas from Carthage into Spain, for to visit all the Cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their society, or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And first they came to the Bargusians, where being courteously entertained [for weary they were of the Carthaginians government] they fired up many other nations beyond Iberus, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they came to the Volcians, whose notable answer reported throughout all Spain, turned away all other States from banding with the Romans: for thus in a solemn assembly a sage and ancient father among them framed his answer, "With what face can ye Romans require us to prefer your friend ship and amity before the Carthaginians? seeing that the Saguntins who did the same, have been M more cruelly by your allies betrayed, than by their enemies the Carthaginians destroyed? By my advice go and seek you confederates there, where the woful calamity and misery of Saguntum is not known, The lamentable ruins of which City, as it is a doleful example, so it shall be a notable warning to all nations of Spain, that no man ever after repose trust in the protection of society of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the Volcians immediately, and in no Diet or Council of Spain, had they afterwards any better entertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all Spain, they took their way into Gaul: where they saw a strange sight, and a fearful fashion: for all in armour (such was the guise and manner of the country) they came to their publick assemblies: and there, these Ambassadors after they had set out in goodly words the greatness and glory of the people of Rome, N and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made request, that they would not give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make war upon Italy) for to pass through their Cities and Towns: hereat they set up such laughter, with a certain grumbling and murmuring, that scarcely could the youth be filled and quieted by the Magistrates and Elders: so foolish, so foolish, and shameless seemed this demand, in their conceit: that they should once imagine that the Gauls were such Asles, as they would be content (rather than to let the way pass into Italy) to avert and turn it upon themselves, and to suffer, yea, and offer their own territories to be spoiled and foraged, for the safety (soforth) of other mens Lands, who were but meer aliens and strangers unto them. The noise and garbail being at length hushed and appeased, this answer was returned to the Ambassadors: "That neither the Romans had deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill, at their hands, that they should take arms either for Romans, or against Carthaginians. But contrary-wise, they were advertised, that some of their nation, werety the people of Rome driven out of the marches and confines of Italy, put to pay tribute, yea, and "indured other outrages and indignities. The like demands and answers passed to and fro in other Councils and Assemblies of Gaul: neither could they meet with any friendly entertainment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to Massila: where, after diligent inquiry, and faithful search made by their allies; they had true advertisements, that Annibal

* Marcellus.

above.

above had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possessed of them: that they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of friendship: and so even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon, well fed and plied with gold, wherof that nation of all others is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Embassadors, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome, not long after that the Consil had taken their journey into their Provinces: where they found the whole City possessed with the expectation of war: so ripe and current was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the River Iberus.

Annibal after the winning of Saguntum, had retired him self to winter in new Carthage: and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed, as well at Rome, as at Carthage (in Africk) and that he was reputed not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war, so soon as he had divided and sold the reit of the booty and pillage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delays, but assembled the rouldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner, "My trusty friends and loyal confederates, I am persuaded, that ye yourselves do see as well as I now, that all the States of Spain are in peace and quietness, that either ye are to make an end of soldiery, and all our forces to be cast off and discharged from service; or else that ye must remove the war into other Lands. For to shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not only enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reap the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others. State therefore we are to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall see again your houses, and whatsoever there is dear unto you: if any of you be desirous to visit home, his wife and children, kinsfolks, and friends, I give him license and free passport. But I command you withal, to shew your selves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring: that with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby we shall purchase both worship and wealth. There was not one in a manner but, well accepted of this liberty so frankly offered by himself, and were desirous to have a sight of house and land both for that every one ready longed for their friends and kindred, and for as yet in farther time to come, a greater mis, and cause of more longing after them. This reit all Winter time, between their travels path, and those they D were soon after to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new pains whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edict aforesaid, they all assembled together again. Annibal having taken a muster and survey of the aids that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to Gades: and there, to Hercules he paid his old vows, and bound himself to new, if the reit of his enterprises should speed well and have good success. After this, dividing and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive war, doubting lest whiler he went by Land through Spain and France into Italy, Africk should lie open and naked to the Romans from Sicily side: purposed to forsake and make that part sure with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of Africk, especially of Archers and Javelottiers, and those lightly armed: to the end, that the Africans might serve in E Spain, and the Spaniards in Africk: like (both the one and the other) to prove the better soldiers, far from their own countries, and being bound as it were, with mutual and reciprocal pledges. So he sent into Africk 13850 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 slingers of the Islands: * Baleares, 1200 Horsemen also out of sundry Nations, Which forces he disposed, partly for the defence of Carthage, and partly to be divided through Africk, for the guard thereof. He sent withal, certain Commissioners into all their Cities to take up soldiery, and enrolled 400 of their chosen youths, who should be brought to Carthage, there to lie in garrison, and to serve for hostages. And supposing that Spain was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not ignorant how the Roman Ambassadors had visited the same round to see how they could solicit and work the Princes and rulers to their mind, he committed the charge of that Province to his brother Afrubal, a valiant and hardy man: and furnished him with good forces, especially out of Africk, to wit, 11850 Africans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balear Islanders. To this power of footmen, three hundred Horse of the * Libyphoenicians, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians and Africans, Of Numidians and Moors, that coast upon the Ocean, 1900, with a small corner of 200 Horsemen of Ibergetes out of Spain. And because he should want no manner of Land help, fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the Sea-coasts. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely, that they would fill maintain and continue their wars, so Gallies there fore of five banks of oars, he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and mariners, and so were the G five of three banks.

From Gades, the army of Annibal returned to winter in Carthage: and from thence he passed by the City * Etroussa, and marched forward with his forces to Iberus and the Sea-coasts. Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamed, and saw a vision namely, a young man of divine shape and semblance, saying, That he was sent from Jupiter to guide him in his voyage into Italy, and willed him therefore to follow him, and in no way to turn his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first he being scared and affrighted durst not look either about or behind, but followed him still: afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when he cast and discoursed in his

The speech of Annibal to his Spanish soldiery.

* Cadix, or Cadix Males, or Cadix.

* Two Islands, Malisula, and Mauritania, Of Rome, Columbia and Nara.

* Within the Kingdom of Tunis. * Inhabitory build it guide.

* Hittus or Melitana, The village of Annibal.

his mind, what it might be, that he was forbidden so to see behind him, he could not hold and rule his eyes, but must needs look back: and then he beheld behind him, a report of huge greatness coming again, and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets; and after all that, he perceived a great storm and tempest coming, with mighty thunder-claps. Now when he was desirous to know what this to be, common and strange sight might signify, he heard a voice, saying, That it befokened the time and waiting of Italy, whilest him they force to go hill forward with his voyage, and fear not further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave them to the hidden destinies: *Annibal* signe joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his whole power, divided into three parts, having sent certain before him with gifts and rewards, into all parts wheres he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the Gauls; and wisheth, to seek out and discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the River *Iberus* with 30000 foot, and 13000 Horses, strong. After this, he subdued the *Illyriæ*, the *Bargaulians*, *Auleians*, and

* The people of Pertus, * Morali, in C. * Idem, in C. * Galket.

* Granada, or Almaria, * Rofelin.

* The river Po, * The City Plaisance, * Medina.

* Garbafin.

Aquitain, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenæ*. The government of all these Nations, he let over to *Hanno*, that he might have at his command the heights which joyned *Prælia* and *Spain* together. Unto whom he allowed 10000 footmen, and 1000 horses, for to defend and keep inobedience those countries. After that his army was on foot, and began to march through the forest *Pyrenæus*, and that there ran among the barbarous people a more certain bruit. That they were to make war with the Romans; three thousand footmen of the *Carpetans*, returned back: and for certain it was known, that they departed not for fear so much of the war, as the tedious journey and unpassable wayes of the *Alpes*. *Annibal*, considering that either to retreat, or to keep them by violence, was a dangerous matter; for fear lest thereby he should provoke the fierce stomacks of the rest; sent home again above 7000 *Illyriæ*, as he perceived to be weary, and to have no mind to the service: and made semblance withal, that the *Carpetans* were by his leave discharged. And doubting lest long stay and ease there, might tempt his soldiers, and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed *Pyrenæus*, and pitched his Camp before the Town of *Ilberis*. The Gauls, albeit they were advertised, that it was *Illyriæ*, were by force subdued; yet because the bruit was blazed, that the Spaniards beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and strong garrisons placed in their Cities: certain Nations of them, for fear of the Trade and bondage, rose up in arms, and assembled together at *Rufino*. Which being related to *Annibal*, he fearing more that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight, sent certain *Orators* or *Embassadors* to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them, that himself in person would gladly parley with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they would come nearer to *Ilberis*, or himself go forward to *Rufino*. Where, being met together, they might more easily meet and confer. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp, and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto them himself, as one that was thither come, as a friend and guest unto *France*, and not as an enemy: and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the Gauls would let him alone) before he were entered within *Italy*. And thus much verily passed by messengers and couriers between. But so soon as the Lords of *France*, who presently removed their camp to *Ilberis*, were come willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being bribed and corrupted with money and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their countries along the Town *Rufino*.

In *Italy* this while, the *Embassadors* of *Marcellus* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that *Annibal* was only gone over *Iberus*; but, by that time, the *Boii* had stirred up the *Insubrians* to mutiny, and were revolted themselves, even as if he had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did not so much upon old rancor and malice to the people of *Rome*, as for that, they took it ill, and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the Gauls country, to be planted about *Padus*, *Placentia* and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, took arms, and entered by force into those parts, and made so foul work and fearful havoc, that not only the country people and villagers, but also the three Roman Commissioners called *Triumvirs*, to wit, *Caius N. Lucilius*, *Ant. Servilius*, and *Titus Annius*, who were come to set out the Lands and territory to the said Colonies, not trusting the walls of *Placentia*, fled to *Medina*. That *Lucilius* was one of them, it is not doubted: but some records have *Q. Aclius* and *C. Hærennius*, instead of *A. Servilius* and *T. Annius*; and others again, nominate *P. Cornelius Afina*, and *C. Papirius Mafio*. It is uncertain also, whether they were the *Embassadors* sent to the *Boii*, to reason of expulsiat the matter, that had above offered them, and were evil intreated; or that the *Triumvirs* above said, were for upon and assailed as they were measuring out the Lands. But whiles they were thus besieged at *Medina*, and those *Boians* lying at siege (a nation unkillit altogether in the fear of assaulting Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly to attempt any martial exploits) whiles they lay idly about the walls, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman *Embassadors* or Commissioners, being by the chief of the Gauls called out to parley, were not only against law of nations, but with breach also of their faithful promise, and word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the Gauls said plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news touching the *Embassadors* being reported and *Medina* with the garrison in danger: *L. Manlius* the Pretor, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more hast than good order, before *Medina*. There were in those dayes great woods about the high way, and most part of the country

wilds and waits, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his espials, was intrapped within an ambush; lost many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champaign country. There he incamped himself strongly: and for that the Gauls had no heart to assault, nor hope to seize a shew of soil, and knew their forces to be much impaired. Then began he to march on, in not in sight: but when they were entered the forests again, they set upon the rearward of them: the place, and the enemies went away with his ensigns. But afterwards, the Gauls ceased to molest and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear, so soon as they were passed, and escaped the rough, symbrous, and unpassable forests. And the Romans being now able in the open and champaign country to march with safety, made hast to get to *Tarentum*, a village near unto the river, and the aid also of certain Gauls called *Brixians*, they defended themselves against the enemies, whose number daily encreased. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the *LL*, of the Senat were advertised, that besides the war with the *Carthaginians*, the Gauls were up in arms: they gave order, that *C. Atilius* the Pretor should go (with him a Roman Legion, and four thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consul *Scipio* to aid *Manlius*: who without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) to aid *Manlius*: who *Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Pretor, departed from the City of *Rome*, and passing with 60 Gauls along the coasts of *Tifany*, *Liguria*, and so forward of the *S. Iser*, shortly arrived at *Medina*, and encamped near the next mouth of *Rhodanus*: (for the river is divided into many branches; and so discharge it self into the Sea) being not fully of belief that *Annibal* as yet had passed over the mountains *Pyrenæ*. But when he understood that he was ready, even then to pass *Rhodanus* also; and doubting in what place to encounter and meet him, his people as yet not recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before 300 elect men of arms, guided by the *Malissians*, and certain Gauls that came to aid: for to desciver all, and to take a full view of the enemies lately without danger.

* Tarent.

* Of Brixia.

* Rhodanus.

* Avigens.

Annibal having appeased the rest of the country, either for fear or by means of money, was now come into the country of the *Volcans*: a pusillart people and a valiant. These inhabit along both the banks of *Rhodanus*; and mistrusting that they were notable to defend their Lands against the *Carthaginians*, on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampier, transported over the *Rhospe* all in manner that ever they had, and kept the bank on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants next to the River, and even those also in whose territories *Annibal* had let foot already, both he himself with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping; and to frame new vessels: and they themselves likewise, were as willing to have his army transported and their own country eased and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Whereupon, there was got together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially, which were made in hast without great workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby used to transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new wharries also, the Gauls began first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees; and after them, the soldiers for that they had both store of timber and saw the workmanship but slight and easy, made in hast certain bottoms, such as they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handiworkmen at all, so they would but float on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over themselves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all ready for their passage, the enemies on the other side sight against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horses, putting them to much trouble and fear. *Annibal* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno* the son of *Bomilcar*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one first could espie a convenient place, to cross the river, and to land as secretly as he could: and then Hereunto were appointed certain Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25 miles above, to a little Island compassed about with the river, which here spread out in breadth, by place of passage. There, in all hast they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats to let over to vessels of leather like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, sat aloft and let over. The rest of the army also, with joyning planks and troughs together, was toilsome work, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was occupied, to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The morrow after they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed over and not far off. Which when *Annibal* perceived, for that he would not lose the vintage of that time, he gave signal to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen already their boats prepared and fitted. And the couriers and tanks of barges (which to receive and break

nothing inferior, either in wealth and puissance, or in fame and reputation to any people or State of the Gauls whatsoever. But at that very time there was some discord and variance among them, by occasion of two brethren who were at strife for the crown and Kingdom: the elder, whose name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Signory; the elder, whose name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Signory; the younger brother, and a lully crew of the youth; who as they had els right on their side, fo they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was referred and put over unto *Ambul*, in good and fit time for his purpose, as he could have wished: and the foreloft was made the umpire and judge, to determine whether of them should be King. And he restored the elder to the Kingdom: like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the country. For which benefit and good turn, he was rewarded with signal, and store of all things abundantly, yea and with payment and apparel, which he was driven to provide aforehand, for the name that went of the *Alps*, which for their coldness were in great distress.

Having thus appeased the debate of the Allobroges, and minding now to set forward to the *Alps*, he would forego the direct straight way, but turned on the left hand to the *Tri* alpins, and from thence passing by the frontiers of the *Vocontins*, he marched into the *Tri* alpins; and never was he stayed or impeaded in his journey before that came to the River *Druentis*; which defending also out of the *Alps*, is of all other Rivers in *France* most hard to be passed over: for although it carry with it a mighty force of water, yet still it becoms so vefel, because it is kept and restrained with no banks, but running at once by many divers chanel, maketh ever

* The people of Savoy according to Strabo, but Diodorus, calls them *Alpi*, also *Martianus*, *Ricmann*, and others.

* Entrenched in *Po*uence, *Tri* alpins, *Vocontins*, *Val de Vige* the country *Bellos*, *Tri* alpine of *Crane*, *Danants*.

While the Elephants were thus transporting over, *Annibal* in the mean time had sent 500 Numidian light Horsemen to the Romans camp, as espials to discover the grounds where they were to learn what forces they had, and listen after their designs and purposes. This wing and troop was encountered by three hundred Roman Horsemen, sent as a forefall, from the mouth of *Rhodanus*: where there was a more cruel skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many hurt, there were slain on both sides in a manner alike; but in the end, the fear and flight of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, being now already much traveiled and wearied: on whose part (being the winners) were slain 160 not 100 Romans, but some Gauls: and on the losers whole part (being the overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognostication it were fide who that it portended and prefiged an happy end and success to the whole unto the Romans: of the war as it portended and prefiged an happy end and success, not without much effusion of blood, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each one to his own Captain. As for *Scipio*, he could not resolve to take any count himself; but according as he saw the pious and enterprizes of the enemy, to frame his own, and *Annibal* according as he saw the pious and enterprizes of the enemy, to frame his own, and to give battle gain being uncertain whether to go forward with his journey begun, into Italy, or to give battle unto the first army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all present conflict by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the *Boii*, and of a great Lord and Potentate, called *Matalus*, who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and companions in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and set upon Italy first of all before any

[illegible]

Annibal being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the most part through the champion countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the *Alps*; for any trouble from the peacountries, they had he had some knowledge of the *Alps* before by report; yet it seems that there inhabited. And albeit he had some knowledge of the *Alps* before by report, yet (which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet (which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet (which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are)

(which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet (which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet (which were) made things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are)

A **p**oſe to lead his army ſafe through the ſtreights, if he loſt the carriages : for fear hereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeir, with the violence of his charge, he diſcomfited the enemy, yet he encreaſed the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was ſoon appeaſed in a very moment, after the wayes and paſſages were once cleared, by reason of the Mountaineers that were ſled : ſo that within a while the whole hoſt paſſed through, not only at eaſe and leiſure, but alſo in a manner without any noiſe at all. This done, he retired upon a Cattel, which was the chief ſtrength of that country, with other villages lying about it : and for three dayes ſpace he viſtalled and maintained his whole army, with the Cattel of his priſoners. And for that he was now neither moleſted with the Mountaineers, who were at the fiſt diſcomfited, nor

B greatly encumbered with the difficulties of the wayes, in choſe three dayes he rid a good deal of ground, and journeyed a great way into the country : until at the length he came to another coaſt well peopled (for ſuch Mountain and Hilly quarters) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his own proſpected cunning : fiſt, by a ſubtile practice, and after by a ſecret ambuſh. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governours of the Citieſes, repaired unto *Annibal* as Orators, ſaying, That they having been taught and made wiſe, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choiſe, rather to trye the amity, than prove the force of the Carthaginians : and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his devotion : requeſting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey. yea, and hoſtages alſo for better affurance of promiſes to be performed. *Annibal* neither overhaſtily believing them, nor yet churliſhly diſtruſting, after trying their offer, lett being rejected and calloſe anſwer, received the hoſtages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but ſo, as his army was not diſtraied in their march, as it he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable country. Fiſt, went in the van-guard the Elephants, and the Horſemen : himſelf marched after with the flower and ſtrength of his Footmen, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So ſoon as he was entered a narrow paſſage, which of the one ſide lay under a ſteep Hill that commanded them aloft, the barbarous people roſe out of their ambuſh from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neerer hand : yea, and rolled down mighty huge ſtones upon them as they marched. But the greateſt number came be hind upon their backs : againſt whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tall both of his army, had not been ſtrong and well fortified) they muſt needs have received in that lane and ſtreights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a preſent miſchief. For whiles *Annibal* made long ſtay, and doubted whether he ſhould engage the Regiment of footmen within the ſtreights, for that he had not left any ſuccours in the rereguard to back the footmen, like as himſelf was a defence to the Horſemen : the mountaineers came overthrowward, and flanked them : and breaking through the files of the battel, beſet the way, and croſſed upon him. So that *Annibal* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horſemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more coldly than before, he joyned his forces together, and paſſed the ſtreight not without great damage and loſſe : but with more hurt of the ſumpter Horſes than of men. After this, the Mountaineers (fewer in number, and in robbing wile rather than in warlike ſort) ran in heaps, one while upon the van-guard, other while upon the rereguard, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by ſtaying another while behind, win and catch any occaſion and opportunity. The Elephants as they were driven with their leiſure, becauſe through thoſe narrow ſtreights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their notes : ſo that way ſoever they went, they kept the army ſafe and ſure from the enemies ; who being not uſed unto them, durſt not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the *Alps*, through by-lanes

F and blind cranks : after he had wandred many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulneſs of their guides : or for that when they durſt not truſt them, they adventured raſhly themſelves upon the vallics, and gueſſed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two dayes abode he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the ſouldiers wearied with travel and fight reſted that time : certain alſo of the ſumpter Horſes (which had ſlip and ſlown from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, came to the camp. When they were thus overtaken and wearied with theſe tedious travels, the know that fell (for now the ſtat *Vergily*, was ſet and gone down out of that horizon) increaſed their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the ſigns were ſet forward, and the army marched ſlowly, through the thicke and deep ſnow ; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, fooliſhneſs and deſperation : *Annibal* advanced before the ſtandards, and commanded his ſouldiers to lay upon a certain high Hill, (from whence they had a goodly proſpect and might fee a great way all about them) and there ſhewed unto them *Italy*, and the goodly champaign fields about the *Po*, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine Mountains : ſaying, That even then they mounted the wals, not only of *Italy*, burſo of the City of *Rome* : as for all beſides, (ſaith he) will be plain and eaſy to be travelled : and after one or two battels at the moſt, ye ſhall have at your command, the very Cattle and head City of all *Italy*. Then began the army to march forward : and as yet the enemies verily themſelves adventured nothing at all, but ſome petty robberies by ſeaſth, as opportunity and occaſion ſerved.

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Howbeit they had much more difficult travelling down the hill, than in the climbing and getting H up; for that most of the passages to the *Alp* from *And* side, as they be thoner, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled were so little, as they could possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well as Horie as Man. After this they came to a much narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep down right, that hardly a nimble souldier without his armor and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of it self steep and pendant with a down-fall, now was choked and dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous height. There the Horie-men stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when *Annibal* marvelled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they marched not on: word was brought him, that the Rock was unaccessible and unpassable, Whereupon he went himself in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compass about, yet he had gained nothing thereby, but conducted his army, to passe through wilds and such places as before had never been beaten and troden; And verily that (of all other) was such as it was impossible to pass through. For, whereas there lay old snow untouched and not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a small depth: in this soft and tender snow, and the fame not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold: but that snow, being once with the going of so many people and beasts upon it, fretted and chewed, they were faine to go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the slippery snow, broas it is relented and melted about their heels. There they had soule ado and much struggling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slippery ice: and again going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees: if they chanced to fall again, when those their props and stayes deceived them, there were no twigs nor roots about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poor beasts could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the slippery and glasse ice, and the molten slabby snow. Otherwhiles also, they perished, as they went in the deep snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once flidden and fallen, with flinging out their heels, and beating with their hoofs more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the ice. I through: so as most of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck still in the deep, hard frozen, and congealed ice. At last, when as both man and beast were wearied and overtired, and all to no purpose, they enamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado clenched the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be digged, shovelled, and thrown out. This done, the souldiers were brought to break that rock, through which was their only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrow many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind stirred fly for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set al a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereon Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with pickes-axes, and made the M descent gentle and easy, by means of moderate windings and turnings: so as not only the Hories and other beasts, but even the Elephants also might be able to go down. For dayes he spent about the levelling of this rock: and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of graze: and look what forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers withal, near unto the woods, yea, and places more meet and becoming for men to inhabit. There were the labouring beasts put out to graze and pasture, and the souldiers that were wearied with making the wayes, had three dayes allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain country, where they found both the place more easy and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants more tractable.

In this manner, and by this means principally, entred the Carthagiuians into *Italy*, five months after they departed from new *Carthage* (as some write) : and within fifteen dayes overcame and passed the *Alps*. What power *Annibal* had, when he was arrived in *Italy*, the historians do not agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong: they that make the least of it, say they were 20000 foot, and 6000 horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who hath delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by *Annibal* (a writer of great authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that he setteth down the number of confusely, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recordeth, that counting them, the Infantry was 80000, and the Cavalry 10000, which was conducted into *Italy* (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some Authors do report) and that he heard from *Annibal* his own mouth, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 36000 men, and a great number of Hories and other beasts of burden. When he was come down into the *Taurins* Country, which was the next Nation in *Italy*, adjoining to the Gauls. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which side he went over the *Alps*: and that commonly it is believed that he passed by a place called *Penninus*, and that thereupon the top of the *Alps* took the name, and was called, *Celivus* faith, he took his way over by the top of *Cremona*: both which passages surely would have

brought

A brought him not into the Taurin country, but through the mountain foretts, unto the Gauls, called *Lipuri*. But neither is it probable, that in those days the same passages were open into *Fra*: considering, that the ways which led to *Penninus* were environed with nations all *Germani*. And certainly the *Veragians*, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build upon this conjecture) never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the *Carchaginians*, that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the pealants and mountaineers called *Penninus*.

Very happily and fitly it fell out for the enterprise of his first designs, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto was made war upon the Insubrians, But *Annibal* being busied in refreshing his army (that now had most feeling of their harms which they had caught before) could not arm the same to the aid and gratifying of either party: for ease after travel, plenty upon fear, and good keeping and delicate, after loathsome nativities, did by a sudden change greatly alter and stemper their lean and pinned bodies, well near larded and wild grown. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pisa*, after he had received of *Mamilius Attilius* an army of new and raw fouldiers, feigned for some shameful disgrace and defeat lately received, made haste and bighed him to the *Po*, for to give battel unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had dislodged and removed his camp, and won by assault the chief City or Town of the Taurins, because it willingly yielded not to accept of his amity and protection; and luredly not by fear only, but also of voluntary good will, he had gained unto him the Gauls that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sudden coming of the Consul interrupted and surprized them, as they were calling about to spie some opportunity of rebellion. So *Annibal* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurins country, with this opinion, that the Gauls especially being doubtful as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in sight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well known one unto the other, so they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration one of the other. For as *Annibal* was much renowned, and his name right well known among the Romans, even since before *Saguntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and reputed for some singular and excellent man, in that he effectually above all other, was chosen General against him. Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behind in *France*, yet he met *Annibal*, and was ready to make head against him, so soon as he was passed the *Alps*: and *Annibal* again, because having enterprised to great an adventure, as to pass the *Alps*, and now brought his camp to good effect. But *Scipio* to prevent *Annibal* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Ticinus*: and for to encourage his fouldiers, before he brought them forth to battel, he made an Oration unto them; and began in this manner.

them; and began in this manner,

"My valiant fouldiers and truithy friends, if I were now to lead that army into the field, which I had with me in *France*, I would have foreborn to make any speeche at all unto you for to what I purpose need I to exhort, either that Cavalry, which so valiantly had vanquished the horiemen of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as it were, even these very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battle, I take to be a confession of victory? But now for as much as that army, being indeed levied for the province *Spain*, serveth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commiffion, where it pleaceth the Senat and people of *Rome*, they should be employed, to the end that they might have a Consul to be your Captain, against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians; I have willingly offered my self to this war. If being then, your new Captain, and you my new fouldiers, meet it is and convenient I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the manner of this service, or quality of your enemy; with those men ye are to fight, whom in the former Punick war ye overcame both by land and sea; of whom for these twenty years ye have received tribute; from whom ye have won (as the due wages and reward of the war) *Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, and them do hold and occupy. In this battle therefore, both you and they are to carry that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and losers are to befor never think that it is valor and hardines that provoketh them now to fight, but meer necessity and compulsion enforceth them to the field. Unless you will believe, that they who when they had an entire army and unfoiled, refused battle, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they have lost two parts of their horle and foot, in the very passage of the *Alps*; and of whom, they have more perished in a manner, than remain alive. But will some man say, True it is, few they are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whole strength & pufiance, no force is hardly able to abate. Images they are, nay, to say more truly, the very shadows of men, and no better; with hunger bitt, with cold fared, left for want of keeping, spoiled with maffines, and filthy ordure, bruised and weakned among hard rocks and craggy cliffs: over and besides, joints and marrow dried up and burnt, their fiewes shrunk, hard, and stiff again with cold and chilling snow, their limbs finged with bitter frost, their armor crufted, bruised and their weapons broken; their horles, no other then lame jades and poor hide-bound Tits. See what harmen lo what footmen ye are to fight withal. Believe me, ye shall have the very relatives and last remnants of enemies, and not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing fear I more than this, that before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the *Alps* already have vanquished

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"vanquished and defeated *Annibal*. But peradventure it was so meet, and reason would, that the gods themselves without mans help, should against that Captain and nation, which had broken league and covenants, begin the war first, set it in good forwardness, and bring it to the point of an end: and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should finish the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to us good a pain, I fear not that any man here doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only for to hearten you; and that my self think otherwise in heart, then I speak with tongue. I might have gone my self well enough into *Spain*, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been sometime) and with an army of mine own: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my distresses, and a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Adrubal* rather than *Annibal* mine enemy, and "no doubt" the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I failed by the coast of *France*, and upon the bruit and news of this enemy was set a land, I sent my Cavalry before and removed camp as far as to *Rhodanus*, and in a battell of horsemen (for with that part of my forces it was my hap to encounter and fight) I discomfited the enemy: and for that by land I could not overtake his Infantry, so hastily they marched away, like men that fled) I was faine to return to the sea, and embark again into my ships: and with as great expedition and speed as I could make (considering to great a compass about of sea and land) at the very foot of the *Alps*, I was ready to encounter and affront him. Can he be thought then, that whiles I stummed and avoided fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and redoubted enemy? or rather, that I followed him hard at heels? and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battell, thereby to K have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make trial, whether all of a sudden the earth hath brought forth for these twenty years, Carthaginians, of whom ye sent away, and let go from *Eryx*, valued after the rate of 18. * deniers a piece, and no more: and fain would I see, whether this *Annibal* be the concurrent of *Hercules*, to undertake his journeys and voyages, as he saith himself: or that he is tormented in conscience for the outrage and cruelty committed upon *Saguntum*, would have some respect and regard, if not of his native country (conquered and subdued) yet of his own house, of the peace and covenants written ten by his father *Amilcar*, and his own hand: *Amilcar* (I say) who at the commandment of our I. Confulmeured his garrison from *Eryx*: who fuming and storming, received with sorrowful heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians: who capitulated and covenanted to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay a tribute to the people of *Rome*: I would have you therefore (my hardy souldiers) to fight against him, not only with the same courage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of choler & indignation, as if you should see your own servants and slaves on a sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might well, if we had been so minded when they were encloied and shut fast within *Eryx*, have put them to the utmost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our victorious Armado into Africa, and within few days forced and razed *Carthage*, without any M battell fought. We pardoned them at their humble request and took them to mercy: we let them M out where they were besieged and beleaguered; and notwithstanding that they were by us subdued, we made peace, and contracted amity with them: and afterward, when they were molested and distressed with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recompence of these good favours and demerits, they come against us, under the leading of an humorous brain-sick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had pleased God, that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, as in times past: but for our freedom, and the inheritance of *Italy*: and that which more is, there is no army behind our backs, to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance to fall of victory: neither are there any more *Alps*, which while he is getting over, we might have N leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place, we must stand to it, and make resistance, as if we were fighting under *Rome* walls. Let every man think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and little children: and let every one regard and take care, not for his privat affairs and domestical charges, but often consider this, That even now the Senat and people of *Rome* beholdeth and seeth our hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it self, such from henceforth will the state and fortune be, of that City and Empire of *Rome*.

These words had the Consul to the Romans. But *Annibal*, supposing that his men were first to be encouraged by representation of some deeds, & then exhorted with words having marshalled his army in a round compass (as it were), to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst of them all, the prisoners mountaineers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and calling down at their feet, the armor and weapons of the Galls, he demanded of them by a truchman or interpreter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would with no better, and not one of them but called for a sword, & required to fight: and thereupon, the lots were shuffled to be cast, & not one there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat.

Then

A Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerfulness and contentment of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and so (hastily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same state and condition, as also in those who stood there as spectators only in the multitude to look on: that no less happy and fortunate were they accounted, whose chance it was to die in the place, then those who had the upper hand. Upon the fight of some couples that were thus matched in combat, he dismissed them and whiles he saw them in this good mind, so well affected and resolute, then he assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he spake unto them.

B "My valorous souldiers, if in the consideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but bear that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the state of others: the journey is ours, and we have the victory. For that was not a dumb shew and bare pageant, but a very mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compassed about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your own selves, or your prisoners. On both hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed ye are, and shut up within two seas: and have not so much as one ship to embark in for to escape away, and save your selves. Before you neer at hand is the *Po*, a greater river, and more violent then *Rhodanus*: behind you are the *Alps* to hem you in: the *Alps*, I say, which ye hardly passed when you were in heart and lusty. Here mult ye either get victory (irs) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountered your enemy: and the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight, presenteth and profereth unto you C (if you go away with victory) such rewards, as men use not to wish for greater and more honorable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour we should but recover and win again *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which were got from our fathers: those were rewards and prizes sufficient: but now, over and besides, what riches or treasure the Romans in so many triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours yet, and the owners thereof themselves withal. Go to it then a Gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining so rich a booty and reward. Ye have all this while been long enough a courting and chafing; the wild beasts in the wide and desart mountains of * *Lusitania* and * *Celiberia*, and have been no recompence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to serve in D the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your Labour and painful service: you that have measured so long a voyage, passed over so many mountains and rivers, and marched through so many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where fortune hath set down the utmost bound, and pitched the farthest point & limit of your labors: here will she give you a condigne recompence and salary, after you have served and followed the wars the full time, by order and law required. Never think that the victory will be so hardly achieved, as the war in game is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no reckoning and regard, hath given a bloody battell: ya, most noble States, most renowned and glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an head been overthrown. For, setting aside this goodly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you E to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years (pace, with such valour and happy success: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so many nations of *Spain*, and most fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus far with victory. And now shall ye fight with an army of new and untrained souldiers, who no longer ago then this very summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished and besieged by the Gallician army (to say a truth) not known at all to their own Captain, & as little acquainted with him. And to speak of mine own person, if not born yet at leastwise brought up in the very tent and royal pavilion of my father (a most noble warrior and renowned Captain of his time) who have subdued *Spain*, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the *Alps*, but that which is much more, the very *Alps* themselves. Should I make comparison between my self, and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto F and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto whom, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romans together, without their ensignes and colours, he could not tell, I dare well say, of whether army he were the leader and Consul. For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often seen and beheld my self in person, performing some warlike and military exploit: and unto whom I (as beholder and eye witness of his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & service. Then ye praised and commended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & presents. And even I (who have been a souldier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General) will march in battell against them, that know not one another, and are unknown likewise unto their Captain.

G Which way soever I turn and cast mine eyes, me thinks, I see all full of courageous stomach, and so forcible puissance. The footmen, old bearen and practised souldiers, lances and men of arms, with bard horses, and the light horsemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardy and valiant Nations: of one side, most faithful and resolute allies; on the other, doughty Carthaginians, ready to fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. We come of our selves to make war, and we descend into *Italy* with banners displayed, resolved to fight with so much more courage, as they commonly who are assailants, have greater stomach and more hope then the defendants. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked

"on and provoked with sense of injuries and indignities. First and foremost they required, that your General should be delivered unto them; as a condemned prisoner at the bar: they they would have had all you that were at the assault of Saguntum yielded up into their hands, to be put to most extreme tortures & execution. A people they are, full of all excessive cruelty, insolent and proud beyond all measure; they would have but all in their power, and at their disposal; they must prescribe, limit, and set down, with whom we should war; with whom we may make peace; restraining and enclosing us within the terms and bounds of hills and rivers; which, forsooth, we must not pass; and they themselves keep not the limits, which they appoint. Pass not (say they) *Iberus* in any wise; meddle not at all with the Saguntines: Come not near them, *Saguntum* standeth upon the river *Iberus*; step nor one foot forward; we advise you. If I suffice not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, *Stellis* and *Sardinia*, unless they may have away *Spain* too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that Realm also, they would not stay there, but will pass over straight into *Africa*; stay; they have sent over this year already two Consuls, the one into *Africa*, the other into *Spain*: nothing have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the sword's point. Well may they be cowards, and play the idle larks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through ways without danger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make account of no mean designs between victory and death, but upon certain despatch of all shifts besides, either to obtain victory; or if fortune shall fail and give us the foil, chuse rather to die fighting, than to be killed flying. If this be setled and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your resolution, I will say once again, The day is yours. A more pointed and sharper good, than this, to provoke men to victory, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the soldiers hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romans made a bridge over *Ticinus*; and for defence of the bridge, erected a fence and fort thereupon. But *Annibal* being the enemies were busy at work, sent *Maharbal* with a Cornet of Numidians; to the number of 500. light horsemen, to overrun and waste the territories belonging to the allies of the people of *Rome*: commanding him withal, to make as great spare of the Gauls as he could, and to solicit and persuade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the Gauls was finished, the Roman army passed over the *Indubians* country, encamped themselves upon certaine hills, five miles off from a village where *Annibal* also lay in camp: who seeing there was a battel toward, sent speedily for *Maharbal* back again, and the horsemen: and thinking belike, that he could never say enough to his soldiers, and admonish them sufficiently to do well, and animate them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience; where he proposed; and promised unto them openly, certain assured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight manly. *Impressis*, that he would endow them with fair lands in *Italy*, *Africa*, or *Spain*, where they would themselves, to have, and to enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever as free hold in frank tenure, without service: if any one would chuse to have money rather than land, him he would content with silver. Item, of the allies, as many as hereafter were desirous to be enfranchised: Citizens of *Carthage*, they should have their free burgeoisie; & those that had a mind rather to return home again, M he would endeavor and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would wish for to exchange his state with any of his neighbors and countrymen whatsoever. Last of all, look what bond-servants attended and followed their masters, to them he promised freedom; and that in lieu of them, he would deliver again unto their masters, two for one, of the slaves taken captives in war. And that they might be assured, that he would perform all these promises, he held with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flint stone, and prayed solemnly, That if he failed herein, *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods, would fo kill him, as he flew that Lamb: and presently after his prayer done, he smote the Lamb on the head, and dasht out the brains. Whereat they all every one, conceived and embraced assured hope unto themselves, that the goddiss *Ammon* and were on their side: and supposing that the only stay of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their N rewards, was, because they had not fought already: with one heart and voice they called for battel.

The Romans for their part, were nothing so lusty for besides other things; they were affrighted with new prodigies and fearful sights. For it happened that a Wolf entered their camp, & after he had worried and torn those that came in his way, escaped unhurt. Also a swarm of Bees settled upon a tree that grew over the General's pavilion. Which strange tokens being purged and cleared by an expiatory sacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavalry and darts lightly appointed, went toward the camp of the enemy to view their forces, and to observe how many and of what condition and quality they were; and there he encountered *Annibal*, who also was gone forth with his horsemen to discover the country about. At the first they saw not one another, but afterwards, by reason of the thick dust that rose upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached near. On both sides the battalions made a stand, and every man buckled himself to the skirmish. *Scipio* placed his Archers and horsemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and strength of Allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the rereguard. *Annibal* set in this battel, his great barbed horses with his lances and men of arms, and strengthened the wings with Numidian horsemen. The very first charge and shout was scarce done, when the Archers afore said retired among the rereguard in the second battalions: by occasion whereof, the horsemen alone fought a good while in equal

A equal battel; yea, and after wards, because the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and disordered the horses, many either fell, or else alighted from their horses, to go thither where they saw their fellows to be environed and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, shewed themselves behind the backs of the Romans: this fearful sight troubled them greatly, and the fear was increased by reason of the Consul his hurt: the extreme danger whereof, was put by and avoided by the rescue of his son (then a very tripling as yet, and scarce had a year upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happy ending this war, summoned afterwards upon the noble victory and memorable conquest over *Annibal* and the Carthaginians *Africanus*. But the Archers were they that fled fastest away, even the whom the Numidians set upon first: The rest that were horsemen, keeping thick and close together, recovered their Consul within their files into the midst of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him back late into the camp: retiring all the way rather disorderly, nor like fearful men over hastily. The honor of saving the Consul, *Caelius* attributeth unto a bond slave of *Liguria*. But I verily would rather believe it of the son: which also the greater number of authors do affirm, but the common lame goeth of the said bond slave. This was the first battel with *Annibal*: wherein it easily appeared, that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field such as were between the *Po* and the *Alps*, were not so good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore *Scipio* commanded his soldiers secretly without any noise to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and removed from *Ticinus*, and made haste to *Po*: that whiles his boats were not yet unloosed one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same back again. And they came to *Placentia* before that *Annibal* knew they were departed from *Ticinus*; howbeit, he took some of them that made stay on the higher side of the bank, as they were too slow about disjoining and loosening the forehead bridge of boats: upon which he could not pass over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all, went down the water with the stream. *Caelius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horses, and Spanish footmen, presently swam over the river; and that *Annibal* himself led over his army at the upper floods of *Po*: for which purpose, he set the Elephants along on a row to break and bear off the violence and stream of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it soundeth not like a truth, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe, could overcome to great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather vessels, and besides, they had needed many days to fetch a compass for to find the foord of *Po*, over which, the army (laden with carriage) might be conveyed. But those authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that scarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spanish light horsemen were sent that way over before.

Whiles *Annibal* on this side of the River, staid in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls, he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, *Mago* and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one * days journey apiece toward the enemies at *Placentia*. And *Annibal* (few days after) encamped himself strongly far miter from *Placentia*: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battel. The night following there was a petty massacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboil and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, having slain the warders at the gates, fled away to *Annibal*: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawn them on in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his own City and Country, to solicit and persuade their countrymen to side with him. *Scipio* taking that massacre as a foretoken and overture to the Gauls revolt in general; and supposing, that now being one gully and tainted with this offence, they would in a madnes run all to take arms and rise. Although still he were fore of his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched thily, and removed his camp near the river *Trebia*, into the higher countries, and hills, that were more troublesome for men of arms. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at *Ticinus*. For *Annibal* having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavalry without question had disordered and endamaged the rereguard, but that the Numidians for greediness of prey and booty, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forsaken of the Romans. Where, whiles they spent time in ransacking and sifting every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the stay) the enemy escaped their hands. And when as they had espied that the Romans were newly got over *Trebia*, and pitched over a plot for a camp, they intercepted a few of them that lingered about the river, and flow them. *Scipio* not able now to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reason of the shaking and flogging of his body as he travelled, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consul his Collegue, (whom he heard already to be sent for out of *Sicily*) chose out a place near theriver which seemed most safe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. *Annibal* also lay not far off in camp: who as he was proud upon the late battel of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of visuals, which scarcity increased upon him every day more and more.

* About 27 English miles, as a, peared betwixt in this book.

as he travelled through the enemies country, finding in no place provisions beforehand. Whereupon he went to *Clisidium*, a town wherein the Romans had bestowed and laid up great store of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to force the town, there appeared some hope of treason; by corrupting of *P. Brundisius*, the captain of the garrison there, and that with no great sum of money: for in consideration only of 400 pieces of gold given unto him, *Clisidium* was betrayed unto *Annibal*: the very forethought and parcel of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in league near *Trebia*. Upon those prisoners that were taken when the garrison and fort was betrayed, he exercised no cruelty, because that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himself a name and opinion of clemency.

While the war by land continued thus at *Trebia*, there had been some warlike exploits achieved both by sea and land about *Sicily*, and the Islands that lie against *Italy* next unto it, both by *Sempronius* the Consul, and also before his coming. Twenty galleys with five ranks of Oars, and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and waste the coasts of *Italy*. Nine of them arrived at *Lipara*: eight fell with the Island of *Rulcan*, and three were driven by tempest into the Straights of *Sicily*. Against them being destroyed within kenneing, there were twelve ships set out from *Messana*, by *Hiero* King of the Sicilians, who happened at that time to be in *Messana*, attending the Roman Consul's coming; and without any resistance made he boarded those three ships, and brought them away into the Haven of *Messana*. By which he was taken prisoners, it was known, that besides the twenty ships aforesaid, sent against *Italy* (of which Fleet they were) 35 galleys of five couple of Oars, made sail for *Sicily*, to sollicite and persuade the old allies there to revolt. *Hiero*, that the especial point and design that they thought it was to seize upon *Lilybaeum*: but they thought verily that by the same gift or tempest wherein they were scattered, that other Fleet also was cast upon the Island *Regates*. And according to this intelligence, the King from *Messana* wrote to *Emilius* the Roman Pretor or Governor of *Sicily*, advising him to keep a strong garrison in *Lilybaeum*: whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all speed to all the Cities aforesaid, to give order, that their people might be in readines, to keep good ward, and above all, to hold *Lilybaeum* fast. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the sailors and mariners should bring into the ships ten days provision of victuals and meat ready dressed, so the end that upon the signal given at an hours warning, without any delay, they should a shipboard: also that all that dwell along the coast, should from their sentinels, watch-towers, and beacons; espy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians, of purpose stayed the course of their ships, that they might come just before day to *Lilybaeum* they were discovered, both for that the Moon shone all night, and also because they came under sail which they had hoisted up. So soon therefore as the signal was given out of the sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm cried in the towne the mariners were soon embarked the soldiers also were bestowed, some to man and guard the walls, and guard the gates, others to enter in the ships. But the Carthaginians perceiving, they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) forbore to enter the haven until day, and employed the time in striking sails, in untackling their ships, and preparing them for a battle. When it was broad day lights, they retired into the deep, to have less room enough to fight: and that the enemies ships might have free egress out of the haven, The Romans for their part refused not battle, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and trulling also upon the number and valour of their soldiers. They were not so soon launched into the open sea, but the Romans were desirous to grapple; and to come close to hand fight: but contrariwise, the Carthaginians held off also, willing to proceed by cunning and policy more than by strength and meer force: and to make trial rather of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, then either of the prowels of men, or goodness of armor: for as their Fleet was sufficiently furnished, and to the full, with a multitude of mariners, so was it ill provided of soldiers: and wheresoever they grappled together, and came to hand-fight, they had not an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived, the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number: the other side again were discouraged and out of heart, for their default of soldiers. Insumch as seven Carthaginian galleys were soon invested round and boarded the rest fled. Of soldiers and mariners together, 1700. were in them taken: amongst whom, there were three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Roman fleet still entire and whole, save one vessel only that was boughed and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

Presently after this battle, and before that they of *Messana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Consul arrived at *Messana*: and as he centred within the found. King *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furnished and richly decked, and coming forth of his royal ship into the Admiral of the Consuls, he welcomed him, and rejoiced for the late return of his men and ships, and prayed God, that his voyage into *Sicily* might prove happy and fortunate. Then showed he unto him the present estate, and the affairs of the Island: opened the designments of the Carthaginians; and promised withal, that with as good a mind and sound heart, as in the former war against the Carthaginians, when he was a young man, he had aided the people of *Rome*: to now in his old age he would assist them: and for proof hereof, he would of his own free cost furnish both the Consuls legions, and also the mariners with corn and payment. Among other matters he informed him how *Lilybaeum*, and other Cities on the sea coast were in great danger; by reason of

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A some among them that desired a change and alteration. Whereupon the Consul thought good to make no delay, but to set sail with all speed to *Lilybaeum*, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were sailing, tidings came of the foreaid battle before *Lilybaeum*, and how the enemies ships were either scattered and put to flight, or boarded and taken.

The Consul having bid King *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet set sail from *Lilybaeum*, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coast of *Sicily*, and crossed the sea himself to the Island *Melina*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whose coming, *Amilcar* the son of *Gisco*, Captain of the garrison there, rendered himself, and 2000. soldiers within a very few, together with the town and the Island. From whence, within few days he returned to *Lilybaeum*: where the prisoners (excepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Consul and the Pretor both sold openly in port-sale. When the Consul thought *Sicily* on that coast free enough, he set sail from thence towards the Islands of *Vulcan*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at road: but there were no enemies to be found about those Islands: for it chanced they were already passed over to waste along the river and coast of *Sicily*; and having foraged the territory of *Vibo*, they put the City also in great fear. As the Consul returned back again to *Sicily*, tidings came that the enemy had made rodes into the country of *Vibana*: and he received letters also from the Senat, concerning the coming of *Annibal* into *Italy*, and therefore that he should with all speed possible aid and succour his Collegue. The Consul being at once troubled with many cares, presently embarked his army, and by the Adriatick sea, sent them away to *Ariminum*. To *Sext*. *Pomponius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of *Vibo*, and the sea-coast of *Italy*. With *M. Emilius* the Pretor, he left a fleet augmented to the number of fifty sail: which done, and all things yet in order in *Sicily*, himself with ten ships coasted along *Italy*, and arrived at *Ariminum*, from whence he put himself in his journey, and marched with any army to the river *Trebia*, where he joined with his fellow Consul. Now were both Consuls, and the whole puissance and force of the Romans opposed against *Annibal*, so as it appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of *Rome* might be defended, or else all their hope was gone. Howbeit, one of the Consuls being weakened and discouraged with the defeat of his horsemen in one battle, and dismayed besides with the hurt he had received in his body, desired to have the fight deferred: but the other coming fresh and lusty, and thereby more hardy, would abide no delay.

It fell out so at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers *Trebia* and *Po*: who whilst these two most puissant nations were at strife and warred, held off as neutrals, and favoured neither side, making full account of the good will and grace of that part which should have the better. The Romans because they would now make no fit, and have no more trons in the fire, took the matter well enough: but *Annibal* was very much thereof offended, giving out very often, that he was sent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feed his men with booties, he commanded 2000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them Numidians, and some Gauls among, to overrun and spoil all the country forward, even to the banks of *Po*. The Gauls standing in need of help, and having until that time kept themselves in doubtful terms, were forced to turn from those that offered them wrong, and to incline and cleave unto the Romans that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadors to the Consuls, requesting the Romans help for their land, which by reason of the exceeding fidelity, and too much loyalty of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cause, nor yet the time to deal in such affairs: he had the nation besides in suspicion and jealousy, as well for many treacherous parts, as also (in case he would or could forget all or herlewd pranks of theirs) for the same disloyalty and faithhood of the Boians. *Sempronius* contrariwise thought it the strict bond to keep their allies in faith and allegiance, to defend those that came first to band and side with him. But notwithstanding his Collegue cast doubts and held off, yet he sent his own Cavalry, and a thousand well neer of footmen darters amongst them, to guard the country of Gaul beyond *Trebia*: who coming suddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered aunder, and out of order, yea, and most of them laden with spoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul slaughter, and pursued them in flight, as far as to their standing camp, and *camp de guard*. From whence, nevertheless, they were beaten back by the multitude that issued forth: but by new succours from their own companies, they renewed the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a saving bargain on both parts yet the common voice gave the honor of victory (such as it was) to the Romans rather than the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the full, then the Consul himself. He joyed, he made his boast, that he had got the better, with the help of the same forces, which under the conduct of the other Consul, came by the worse. And now (saith he) the soldiers are comforted and refreshed well enough, and none there is but my brother Consul that would have the battle deferred: who no doubt is more heart-hearted than hardly hurt: and for the remembrance and smart of a little green wound, quaketh to hear of the field & of all things cannot away with edge-toos. But we must not thus sit still here and was need for the pleasure of one craft and slyly person. For what reason is it, that we should drive off longer, and spend more time in vain? What other Consul expect we to make up the third? or what army besides should we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in *Italy*, and well-neer within the view and fight

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"of the City of Rome; and it is neither Sicily nor Sardinia taken from them by conquest, nor Spain on this side Iberus, which they shoot at, to win again: but that the Romans should be thrust out of their native soil and country wherein they were born, that is their drut and deſignment. Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Fathers ſigh, how heartily would they groan, if they who were wont to mannaſe war about the walls of Carthage, if they ſhould ſee us deeply ſpring and children, two Conſuls with Conſular and ſoial armies in the midſt of Italy, frighted and panting for fear within our camp? And that Annibal hath ſubdued and brought under his ſubjection all the country between the Alps and Apenninum? Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he uttered he to his Collegue, as he ſat by his beds ſide; where he lay ſick: thus ſpoke he, as in an open audience, in the Coſt, pavilion and all that quarter, to the ſouldiers. The time alſo of the ſedition of magiſtrates at Rome, being ſo near at hand, ſet him forward for fear, left the war ſhould be deferred unto the new Coſt, and the opportunity withal, of winning all the honor to himſelf whiles his Collegue continued ſick, pricked him on: Whereupon, for all the contradiction of Cornelius, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commandment he gave to his ſouldiers to be ready to give battel anon unto the enemy. Annibal was one that knew and ſaw well enough what was beſt and ſafeſt for his enemy, could hardly imagine or conceive any hope to himſelf: that the Conſuls would enterprize any thing raſhly, or without adviſement; but when he underſtood by hear-ſay, that afterwarde by good proof and experience he found true; namely, that the one of them by nature was hot, haſty, proud, and furious: and ſuppoſing, that he was the prouder and more furious for the late good hand he had of his foragers: made no doubt and diſtruſt of the happy ſuccels and iſſue of battel, whenſoever it ſhould come. Marry, careful he was, that no good time and opportunity preſented unto him, ſhould be overlapt: but to try the hazard and fortune of the field, whiles the enemies ſouldiers were raw and untrained; and the better and wiler man of the two Generals, was unmeet for ſervice; by reaſon of his wound as yet uncured and the courages of the Gauls luſty and forward: for well he wiſt, that a mighty number of them would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawn from their own home. Annibal, I ſay, hoping that by theſe and ſuch like occaſions, a battel would be ſoon offered: deſired alſo himſelf to bid battel: if the enemy ſaid long: and being adviſed beſides by the Gauls, his ſpialls (whom he employed to hearken out and learn what he deſired to know, and thought them more ſure, becauſe they ſerved in both camps) that the Romans were ready for the field: then began he (crafty Carthaginian as he was) to ſeek out a convenient place for an ambuſh. Now there was in the mid way between, a river running within the borders, having very high banks either ſide, and therefore lying cloſe hidden, and all about overſpread with moory weeds, with briars, brambles, and bruiſh-wood, as for the moſt part, ſuch ſort of places are overgrown withal. Which when Annibal in perſon had ridden about, and well viewed: perceiving that it would afford lurking holes handſome enough even for horſemen there to be hidden. This ſhall be the place (quoth he, to his brother Mago) which you ſhall keep. Chufe therefore out of all the horſe and foot a hundred luſty tall fellows of each: and ſee you repair with them to me at the firſt watch, for now is it time to take repaſt, and to reſreſh your bodies. And with that he ſent out to the camp the Criers, to call the ſouldiers to ſupper. And long it was not, but Mago was come with his choſen men, I ſee (quoth Annibal) ye are goodly men of perſon, and ſufficient. And that ye may be as able in number, as haſdy in courage, elect ye alſo out of the Cornets of of horſe and ſquadrons of foot, nine a piece ſuch as your ſelves to ſort withal. Mago ſhall ſhew you the ground where ye muſt lie in ambuſh: you ſhall find the enemy as blind as beetles, altogether unacquainted with theſe ſeats and cunning devices.

Thus Annibal having committed unto Mago a thouſand horſemen and as many footmen himſelf betimes in the morning, willed the Numidian Cavalry, when they were paſſed over the river Trebia, to ride braving before the gates of the enemies, and by daring and ſhooting into their guards, to provoke and draw them forth to fight: with this direction moreover, when the ſkirmiſh was begun, to fall off, and ſeem to retire by little and little, and ſo to train them on this ſide N the river. This charge had the Numidians. But the other Captains, as well of foot as horſe, were commanded to ſet their Companies all to their breakfast: which done, to arm themſelves, and with their horſes ready ſaddled, to attend the ſignal of battel. Sempromius upon the alarm and hubbly of the Numidians, as being forward and deſirous of fight, firſt brought forth all his horſemen, and bare himſelf bold and confident in that ſervice: after that fix thouſand footmen: and at laſt, all his whole forces: and led them to a place which before he had deſigned and appointed in his mind. It fell out to be in Winter, about the midſt of December, and a ſnowy day it was in thoſe parts lying between the Alps and Apenninum. Now by reaſon of the rivers and moors to neer, both horſe and men were exceeding cold: alſo ſo that they were baſtly on a ſudden, called forth laſting, and unprovided of all means againſt the cold, they had never a whif of heat left in them: and the neerer they came to the air and vapour of the river, the ſharper cold pinched and pierced them through. But when as once they followed upon the Numidians that gave back, and were entered into the water (which by reaſon of the rain that fell by night was riſen breſt-high) they were not ſo ſoon gotten out again of the cold: alſo ſo that they were baſtly on a ſudden, called forth again for cold that ſcarcely they could hold their weapons: and withal, as the day went further on, for very hunger they fainted. But Annibal his ſouldiers, who in the mean time had made fires before their tents, and had oyl lent them to every company, for to ſupple and ſoften their joints and

and limbs, and taken their repaſt, and eate at leiſure: when they heard ſay, that the enemies were paſſed the river, with hearts courageous and bodies ſiſh and luſty, take them to their weapons, and come forth to fight in ordinaſe of battel. The Balaeres, and light armed men, to the number almoſt of 8000, he ſet before the ſtandards in the front: after them he placed the footmen, better appointed and armed to the proof, even the very ſtrength and manhood of all his forces: about the wings he ſet 4000 hoſemen, and behind thoſe wings, he divided and appointed his Elephants both on the one ſide and the other.

The Conſul Sempromius ſeeing his horſemen following the chafe on the ſpur, and out of order; and how at unawares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a ſudden turned and made head upon them, ſounded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he comforted his footmen with them, The Romans were in number 7000, of Allies and Latines 2000, beſides the aids of the Crenomani: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true to the Romans. With theſe forces came they into the field; and began the battel. The firſt charge of the ſkirmiſh was given by the Iſlanders of Balore, upon whom, when the legions made head with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was a cauſe that the Roman horſemen preſently were diſcharged and diſtreſſed. For whereas of themſelves they were but 4000, horſe, and hardly able to withſtand the ſhock of ten thouſand horſemen of the other, the Romans alſo were wearied, but moſt of the Carthaginians freſh and untaunted: over and beſides; they were overwhelmed with a cloud (as it were) of darts, flung and ſhot by the Balaere Iſlanders: Moreover the Elephants which appeared aloft from the hidden ſides of the wings frightened the horſes eſpecially, and not only with the ſtrange ſight, but alſo with a ſcent and favor, made them ſlie every way. The battel of the Infantry was equal in courage of heart, rather than in ſtrength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little afore taken repaſt) brought freſh with them into the field: but contrariwiſe the Romans were faſting and weary, and for cold even ſtark and benumbed. Howbeit their ſtomacks would have ſerved to have held out and withſtood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen only. But both the Balaeres, having diſordered the horſemen, flanked them with their ſhor, and alſo the Elephants by this time were entered into the middle battailon of footmen: and withal, Mago and the Numidian light horſe (ſo ſoon as this battailon was unawares gone paſt) their ambuſhment and lurking holes) ſtart up and aroſe from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble and fright. Yet for all theſe inconveniences and diſadvantages (ſo many on every ſide) the main battel a good while ſtood unmoved and ſtired not, but kept the array, and eſpecially (beyond the expectation of all men) againſt the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpoſe, by ſlinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned forward, they followed hard upon them, pricking and galling them under the tails, in which place by reaſon of the tender ſkin they are ſoon wounded. Whom when Annibal ſaw thus feared and ready to turn upon their own part, from the main battel to the flanks and outſides, he commanded them to be driven unto the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid, and preſently enforced them to run away. The Romans ſeeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven unto a new fear. Where upon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both ſides, there were among them to the number alſo of 10000, who ſeeing no way elſe to eſcape, brake through the middle battailon of the Africans, which was ſtrengthened with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great slaughter of their enemies: and ſeeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between) nor for the rain well diſcern how to ſuccour their fellows, they took the way ſtraight to Placentia. After this, the reſt brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either perished in the ſtreams and whirl-pools: or ſuch as made ſtay to enter, were by the enemy overtaken and ſlain. But as many as here and there fled ſcattering through the fields, following the footing and tracks of the battailon that retired back, came to Placentia. Some for fear of the enemy, adventured boldly to take the river, and being once over, recovered the camp. The rain and ſnow together, and the intolerable cold killed many, as well men as beaſts: in manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the enemies in chafe as far as Trebia, and there gave over: and returned into the camp ſo clumſie and frozen, as ſcarcely they felt the joy of their victory. By reaſon whereof, the night following; when as the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnant of that great company of ſouldiers paſſed Trebia with float-boats and flat barges, the Carthaginians either perceived them not indeed for the noiſe the tempeſtuous rain made, or for wearineſs and ſore wounds were not able to ſtir, and therefore made ſemblance, as though they knew not of it. And ſo whiles the Carthaginians were at reſt, the army was by Scipio the Conſul brought (in a ſtill march) to Placentia: and from thence having croſſed the Po, came to Cremona, becauſe one Colony alone ſhould not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

Upon this deſeat and overthrow, there arrived ſuch fearful tidings at Rome, that they beleevied verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner diſplayed ſtraight to the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls from aſſault and violence. For ſeeing that the one Conſul was vanquiſhed at Trebia and the other alſo, who was called unto him out of Sicily: ſince both Conſuls, and two conſular armies were thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be ſent for, to aid? As they were in this agony and fear, Sempromius the Conſul came home: who with very great danger had paſſed through the enemies Cavalry, which was ſpread here and there all about, ſo ſerch in booties: and

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A By occasion hereof, *Annibal* departed from *Apenninus*, back again toward *Placentia*; and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he lie him down and encamped. The morrow after he led against the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000 horse. *Sempronius* the Consul also, being now returned from *Rome*, refused not battle: and the same day, the enemies were distant but three miles asunder. The morrow after they fought on each side most fiercely and courageously, and with variable event and fortune. At the first-on ice, the Romans had the better hand, so far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but also after they had discomfited them, and put them back, they chased them into their camp, and anon aflamed the same. *Annibal* having ordained some few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the rest thick and close together into the midst of the camp, and commanded them to give ear, and be inventive to the signal, when he would have them issue forth. Now was it the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman Consul having toiled and wearied his soldiers to no purpose, and feeling no hope to win the camp, sounded the retreat. Which so loom as *Annibal* heard, and saw the fight wital to slack and was cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, presently fallied forth himself with the whole strength of his Infantry, for he had sent out his horsemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierce and cruel battel fricken, and more memorable, for the final mik-hief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding stomack and courage. Whereupon, the confronting and charging one of another, was more eager, then the laughter bloody between them; and as the fight in manner was equal, lo they parted with loss alike. For of each side there died above six hundred footmen, and halts as many horsemen. But the loss on the Romans side was greater than in proportion of the number, because certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Castains of the Allies, were slain.

After this journey, *Annibal* went into the country of the *Ligurians*, and *Sempronius* to *Luca*. To welcome *Annibal* at his first coming into *Liguria*, there were delivered into him two Roman Queeters or Treasurers, *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius*, who were intercepted by the *Ligurians*, &c taken in a train of ambush, with two Colonels, and five others besides, whose fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, because he should assure himself the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and observed.

D While these things thus passed in *Italy*, *Cn. Scipio* who was sent into *Spain* with a fleet and army for sea and land; having first sail from the mouth of *Rhodanus*, and compassed the mountains *Pyrenni*, arrived at a place called *Emporia*: where he disembarked and landed his forces, and reduced into the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the *Lacetans*, and so from thence all the sea coast as far as to the river *Iberus*, partly by renewing their ancient leagues; and partly by devising means o contract new. Whereupon, there arose a great name of him for his clemency; whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the sea side but also amongst the inlanders and mountaintainers, even to the Nations that were more fierce & savage: with whom he was let from among them, but also wrought them so, that they took arms in his quarrel; and there were let from among them, certain *Frangib* cohorts and bands for to aid and succour him. *Hannu*, whom *Annibal* had left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was come, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this mischief: and having pitched his camp in sight of the enemies, let his men in ordiance o battel. The Roman Captain likewise resolved not to defer the fight; knowing that so, he might before, ed to encounter both with *Hannu* and *Asdrubal*, and rather yet he desired to deal with them one after the other single, than at once with both. But this battel was not so much dangerous. Six thousand enemies were left behind slain, and two thousand taken prisoners, together with those that were left for the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and also the General himself with certain guards was taken prisoner. Moreover *Stiffusa*, a town neer unto the camp, was won by assault: howbeit, the spoil and pillage of the town were matters of small worth and value: namely, the household stuff, and such pelf and trimpery of barbarous people, and certain poor base fables. It was the camp that enriched the soldiers: by reason that not only the army which was now vanquished, but that also which with *Annibal* served in *Italy*, and left behind them about *Pyrenus*, all good things to speak of, that they set store by, because they would go lightly, and not be encumbered with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to *Asdrubal*, he had passed over *Iberus* with 8000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, as purposing to make head against the Romans at their first coming: but when he heard how the field was lost, and the camp wital, he turned his journey to the sea. And not far from * *Tarracon*, he found the soldiers of the *Armado*, and the mariners besides, wandering and stragling over the fields (for usual it is, that happy success should breed careless negligence) whereupon he sent out his horsemen every way, and with great slaughter and flight he chased them to their ships: and not adventuring to make any longer stay thereabout, for fear to be surprisid of *Scipio*, he retired back to the other side of *Iberus*. *Scipio* also upon the first report of these new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haste, after he had slightly chastised a few Captains, and left behind him a small garrison at *Tarracon*, returned with his fleet to *Emporia*. He had no sooner departed from thence, but *Asdrubal* was there in his place; and having induced and incited the State of the *Ilergetes* (who had given hostages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth waited the territories of all those that continued faithful confederates to the Romans. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was

* Three of the clock at a term noon.
* *Tarragon*.

touled once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retired again, and quit all the country on that side *Iberus*. Then *Scipio* having in hostile manner invaded the countries, abandoned and left by him that was the author and cause of their rebellion, and by this means the nation likewise of the Illegretes, after he had driven them all within *Althabam*, which is their capital town, he laid siege unto it round about, and within few days brought the whole territory of the Illegretes under his obedience: and besides a greater number of hostages then before (which they were constrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round sum of money. From thence he went forward against the Aulcates, near to *Thury*, being associates also to the Carthaginians: and having beleaguered their City, he fore-layed and intercepted the Lacetans as they came by night to succour their neighbors, not far from the town, even as they were at the point to enter in. There were slain of them 12000, and the rest being well-veer all dismissed, fled every way scattering here and there over the fields home to their houses. All the help and defence that they had who were within, was only the foul and cold winter weather, evermore naughty and hurtful to assailants that lie forth. The siege lasted thirty days, during which time, seldom fell the snow less then four foot deep, and so covered the pentiles, and mantlets of the Romans, that when the enemies flung fireundry times thereupon, that alone saved the same, & nothing else. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince *Amurcius*, who was fled to *Althabam*, they yielded, upon condition to pay twenty talents of silver, & so *Scipio* returned to *Tarragon*, thence to winter.

* 3750 pound sterling, according to the last Antick. Talent.

But that year, at *Rome* and about the City, were many strange and prodigious signs seen, or at leastwise (a thing usual when mens minds are once touched with religion, and given to make scruple) many were reported, and soon believed. Among which, this was one, that a babe of condition free borne, and but half year old, cried with a loud voice in the herb market, *Io Triumphe*. Also in the beast market, an Ox of himself undriven, climbed up to the third loft or story of an house, and from thence being frightened with the stir and noise of the dwellers by cast himself down. Moreover, there was seen in the welkin or element, the resemblance of a navy of ships, and the Temple of *Lady Spes*, standing in the herb market, was smitten with lightning. Likewise at *Lanuvium* the hear of *Juno* shook and brandished of itself: and a Raven flew into *Juno's* Church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Altar of *Juno*. In the territory of *Antifrum*, in many places were seen men; as it were, in white garments; but only *off*; for as folk went neerer and neerer, they appeared not, and could not be met withal. In *Piceum* it rained fishes; and at *Cere* the lots were found diminished; and in *Genet*, a Wolfe drew forth a watchman his sword out of his scabbard, and carried it away. For other prodigious tokens, order was given to the Decemvirs to peruse the books of *Sibylla*. But for the raising of flames in *Piceum*, there was ordain a Novendial feast for nine days: and for the expiation of other prodigies, the whole City in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the City was solemnly purged, and greater beasts killed in sacrifice in the honor of those gods, for whom they were ordained, and a present of gold weighing 40. pound, was carried unto *Juno* at *Lanuvium*.

* 144000000.

And the dames and matrons of *Rome* created a molten image of brass for *Juno* in *Aventinum* and at *Cere* where the lots were diminished, was appointed a Lectistern, and a procession of supplication to *Fortune* in *Algidum*. At *Rome* also there was a Lectistern solemnized to *Juveta* (the goddess of youth) and a solemn procession at the church of *Hercules*. Moreover, express commandment was given to all the people, to make procession and supplication at every Altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god *Genius*, they sacrificed five greater beasts. And *C. Atrilius Scirranus* the Pretor, was commanded to pronounce a solemn vow, in case the Common-yeal continued in the same good estate, ten years, and decayed not. These portentous prodigies thus expiated, and vows made according to *Sibylls* books, eased mens hearts mightily of their religious fear. Then one of the elect Consuls, to wit, *Flaminius*, to whom were allotted those Legions which wintered at *Placentia*, sent an Edict with Letters to the Consul, that the Army should bein camp at *Ariminum*, upon the Ides of *March*. His purpose was, to enter into his Consulship in the Province, remembering the old contentions and debates which he had with the Nobles, N

* 15. day of January.

first when he was a Tribune of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Consul, as well about the Consulship (of which, they would have deprived him) as also, about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated he was besides of the Senat, for the new Act or Law, which *C. Claudius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had made, so prejudicial to the Senat; and only *C. Flaminius* of all the Nobles, supported it and set it forward; namely, That no Senator, or father of a Senator, should have a Ship at Sea, bearing above 300. Amphores: for that was thought sufficient to transport their commodities and fruits to *Rome*, rising out of their Lands and livings. And as for all other gain by traffick, it was not beleeving a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great contention, caused the proposer of this law (*Flaminius*) to incur much evil will and displeasure with the Nobility, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons, and in process of time a second Consulship. Supposing therefore, that with irritating the Auspices, and putting him to take the prefaces anew by the sight of birds, and by finding other delays, upon occasion of the Latine holy days, and one business or other belonging to the Consuls charge, they would detain and keep him back still in the City, he let a countenance, as though he would take a journey like a private person, and so departed secretly into the Province. Which thing, when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciously bent against him, to be angry anew: and they gave out, that it was not the Senat only, that *C. Flaminius* warred against

against; but the immortal Gods also. For he, who before time had been made Cof. without regard of taking Auspices, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was reclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeyed more: and now, having a heavy conscience, discharged with offences past, hath fled from the Capitol and the solemn nuncupation and making of vows, for that he would not upon the ordinary day of entering his Magistracy, visit the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* nor (because he was odious to the Senat, and they likewise hated of him alone) see them, and ask their advice and counsel: nor proclaim the Latine Holy-days, and celebrate to *Jup. Latiaris*, the solemn yearly sacrifice upon the *Alban* Hill: nor yet, after he had entered into the Capitol by the lucky flight and token of birds, pronounce his vows there, and depart from thence in his rich coat-armour toward the Province. They said moreover, that he was slipsh and slothfully away like a drudge that followeth the camp, without the ensigns and ornaments of authority: without Sergeants and Officers, as if he had been banished, and so left his country, minding belike to enter his government more for the honor and dignity of *Ariminum* than of *Rome*, and to put upon him his purple robe of estate, embroidered with scarlet rather in an holterry and common linnen, than in his own hope. They all every one opined and judged that he should be recalled and brought back again peremptorily, yea, and be forced personally at home to perform all duties belonging to God and man, before that he went forth to the Province and to the army. About this embassage (for they thought meet to send Embassadors) went *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Aemilius*: but they prevailed no more than in his former Consulship the letters missive had done, which were sent from the Senat. A few days after he entered his office, and as he was sacrificing, the calf or young Bullock being already ficked, got away from the hands of the sacrificers, and spotted many of the Standers by with blood. But they that stood far off, not knowing what the matters was of that, fled away, and ran to and fro: which of most men was judged a foretoken and preface of some great fright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of *Sempronius* the Consul of the year before, and other two, of *C. Atilius* the Pretor, he began to conduct his army into *Tuscany* by the way of *Apenninum*.

The two and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and twentieth Book.

A Nnibal came into *Hetruria*, after he had lost one of his eyes by occasion of continual watching in the marshes, through which he marched four dayes, and three nights without taking his repose: sleep. *C. Flaminius* the Consul a rash and inconsiderate man, went forth, contrary to the warrant and approbation of the Auspices, and caused the field-ensigns to be digged out of the ground, when otherwise they could not be plucked up: and being wounded on his forehead, fell with his head forward. His horse, his fortune was to be surprised in an ambush by Annibal, which he had laid for him near the *L. ge* called *Thrasymenus*: where he and his army were defeated, and followed up the edge of the sword. Six thousand Romans, who brake through and made an escape, notwithstanding the faithful promise that *Maharbal* had made unto them, were by the falsehood of Annibal put in prison. When upon the news of this overthrow, there was great mourning and sorrow at *Rome*, there fortuned two mothers to die for very joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their sons, and saw them alive, whom they supposed to have been slain in that field. In regard of the foresaid defeat, there was vowed a sacred spring, according to the books of *Sibylla*. After this, when *C. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator sent against Annibal, would not come to a set battel with him, for fear he should be slain, but the soldiers lately terrified and daunted with adverse overthrows, against an enemy lively and proud of so many victories, and by making heads, and opposing himself only against Annibal, embraced his attempts and enterprises: *M. Minutius* the General of his Horse, a man of a proud spirit and brain-sick humours, with charging the virtue of their power and authority, he was joined in equal command and command with the Dictator. By means whereof, the army and the forces were parted indifferently between them, and *Minutius* gave the enemy battel in a place of great disadvantage, whereupon his Legions were distressed & in great hazard: but *F. Maximus* came in time to his rescue with his part of the army, and saved him out of the present danger. By occasion of which good turn, he was overcome, and his horse came down in snuff, as he was content to join in camp with him, and saluted him by the name of Father: commanding all his own soldiers to do the same to their fellow soldiers under *F. Maximus*. Annibal after he had won and overrun *Campain*, chanced between the Town *Castrinum*, and the mountain *Callicula* to be inclosed and compassed about by *Fabius*: but by a device of tying little bairns of drie sticks unto overhorns and setting them on fire, put to flight and chased away the guards of the Romans, which kept the freights of *Callicula*, and by that means got through the passage of that Torrefit. The same Annibal, at what time as he made

verence he had of the Gods themselves: which rashness, as it cost him nought, but was ingrafted in him by nature, so fortune had nourished and maintained the same with prosperous success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he respected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counsel and advice, he would go rashly to work, and do all in half a hand over hand, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himself headlong into these his infirmities and imperfections, *Anibal* devised to ward to plunge himself headlong into these his infirmities and imperfections, *Anibal* devised to anger him; and to move his patience. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand, he put himself into a way to *Fejula* for to wait and spoil the country of *Tuscan*; and shewed to the Consul a fair off, what foil work and havoc he possibly could make, with fire and sword. Then *Flaminius*, who of himself would not have rested and fate still, in case *Anibal* had been quiet; seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his shame and dishonor, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mids of *Italy*, and without any impeaching and controulement, to pass on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of *Rome*; when all others about him sitting in council, gave advice for profit and safety, rather than for shew and bravery; namely, to pause a while, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with joynt armies, with one heart, and with common accord of council, conduct and manage the war: and in the mean time, with the Cavalry, with Auxiliary or aid-fouldiers lightly armed, repress the enemy, and stay him from spoiling so licentiously at his pleasure; in a great chafe and choler he role up, and departed out of the Council, and presently founded the march, and gave the signal of battail: and withal, "Nay we were best (quoth he) to remain and sit here still before the walls of *Arretium* for this, 'be like, is our native country, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Anibal*, let him 'escape forth of our hands, and wait all *Italy*; let him spoil aforesh, and over-run all with fire 'and sword, until he be as far as *Rome* walls: and let not us, in any case, once stir from hence, before that the Senators send for *C. Flaminius* from *Arretium*; as sometimes they called *Camilus* 'from *Vell*. With these and such like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all his standards and ensigns to be plucked up, and called for his Horse. He was not so soon mounted on his back, but the Horse fell presently, cast the Rider over and over with his hishead forward; and there lay *Flaminius* the Consul under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky preface and fore-token, in the very beginning of his enterprise; word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-ensigns was not: he pulled up his ensign, do what he could, and putting his whole strength unto it, the Consul turning to himselfenger. What? half thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me from giving battail? go thy wayes, and bid them dig up the ensign, with help of spade and mattock, if their hands be so benumbed for fear, that they can not pluck it up; and with that began the army to march. The principal Leaders and Captains, besides that they agreed not, but gained said this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious sign: but the common fouldiers joyced and took great pleasure, to see this forwardness and animosity of their General: having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cause which they had to hope for. Now *Anibal* wasted in all manner of hostility that he could devise, the territories between the Town *Corona*, and the lake *Therapsmentus*, and all to whet the edge of the Consuls stomach, to chafe his hot blood, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come *Anibal* day they were to be certain places, naturally made as it were for an ambush, whereas the lake *Therapsmentus* lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of *Corona*: for there is between, but a very straight and narrow passage, as if there had been left so much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth more open, and growth larger, and from thence the hills begin to arise aloft. *Anibal* in the open ground pitched his camp: for himself with his Africans only and the Spaniards to lodge in, and made abode. The Balaerians, and the other light armed fouldiers, he led about behind the Mountains: the Horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the straight passage, where the little hills handsomely covered and hid them close: to the end that so soon as the Romans were entered in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the straight, all might be enclosed within the lake and the Mountains. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the Sun setting; the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and clearing the coasts by any scouts and spies sent out before, passed through the streights. After that his army began to be spread and displayed more at large, as the plain opened wider, he espied and perceived those enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambush lay close hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Anibal* having once got the enemy (as he would) enclosed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces; gave the signal to them all for to charge: who came down every man the nearest way he could; so much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this sudden occurrence; by reason that the mist which arose out of the lake, was felled thicker in the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallies, were seen well enough one of another, and therefore more joyntly gave the charge all at once together. The Romans hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts, before they could well discern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprised, and were assailed both affront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battail-ray: as they ought, make their

The battail at
Therapsmentus.

their armour and weapons ready, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, shewed himself nothing daunted or afraid, but set in order the ranks and files which were shuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave: and marshalled his fouldiers, (who turned every way as they heard the sundry and divers noises) and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted, and encouraged them, willing them to stand to it, and fight like men, for that there was now no means else to escape. "All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help, to make way by dint of word, through the midst of their enemies battailions: and the less men feared, the less danger commonly beideth them. Howbeit, by reason of the noise and hubbub of their own Ensigns, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would serve them to take arms, and to buckle them, as they should, fitly for fight: in such sort as some of them were surprised and born down laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended therewith. And in so great a mist and darkness, more use they had of ears than eyes: for at the groans of their wounded fellows, at the blows and strokes upon the bodies and armour resounding again, at the confused shouts and shrieks of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turned their faces, and cast their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the press of those that were fighting; and there were let fast: some again as they returned for to fight, were born backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had assayed in vain every way to get forth, the enemies battailions hemmed them in; then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their tight hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: so as the battail began afresh, not in order by the *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Triarii*, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the vanguard should fight before the main battail, and the standards, and behind them the rereguard, and that the fouldier should keep his own sign, his own cohort, band, and company: but at a venture, even as it happened, so they went to it and buckled, pell-mell: and as every mans heart served him, so he marshalled himself to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animosity was so ardent, their spirits and minds so intensive to the battel, that being as there was a terrible earthquake at the very instant, which overthrew and turned upside down, a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turned aside the copies of great Rivers out of their channels, and drave their streams against the current, forced the Sea into fresh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty falls, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three hours. Sharp it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruel: aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himself for his own person goodly beset in his rich armour, he both assailed the enemy most furiously, and also defended his own citizens as valiantly: so long, until a certain Insulbian, a man of arms (*Diogenes*, was his name) one that knew his village well enough, this is (quoth he) to his countrymen, the Consul that defeated our army, put to the sword our Legions, wasted our territories, and he that destroyed and sacked our City. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens, who by his means have been piteously slain: and, therewith, setting spurs to his Horse, he rode through the thickest troop and press of his enemies: and when he had first slain his Equier outright (who opposed his body between, and set himself against him, seeing him coming so furiously) he ran the Consul quite through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and rised him, the many began to flee; but upon, neither deep lake nor high mountain could impeach and stop their fearful flight: like blind men they ran and sought means to make escapes, were the lane never so narrow, were the Hills never so steep and craggy, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them seeing no way else to escape, entered into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brims thereof, waded so far, and went up so high, that they left their heads and shoulders only above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their fear), sought to save themselves by swimming: Which being an endless piece of work, and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them; they were either stifled and swallowed up of the gulfs, or after that with too much haste, they had over-laboured and toiled out themselves, they did what they could to swim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thousand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who lustily brake through the ranks, among the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gullet: and having seized the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might hear only the gibber of men, the rattling and rustling found of their armour, but how the battel went or sped, neither could they know, nor yet discern for the thickness of the dark mist. But now, when they were come to some odds, and one side went down and had the worse, by which time the heat of the sun had broken and dispatched the mist, and the bright day appeared: then through the clear light, the hills and dales shewed evidently the havoc that overthrow that was made, and how

[illegible]

E Fabius led his power over the ridge of the Mountain *Mafficus*, the sedition was like to have broken out again, and certain Captains of the mutiny began to be kindled afresh. For there had been great quietness, and all was still for (some few) days; because seeing the army march faster than their usual manner was, they supposed verily, that they made more speed and hastened, to save *Campania* from being spoiled and wasted. But when they were come to the foremost edge and point of the Mountain *Mafficus*, and that the enemies were within sight, burning the dwelling-Houses of the Coloniers and inhabitants of *Smunessia*, and likewise of the Falern Country, and all this while not one word of battail! And are we come hither indeed quoth *Minutius*, to behold only and to see, and feed our eyes with looking on our allies, confumed and wasted with fire and sword? and if we bask at nothing else, can we for shame abide to see the Calamity of these Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in *Smunessia* as coloniers there to inhabit, to the end that all this tract and coast should be safe from the invasion of the Samnites? But behold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnite) that threatneth but a foreign and alien, even the Carthaginian, who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world, (whiles we stand at a bay, trifle off still, and for laziness do nothing) is come forward even hither unto us. And are we so far degenerate (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along with which they thought it dishonorable unto their empire, for the Carthaginian Armadoes, and ships to store, sail, and ride; we should fee the same now pestered full of enemies, the Numidians and Moors? We, who were while taking toll from and gave diddain to see *Saguntum* besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to watch; stand still gazing upon *Annibal* marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and ready to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our eyes, and to choke us up our ears resound and ring again with the piteous cries of our allies that weep and lament, and call often unto us than unto the Gods for help. And we here lead our army as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy forests, and hills out of the way, hid among the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of Sun. If *Enrius Camillus* had been of mind, by ranging and wandering over hills and forests in this manner, to win again the City out of the hands of the Gauls, as this our new *Camillus* forthwith (sought out of purpose to be) our only

The mirrour
Oracion of
Minutius

Dictator

* Voltmeter.

The mutinous
Oration of
Minutius.

"Dictator in this our distress and hard estate) goeth about to recover Italy from *Annibal*, Rome had been French at this day; which I fear me, if we go thus coldly to work, our ancestors have saved and reserved to open, for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to *Veni*, that he was chosen Dictator for the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the Senators, although *Jabienum* was high enough, where he might have let him down and killed the enemy at ease, descended into the plain and even ground, and the same day in the very midst and heart of the City, where now *Gaulbury* or *Byssa Callicula* standeth, and the morrow after, between Rome and *Gabie*, slew the Legions of the Gauls. And what should I say of that, which happened many years after, when at the sieges of *Caudium* we were put under the yoke by the Samnites our enemies? Whether I pray you, did *L. Papyrius Cursor* seek out the mountains of *Samnium*, or rather lie hard upon *Luceria* and besiege it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemy; and thereby shook off the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnites? And what other thing else of late days but expedition, gave the victory to *Consul Laetius*? Who the morrow after that he discovered the enemy, let upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals; and overcharged as it was with her own munition, sent him, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue meer folly to believe and think by sitting still, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain, that man to man may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by a sally and execution, hath the Roman Empire grown to this height; and not by these conceits and devices, which fearful cowards term the wary policies of war. As *Mimius* spake these words in preaching wife, a number of Roman Colonels and Horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lusty and rash speeches of his, came even unto the ears of the footmen: So as, if it had been in the voyces and election of the souldiers, out of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Mimius* before their General *Fabius*. But *Fabius* again regarding always with good eye his own men, no less than his enemies, carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever before of any other, albeit he was well ware, that not only within his own camp, but also now at Rome, he heard ill for his temporizing and slow proceedings; yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on listly the same course and purpose, never altered his former manner: until that *Annib* being clean disappointed of long desired battle, bethought himself anon and looked about for some place of winter abode, considering, that I the country where now he was, rather yielded plenty for the present, than store for long continuance; as standing upon Hortyards and Vineyards, and all things planted, rather for fruits of pleasure and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his espials, for that he knew well enough, that *Annib* was to return through the same freights, by which he had entered the Falern country: he holdeth and keepeth the hill *Callicula*, with sufficient garriisons and likewise *Castellum*, a City divided by the river *Vulturnus*, and parteth the Falern and Campanie countries asunder. Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having sent out to discover and espie 400 Horsemen of confederats, under the conduct of *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, who being one of the crew of those lusty youths, that oftentimes heard the General of the Horsemen give out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward in manner of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he saw the Numidians ranging all about the villages, and slew some of them also whom he took as a vantage, freights wayes his mind wholly possessed and let upon fight, and to forget the charge and direction of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as warily and as closely as he possibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within sight of the enemies. The Numidians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying from him another while drew him aloft unto their very camp when as both horse and man were outwearied. From whence *Carule*, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him lustily upon the spur, and before they came within short shot put the enemies to flight, and followed them continually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* seeing neither the enemy to give over pursuit, nor any hope to escape away exhorted his men, and turned head upon them, overmatched as he was every way: where he himself and his choicest Horsemen were beset round and slain: the other taking themselves again to sie for life, first came to *Calet*, and after through by-lanes and difficult wayes, to the Dictator. That day, as hap was, *Mimius* had joyned himself to *Fabius*, having been afore sent to keep with a strong guard, the forest or pale, which above *Tarracina* groweth into a narrow gullet, and reacheth to the sea: for fear lest if the advance of the way *Appia*, were without defence, *Annibal* might enter and invade the country of Rome. When the Dictator and the General of Horsemen had joyned their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that *Annibal* was to pass with his army. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after, the Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other. When as the Romans were quartered even under their very trench and rampier, in a place no doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Annibal* with his light Horsemen: and to provoke his enemies, fought by starts and fits, charging upon them, and retiring back again with great humbleness. The Romans kept still their standing, embattailed as they were. The fight was cold and lingering to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of *Annibal* and where there was of the Romans part 200 slain, there died 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Annibal* after, to be enclosed and shut up as it were, and besieged within *Castellum*, seeing that *Capua*, *Samnium*,

Samnium, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Annibal* contrary-wise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of *Formia*, amid the Sands of *Linternum*, and the moist standing pools. Well wist *Annibal* now that he was laid unto hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not escape away by *Castellum*, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains, and passe over the top of *Callicula*: for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the valleys between the Mountains, he devised a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguile the eye-sight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, closely and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of his crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many fire-brands then took he certain bawins or small fagots of brush-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tyed them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drew before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the country: so as he might make well-near two thousand head. To *Asdrubal* he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night, he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if he possib could, to the very freights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but *Annibal* with great silence dislodged and removed his camp, and the Oxen afore said were driven a good way before the ensigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the straight passages, immediately the signal or watch-word was given to fire the Oxen horns, and to chase them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell running up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppies and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the shaking of their heads also to and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the freights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be encompassed and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: and whereas the flame shone most out, thinking that to be the strait way, they sped them thither, even to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandering astray from their company, and at first seeing them a far off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed their blazing flames out of their mouths: and wondering at the strange sight, stood full amazed and astonished. But when as afterwards they discovered the device; and found it out to be a subtle and deceitful invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trains and ambush, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the vancouriers of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were afraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and layed until day light. In the mean while, *Annibal* having conducted his whole army through the freights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pale, encamped himself in the territory of *Alifia*. *Fabius* derided this tumult well enough, but doubting some privy ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battails, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed souldiers of the enemies, and soon defeated them: but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from *Annibal*, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the craggs and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the fashion of their light harness; easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces; and used to fight upon the plain, and to stand firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing near on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all went clear away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed; and having baffled over the freights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly fortified even over *Alifia*. Then *Annibal* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward Rome, returned back, waiting and spoiling the country as far as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the Hill tops between the army of his enemies and the City of Rome; leading his host so, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountered and affronted his enemy. Then *Annibal* turned his way, and departed from the *Peligni*, and retired himself into *Apulia*, until he was come as far as *Gerion*, a City abandoned and forsaken of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down decayed and ruined. The Dictator fortified his camp in the territory of *Laurinum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to Rome, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and persuasions, yet, and as one would say, by prayer and intreaty, "That he would trust more upon confederate counsel, than doubtful fortune, and be directed and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; and not think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckoning of this, That the enemy had been

service and employment: and the thing which of it self in nature is acceptable, I will in what I H can grace and commend the same, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perswaded the man, being not altogether so wily, as other Carthaginians naturally are, he went by night secretly as far as the *Corps de guard* of the enemies, and after he had met and talked with some Spaniards that were auxiliary souldiers in the Camp, and by them was brought before *Scipio*, he declared unto him his whole intent and designment, and the cause of his coming. And after they had given and received faithful promise mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the delivery of the hostages unto *Scipio*, he returned again to *Saguntum*. The day following he spent with *Bostar*, in receiving Commission from him, for the execution of this matter. And thus being dismissed and having his dispatch, he purposed to go in the night, to the end that he might (for sooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romans: and at the hour appointed he raised those who had the guard and custody of the children, and put himself on his way: and (simple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them within the compass of an Ambushment, forelaid beforehand by his own wily and crafty device: and so were they brought into the Roman Camp. All other points besides, concerning the rendering of the hostages, according to the agreement and appointment with *Bostar*, were performed in the same order, as they should have passed, in case all had been done in the name of the Carthaginians, and to their behoof. But the Romans, won much more thank, and gained greater favour thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the like curtesie. For the Carthaginians (whom in their prosperous success the Spaniards had found by experience to be rigorous unto them and proud) might have been supposed if they had done it now, to have been mollified and made more benign and gracious through adverse fortune and fear: but *Scipio* the Roman General, at his first coming, and unknown before time, began with a notable example and testimony of clemency and liberality. And *Acedus* besides, reputed a wife and prudent man seemed not without great reason to have made exchange of his Allies and Friends. Whereupon they all desired with one accord to revolt and presently they had taken arms indeed and rebelled, but for the approach of winter which forced as well Romans as Carthaginians to betake themselves to their winter harbors.

These were the occurrences that fell out also in *Spain*, in the second summer of the Punic war: whiles in *Italy* the wile and wary delays the indolent temporeizing of *Fabius* in the manner of his warfare gave the Romans some respite and intermission of their toils and overthrowes. Which as it wrought in *Annibal* no small trouble of mind and perplexity, to see that the Romans at the last had holden for their General a man who managed war, by discourse and guidance of sound reason & not by adventure of fickle fortune: so it was despised of his own Citizens, as well those that were armed abroad as gowned at home: & namely when during the absence of the Dictator, there hapned to be a field fought through the rashness of the General of the Cavalry, with more joyfull success (so to speak truly) than happy and fortunate. Two other things there were besides, that assailed the Dictator to be worse thought of, and in great disgrace and obloquy. The one through the deceitful and wily policy of *Annibal*: who being informed by certain fugitive Traitors (that fled from *Rome* unto him) which were the lands and possessions of the Dictator: gave express commandment when he had destroyed the country about, and made all even with the ground, to forbear all kind of hostility there only, and to touch nothing of his, either by fire or sword: to the end it might be thought there had been some packing between him and *Annibal*: and that this was the hire and consideration agreed upon between them two. The other arose from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and courting of certain prisoners or captives: which peradventure at the first appearance might have seemed doubtful and suspicious (because therein he staid not for to have the Commission and approbation of the Senat) but in the end and up-shot it turned no doubt, to his singular, life and commendation. In that interchange above said, it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romans and Carthaginians, (like as it had been afore in the first Punic war) That whether side received more Captives than they gave again, should yield for every one souldier * two pound and a half of silver. When it fell out therefore that the Roman Dictator *Fabius*, had received more prisoners by 247 than *Annibal*, and the payment of the silver for them due: after much debate in the Senat house, (because he staid not in direction therein from the LL, was delayed, and no order taken therefore) he sent his son to *Rome* of purpose, to make sale of his lands, which had not been eudamaged by *Annibal*: and so to lay on his own cost, and out of his private purse discharged a publicke debt.

Annibal now lay in leaguer before the walls of *Gerion*, a City which he had won and set on fire, and reserved a few houses standing, to serve him instead of barns and garner for his grain. From thence he sent out two third parts of his forces to purvey corn: and remained himself in guard with one third part, ready in arms, (but lightly appointed and without any bag and baggage) in a meet and convenient place: both for defence of the Camp, and also for discovery of all the coasts about that no assault were made upon the purveyors. The Roman Army lay then in the Territory of *Lavinum*, and the Captain General was *Minutius*, Commander of the horsemen, because the Dictator (as is above said) was gone to the City of *Rome*. But whereas they had usually encamped before, upon some high hill and strong place of security: now they began to draw down into the vale and the plain ground, and to devise crafty means and stratagems beyond the natural reach of the Commander himself: namely, how they might assail either

A either the purveyors as they straggled about in the country, or let upon the Camp of their enemies, left with a small power and guard to defend it. *Annibal* was not ignorant, that together with the General, the whole manner and conduct of their warfare was changed: and that the enemy would fight rather more rashly and halittly, than wily and warily. And himself (who would have thought it considering the enemy was approached nearer) sent out a third part on y of his souldiers to provide corn and forrage, and kept the other twain with him in the Camp: he removed also his tents near to the Romans, almost two miles off from *Gerion*, to a little hill within the sight of the enemies, to the end they might know he was minded and ready to rescue and defend the purveyors, if haply they should be charged upon. Then espied *Annibal* another hill nearer, and standing even over the very Camp of the Romans. For the gaining whereof, (seeing that if he should have gone by day time openly, he had been no doubt prevented by the enemies, who would have seized it first by reason it was nearer unto them) he sent certain Numidians by night, who surprised it and kept it. But the Romans making little or no account of their small number, drove them the morrow after from thence, and thither removed their own tents: so as then, there was but a little distance between one Camp and the other, and the same, in a manner wholly taken up and replenished with Romans and withall, at the same time, the horsemen of the Romans with certain footmen lightly armed were sent out at a postern gate of the Camp (which opened not upon the Carthaginians) against the foragers, whom they discomfited, put to flight, and slew a great number of them. Neither durst *Annibal* issue forth to skirmish: for, having too few about him, he was hardly able to defend his Camp, in case it had been assaulted. So he was driven now to use the policy and shifts of *Fabius*, (for part of his forces were away) and managed his war, sitting still as it were, and keeping the enemy at a bay and at flaves end: and so retired with his souldiers to the former Camp, under the walls of *Gerion*. Some write, that there was a field pitched, and a set battel fought with banners displayed, wherein *Annibal* at the first encounter was discomfited and chased to his Camp: but from thence they issued forth who were within and so the fear turned upon the Romans, who on a sudden were put to the worst: but by the coming of *Numerius Decimus* (a Samnit) with succour, the fight was reinforced and renewed. This man, not only nobly defended, but also of great power and wealth, as well in *Bevianum* his native Country, where he was born, as throughout all *Samnium* (by order and commandment from the Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot, and 200 horse, toward the Camp: and being espied by *Annibal* on the backside, gave both parties good hope of fresh and new aid. But when the voice went, that *Fabius* at the same time was coming also from *Rome*, *Annibal* for fear of being entrapped within some Ambush, retired back with his own men, and the Romans made pursuit after him: and with the help of *Numerius* the Samnit, won in one day by force two fortresses. So there were 6000 enemies slain, and 5000 Romans. And yet as equal in a manner as the loss was of both parts, the rumour ran to *Rome* of a brave victory, with letters also in post from the General of horsemen full of folly and vanity. Much arguing there was and debate about these matters, both in Senat, and before the people sundry times. And when all the City besides was joyous, and the Dictator (alotie) gave no credit either to the bruit that was blazed, or the letters: laying withall, E That if all were true, yet he feared more the fawning than frowning of fortune: then *M. Claudius* a Tribune of the Commons stepped forth and said, "That this above all was not to be suffered: that the Dictator, not only while he lay in Camp, opposed himself against all goodneis, and stained all valorous service; but also being absent from thence, crossed and disgraced that which was well done and worthily achieved: and that he, of purpose, drew the war in length and prolonged the time, to the end he might continue the longer in government, and be the man alone to command all, both in the City and abroad in the Army: for one of the Consuls was slain in battel, the other under a pretence & colour of purifying the Carthaginian fleet, was sent out of the way far enough off from *Italy*: as for the two Prators, they were employed both in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and yet neither of those two Provinces had any need of a L. Deputy there. And *M. Minutius* General of the horsemen, was kept prisoner as it were, and might neither fee enemy, nor do any martial exploit. And hereupon it is (quoth he) that not only *Samnium* (whereof the possession was surrendered unto the Carthaginians, as if it were a territory lying beyond *Iberus*) but the Campanie, Calene, and Falern territories were utterly overrun and wasted, whiles the Dictator abode still at *Castellum*, and with the legions of the people of *Rome* defended his own lands & possessions only. And when the Army and General of the Cavalry were desirous of battel, they were kept back enclosed in a manner within the compass of the Camp & their weapons taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies: & at length when the Dictator was once departed from them, they issued forth of the Camp, like men delivered from siege, & so discomfited & put to flight their enemies. In consideration of all these things, (he said) if the Commons G of *Rome* were of that courage, as sometimes they had been, he would boldly have put up a bill for to deprive *C. Fabius* of his government. But now for this time, he would propound a more indifferent & reasonable law, by virtue whereof the Commander of horsemen may be made equal with the Dictator in authority and power. Yet so, as that *Q. Fabius* might not be sent unto the Army, before that he had substituted & ordained another *Q. Fabius* in the room of *C. Flaminius*. The Dictator forbore altogether to come into any of these assemblies of the people, as a man in action and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himself to the humor of the common people: Neither was he in the Senat house heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified

and extolled the valour of the enemy: or rehearsed & reckoned up the losses and foils received for two years space, through the rashness and unskillfulness of the Commanders: and said withall, that the General of the horsemen was to answer and give account for fighting against his edict and express commandment. Moreover, (quoth he) if I were in place of sovereign rule and government, I would do all according as I thought good, I would effect and bring to pass with few daies, that men should know, that a good warrior was to make small reckning of fortune but wildom, wisdome, and counsel were to guide and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honour & glory to have preserved an army in a time of trouble and danger from shame and ignominy, than to have slain many thousands of enemies. After he had made these and such like speeches & reasons in vain, and created for Col. *M. Atilius Regulus*: for that he would not be present to debate the question concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night season toward the army: even the very day before that the foresaid law should be propounded. The morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience: wherein men seemed rather secretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, & to affect and favour the General of the horsemen, than durst come forth and be seen to persuade and set forward that which pleased them all in common. And notwithstanding the bill was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give some credit and authority thereunto. At length, one stepped forth to let it be known, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prator, a man not only of obscure degree by calling, but also of vile & base parentage descended. His father was (as they say) a Butcher, who kept shop and sold meat himself, and trained up his son as his apprentice in the same mechanical and servile occupation. This *Varro* being a young man and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike: and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exercising himself in entertaining causes of base persons, against the estate and name of honest Citizens and of good reputation: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people, and afterwards was advanced to place of worship and honour. And having been Treasurer of the City, and both both Adithips, as well that of the Chair, as the other of the Commons: and at length rose through one Pratorship, he aspired now higher, in hope to be Consul: and still crassly wasted his time, and sought to wind himself within the favor of the people, by means of the ill opinion and hard conceit they had of the Dictator: & thus he alone went away with all the affect, onate love of the Commons. All men that were either at Rome, or in the Army, both good and bad, in general (excepting the Dictator himself) received and admitted that bill, as made to his disgrace and shameful reproach. But he with the very same gravity and constancy of heart, endured these injurious coult & dealing of the people raging against him, wherewith he had born his adversaries slandering & charging him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journeyed, letters importing the decree of the Senat, for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horsemen, and being assured that notwithstanding his commission were parted and communicated with another, yet his skill and sufficiency of conduct and command, remained still with himself, with a mind invincible as well against Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But *Minutius*, who before that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate success, and also for the favour of the common sort now verily beyond all measure and bounds of modesty, vaunted and gloried in that had conquered & got the mastery over *Fabius* as well as over *Annibal*. That *Fabius* (I say) who in time of distress and calamity, was the only warrior and Captain that could be found out to match *Annibal*: that the superior Magistracy was by the consent & approbation of the people, (as thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferior: or to wit, the Dictator with the General of horsemen and in that City, wherein the Commanders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator. So conspicuous and evident in the eyes of the world, was his felicity and prowess above all others. And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time in case the Dictator still continued lingering in sloth and idleness, condemned in the judgment both of God and N man. Wherupon, the very first day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he said that they were above all things to determine & set down in what fort they might order this their equal authority of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between were supposed better) they should one after the other alternately have the full and whole command of all for the time in their several turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battell were presented, they might be able to contravert the enemy, not only in counsel, but also in power and strength. *Q. Fabius* liked not of this: supposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition of his rash colleague must needs be subject unto the arbitrement of Fortune. Saying moreover unto him "That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule, but not wholly to depart therefrom, and shut himself out. And therefore he would never willingly fall, but (to his power) O manage by counsel and discretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either time or daies, but the forces and armies: that *Minutius* might have one moity, and himself another: since he might not preserve all by his own counsel & policy, yet he would endeavour (so far as he could) to have somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the Legions between them, as the manner of the Consuls was. The first and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the second and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horsemen number for number, and the auxiliary soldiers of Allies and Latines. The Generall of the horsemen would needs likewise that they should be encamped asunder.

Annibal

Annibal conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own scouts and spies) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well enough with the lavish rashness of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind; and also that the prudent policy of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of *Minutius* and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforehand should have the vantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (& yet it had been a matter of good importance as willing thereby to give him occasion of fighting and cuffing with *Minutius*, whom he wist very well to be alwaies forward enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first sight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over-grown with any woods, nor yet in any part roughly over-spread and covered, so much as with briars and brambles. But in very deed, the ground was naturally made for to cover, and hide an Ambuscado: and the rather, because in so naked and bare a valley, none would have imagined and suspected any deceitful trains, and forelaying of wait. And yet there were in divers nooks and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them of sufficient capacity to receive 200 armed men. In these lurking holes there were belovved 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, lest that the stirring of any one that might chance to go forth unadvisedly, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in so open a valley, *Annibal* by sending out at the break of day some few (or to seize the foresaid hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. These at the first view were despised of the Romans for their small number, and every man was desirous to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to let the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The General himself *Minutius*, as fool-hardy and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarm, and commanded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatening of the enemies full vainly. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointly together in array: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battell. And *Annibal*, wheresoever he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continual fresh aids one after another, both of horse and foot, ever as the fight increased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full army in field, and they maintained battell on both sides with all their power and main forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand of the enemy) were put back, and beaten down again: in such manner as in their retire, they put the horsemen in fear that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the Ensigns of the Infantry. The main battell of the Legionary footmen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without fear, undaunted: and seemed in a plain, set, and downright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their own, and in no respect to have been over-matched: so courageous they were, and had taken sufficient heart upon their late victory, some few daies before. But the enemies starting suddenly out of their Ambuscadoes, so troubled, disordered, and terrified them, flanking them on both sides, and charging withall behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off their battell disordered and in disarray, "I thought even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out: Fortune I see well, hath over-raught fool-hardiness and taken it tardy. The man, forsooth, that must needs be made conqueror by odds in prowess and fortune: but we shall find out some other time to chide and to be angry. Come on now, forth with your standards and ensigns, let us wrest from our enemies hands the victory, and bring from our Citizens mouths confession of their error and trepails. Now when some of them were slain, and others looked about which way to make escape and flee: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himself as lent down from heaven to rescue them. And before he came to lance one javelin, or began to joyn battell and fight one stroke, he not only laid his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heat of fight. As many of the Romans as were disbanded and scattered asunder all abroad, repaired again speedily from all parts, and rallied themselves to the entire battell: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy: and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together fled: kept this order by turns: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unforsaken became reduced into one body of a battell, and advanced their ensigns against the enemy. By which time *Annibal* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and said, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so he was foiled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minutius* called together his soldiers, and spake unto them after this manner: "I have oftentimes heard it spoken (in my good soldiers) that he is the best man and most sufficient, who knoweth himself what is best to do: next to him is he esteemed, that will be ruled and directed by sage advice & counsel: but he that neither hath the skill to advise another, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing.

"Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attain unto the highest degree of wit, and perfection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place: and keep a mean between: and whilst we learn to rule, let us settle our selves and resolve to obey him that is wiser than our selves. Let us join in Camp with *Fabius*; and when we have presented our selves and our ensigns before his pavilion and tribunal, let that which I salute him by the name of Father (as it is becoming his excellent majesty and the benefit by us of him received) that he also call those soldiers your Patrons; whose valiant hands and trusty arms elsewhere protected you: that this day may give us yet if nothing else the honour and name of thankful persons. Having thus said, he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to dislodge; and as they marched in good array toward the Camp of the Dictator: they struck both him and all about him into a wonder and admiration. And having pitched their ensigns before the Tribunal then *Meninus*, the General of the horse went forth before the rest: and after he had greeted *Fabius* himself as his Father, and the whole Army likewise saluted those about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrons: "To my parents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equal in name only (as much as my tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more: but to you I am indebted for saving both my life, and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my self I renounce, revoke, and abolish: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both of you and me, of mine army and yours, as well as that which is preserved as that which is the pre-
"server) I do submit and surrender again my self under your command and government, together with these ensigns and legions thereto belonging: beseeching you to pardon me, and to entertain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry; and those here with me, every man in his former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the soldiers (after the assembly dismissed) were curiously invited, and friendly entertained, as well by them that were unknown unto them as of their acquaintance; and so the day, dolorous, heavy, and almost dismal and accursed, turned to be joyful and festival.

So soon as tidings came to *Rome* of these occurrences, and the same confirmed as well by the letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of soldiers from both Armies, every man, the best he could, praised and extolled *Maximus* up to the sky: whose honour and reputation was as great in the opinion of *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, they found, that they had to deal with a man in *Italy* and with Romans. As for the two years space before, they let to light both by Roman Captains and soldiers, that they could be hardly persuaded, that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went so great a fame, and of whom their forefathers had reported such wonders and terrible things. They say also, that *Annibal* as he returned out of the field, gave out these words, "That the cloud which leaped on the hill tops, hovered so long in the wind, that it proved a tempestuous storm in the end.

Whilst these things were doing in *Italy*, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consul, having sailed about the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* with his fleet, and received hostages both of the one Isle and the other, passed over into *Affrick*: and before that he landed in the continent and firm land, he wasted the Island *Meninus*; and having received ^{*} ten talents of silver of the inhabitants thereof, for fear lest their Territory also should be consumed with fire, and spoiled as well as the rest: he came to *Affrick*, and there set his forces ashore. From thence he led his soldiers and mariners likewise, one with another, disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and spoil some desert Islands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they fell unadvisedly into an ambush, and being unskillful of the country, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon enclosed among many, and with much slaughter and shameful flight were driven and beaten back to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one Treasurer of the Army among them, called *Sempronius Blefus*, looted in great haste from the shore (which now was overpeered by enemies) and held their course for *Sicily*, and at *Lilybæum* was let over and delivered to *T. Otacilius* the Praetor, for to be brought back again to *Rome*, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* himself journeyed through *Sicily* by land, and crossed the narrow seas into *Italy*: for both he and his Colleague *M. Atilius* were sent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the Army at his hands, now that his six-months-sovereign government was well near expired. All the Annals in a manner do record, that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged war with *Annib. L. Calpurnius* writeth also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Calpurnius* and the rest, either knew not, or else forgot, that the Consul *Servilius*, who then was far from *Rome*, and in the Province of *France*, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator: and because the City so afflicted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long, they were driven to this shift, That there should be created by the people a Pro-Dictator or Dictator's Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the title of his Image, which might recommend his house more honourable to posterity, gained easily this point, and caused the Pro-Dictator to be reputed Dictator, and so called.

The Consuls, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the Army (as is before said) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbour (for it was then the Autumn season) conducted and managed the wars together in great concord, and followed the same politic course that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rodes at any time to purvey corn, they would meet him just at every turn, in sundry places, and either cut off the tail of his men,

A men, or intercept and catch them as they went scattering, but never hazard all in one set field; the only thing that the enemy shot at, by all the means he could devise. And so near driven was *Annibal*, and to those terms of want and scarcity, that but for very shame (left by his dislodging and departure he might be thought to fly) he would have retired back into *Gallia*, as being but of all hope to maintain and sustain his Army with victuals in those parts. In case the new Consuls who next succeeded, should hold out till the same policy and manner of warfare. Winter now approached, and all the war that was continued and talked about *Cerion*: at what time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Naples*, who brought with them, and presented into the Council, Houely forty malle boles or beaten gold: and withal delivered this speech, and said, "That they knew full well, how the Treasure of the people of *Rome* was waited and consumed by long wars. And forasmuch as the said wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the Cities and Lands of allies, as for *Rome*, the very head, mother City, and principal Citadel (as it were) of all *Italy*, and for the sovereign dominion and Empire thereof: the Neapolitans thought it meet and reason, that what store or gold their ancestors had left unto them, were it for to adorn and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessity, with it they were selves of any other means besides, wherein they might feed and bethought they would as willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: laying, moreover, that the Senators of *Rome* should do them as high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of *Naples* had, as their own; and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept a present much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that bull was only received which weighed least.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two years space had walked unknown and undiscovered, was detected and apprehended now at *Rome*; and after his hands were cut off, was suffered to depart. Five and twenty slaves were crucified for a conspiracy contrived in *Campus Martius*. The Informer was made free, and had ^{*} 20000 pound of brass billyon given him for a reward. There were also sent Embassadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand again *Demetrius Phariis*, who having been vanquished in plain field, was fled unto him. Others likewise were dispatched to the Ligurians, as well to expatulate with them and complain, that they had succoured *Annibal* with men, money, and other munition: as also to hearken and learn (seeing they were so near) what the Boians and Insubrians did or went about. Besides, a third Embassy was addressed as far as to *Athyræum*, unto King *Pincus*, to enquire and call for the Tribute, whereof the term was expired and past: and if he were minded to take a longer day, than to receive hostages and pledges of him for security. See how careful the Romans were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great war which lay heavily upon their backs and shoulders, to their other affairs: inasmuch as no one thing in the world, how distant and remote soever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters; they made some scruple of conscience, that the Temple of *Concord* (which *L. Manlius*, L. Deputy in *Gallia*, had vowed two years before in time of a sedition and mutiny of soldiers) was not as yet set out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Dumbwits were for that purpose created by *Emylius* the Praetor, or L. Governour of the City, namely, *Cn. Papius*, and *Cato Quintus Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the Capitol hill. The same Praetor, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters unto the Consuls, importing thus much, That if they thought good, one of them should repair to *Rome* for the creation of new Consuls; and that himself would summon the Parliament against that day which it should please them to appoint. The Consuls wrote back again according to the premises, That they might not depart far from the city without damage of State: advising them to hold an assembly for the Election aforesaid, by authority of an interregent. Rather than that one of the Consuls should be called away from the wars, but the LL. of the Senate thought it better to have a Dictator chosen by one of the Consuls, for the holding of that high Court of Parliament. So *L. Petrus Philo*, was nominated Dictator, and he chose for General of the Horsemen *M. Pomponius Maibo*. But these men being not duly and lawfully created, were commanded at the fortnights end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Interregent. The Consuls had their Commission, for government and conduct of the Army, continued and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregents, first *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the son of *Appius*; and after him, *P. Cornelius Agna*. During whole Interregent, the Parliament was holden, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Commons. The Vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Consulship *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their own coat and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common sort by opposing himself and contesting against great personages, and by other popular practices and courtes that he used to win grace among the people; as namely, by abasing the greatness of *Fabius*, and the Majesty of the Dictatorship: for nothing was there else in him, to commend him to the world, but a malicious mind to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons all they could, to prevent this mischief: That men should not take a custom to be their equals, by means of inveighing and making head against them. *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune of the Commons,

* *Cir. quatuor.*
The Embassadors
dons of Naples
in the Senate
of Rome.

* 20 pound
in 6 d. steel.

* *Silvanus.*

His speech to
the Dictator.

* *Ceribitor*
Zerbi.
* 189 g. li. Her.
according to
the lesser Af-
rick talent.

* *Man. Gallia.*

The Oration
of Fabius He-
renius a Tit-
bune.

mons, and kinman to C. Terentius, blamed and accused much not only the Senate; but also the H
Angurs, in that they forbad the Dictator to finish and go through with the election; and so by
drawing them into hatred, sought to purchase favour and credit unto Terentius his Candidate,
who stood to be Consul. First, quoth he, whereas the Noblemen for many years together, sought
occasions of war, and trained Annibal into Italy, the same persons craftily have made a long war
of it, when it might have been brought to a final and before now; Also, when it was well seen
that they might have fought a battle with the complete power of four legions all together, seeing
that M. Minutius in the absence of Fabius had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were
offered and exposed as it were to the enemy to be hewn in pieces; and then afterwards, they
were rescued and saved from massacre, and the very edge of the sword; to the end that Fabius
might be called Father and Patron even he, who to say a truth, first impeached the Romans for
vanquishing the enemies, before that he saved them from being vanquished. Moreover, the
Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificiall fetches that Fabius pra-
ctised before them, drew out the war still on length; when they had good means of victory, and
might have fully finished it. A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the No-
bles. And never will they see to, make an end of war, before there be a Consul chosen, a meer
Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never seen afore; and of the first head; For those who are of
Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the same profession; they draw all in one
line, and have learned one lesson; and therefore that they have left to be contemned of the No-
bility, are faine to despise and disdain the Commonalty. For who keeth not, that in seeking to
have an Interrein, their only purpose and reach was, that the Election might be full and wholly
in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Consuls aimed at, in
staying behind in Camp with the Army; & afterwards when there was a Dictator created a gainst
their wills for to hold the great assembly for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought so,
and brought it about in the end, that the Angurs should give it out and pronounce, that there
was an error committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore, saith he, the Commons can-
not of all things away with these Interreins; and verily, one of the Consulships (at least) ap-
pertain of right to the Commons of Rome; and no doubt, the people in their free election would
more willingly make choice of one to be Consul, and confer the dignity upon him; that loved
rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time. When
the Commons were once enkindled and set on fire with these speeches and remonstances, albeit
three of the Patritii were competitors, namely, Pub. Cornelius Merenda; L. Manlius Volfo, and M.
Emilius Lepidus, and two new Noblemen, who were already familiar and acquainted with the
Commons, to wit, C. Autius Serranus, and Q. Elius Paucis; of whom the one had been High Priest,
and the other Augur: yet at length was C. Terentius only created Consul, to the end that the ele-
ction should be in his power, that he might choose unto him a Colleague at his pleasure. Then
the Patritians having a sufficient tryall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of small force
and not able to prevail, urged and put forward L. Emilius Paulus, who sometimes had been
Consul with M. Lelutius, in the condemnation as well of himself as of his companion, escape
the peril of being burnt, and was well finged and scorched, as it were in the fire: a man of all M
others most michievously bent against the Commons: him they urged, to stand for a Consul-
ship, notwithstanding he refused a long while, and alleged many reasons against it. And so the
next Comitial or Parliament day, by occasion that all the concurrents and competitors afore said
that stood with Varro, gave place and left off their suit, he was chosen to match with the Consul
elect, for to thwart and cross him, rather than to be assistant unto him in the government. This
done, they proceeded to the election of Pretors, wherein M. Pomponius Mitho, and P. Furius
Philus were created. Unto Pomponius fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City of Rome; and un-
to P. Furius Philus, between the Citizens of Rome and foreigners. Two other Pretors besides were
chosen, M. Claudius Marcellus, to be sent L. Deputy into Sicily, and L. Posthumius Albinus into
Gallia. All were created in their absence, and excepting Terentius the Consul only, there was no N
Magistracy conferred upon any, who had not aforetime born and exercised the same: for divers
valorous and hardy men were passed over and left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was
not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexperienced.
The Army also were augmented; but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavalry, or In-
fantry, I dare not set down any thing for certainty: so greatly do authors vary both in the num-
ber and quality of the forces. Some say, there was a new supply of 10000 souldiers enrolled. O
Others affirm, that to the five legions there were were adjoynted four new besides, to the end they
might employ nine legions in the wars. Also, that the legions were increased in number both
of foot and horse: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footmen and three hundred horse-
men in every Legion: for sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 200 horse, cal-
led Quadrata legio: whereas at first Romulus ordained it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of the
other: so as a Legion consisted now of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse: and that the
affairs should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the
Romans.

Some Historians have written, that at what time as the battell of Cannas was fought, the Ro-
mans were in Camp 87200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romans warred with grea-
ter preparation, and more force and fury than in years past, because the Dictator had put them in

All within
these marks
read as a mar-
ginal note.

A In good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these
new Legions advanced under their ensigns and banners out of the City, the Decemvirs were com-
manded to go and peruse the books of Sibylla; by reason that men were commonly put in fear,
and terrified with news of strange sights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both
at Rome in the Aventine, and also at Ardea, iterated fumes, much about one time; and that in the
Sabine Country (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter) there issued out of a
certain fountain, waters hot, with much blood; and men were more terrified therewith, because
it did so many times together. Besides, in the street called Fornicata toward Campus Martius, di-
vers persons were blasted and smitten to death with lightning from heaven. The prodigious
signs were expiate and purged with due remedies out of the foretold books. Emball dore also
from the City of Pessum, brought unto Rome a present of massie blocks of beaten gold. Thanked
they were, like as the Neoplatons before them, but the gold was not received.

At the same time there arrived at Ostia from K. Hiero a fleet of ships, ready rigged, and furnished
with store of victuals. The Syracusan Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, where
they declared, That K. Hiero so soon as he heard of the death of C. Flaminius the Consul, and the
defeat of the Army, took it so heavily, that no proper calamity of his own, or loss incident unto
his kingdom, could have troubled him more, and touched him nearer: and therefore albeit he
knew full well, that the grandeur and courage of the people of Rome, was ordinarily more admi-
rable in their adversity, than in prosperity and welfare, yet he had sent a thole things, where-
with good friends and faithful Allies are wont to furnish their associates in time of war, praying
C the L.L. of the Senat, in any case not to refuse the same, but to take all in good worth. And first &
formost, for good lucke and fortunate presage, they have brought with them the Image of Vi-
ctory in gold, weighing 320 pounds: requesting that it would please them to accept the same.

Modios of wheat, and 200000 of barley to the end they should be at no fault for victuals, and
were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, and to what place they
would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed, and horsemen he knew well the people of Rome
would like none but naturall Romans, or at least wille Latines. But forasmuch as he had seen and
observed in the Roman Camp, forrein aids consisting of light armed iou. durs, therefore he had
sent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the Balceres and
Mores, and other nations that use shot, and to reach their enemies as far off. Over and besides
these gifts and real presents, they counselled and advised them, that the Lord Deputy of Sicily
should pais with his fleet into Affrick, both to find the enemy work, and give him his hands
full of war at home; and also to afford him less respite, and worse opportunity, to lend aid and
succour to Annibal. The Senate returned this answer again unto the King: That King Hiero
had done the part of a right good man, and a singular friend and ally, who ever time that he was
entred into amity with the people of Rome, hath held on the same course still, in keeping his
faithfull allegiance, and never failed, but at all times and in all places succoured and advanced
the State and Empire of Rome, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of
Rome took most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for good meane Cities likewise had
brought and offered unto them, but accepting only in good worth their kindness, received it not.

But the Image of Victory, and the happy preiuge and foretoken thereof they gladly accepted, and
for that blessed Saint they appointed and dedicated even the Capitol, and Temple of Jup. Op.
Max. to be the seat and shrine thereof: that being consecrated in that Cattle and highest for-
tress of the City of Rome, it might be propice and gracious, and remain firm and fast to the peo-
ple of Rome. As for the Slingers and archers, together with the corn they were delivered to the
Cof. Five and twenty galleys, with five ranks of oars to a side, were joined to the Navy which was
under the conduct of T. Octavius the Pro-prator in Sicily: who had commission, if he thought it
good and expedient for the commonweal, to pais over into Affrick. The Consuls having finished
the musters and levied souldiers, laid a few daies, until their allies were come with aid from the
Latines. Then were the Souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put
to their corporal oath, and sworn to make their repair at the Consuls commandment, and with-
out their leave not to depart: for until that day there passed nothing but a sacramental parole &
simple promise in general. For whensoever the horsemen referred to their Decuries, and footmen
to their Centuries; both they of the Cavalry in their Decuries, and also of the Infantry in their
Centuries, swate (after a sort) voluntarily among themselves. That they would not abandon their
enigns by way of flight, or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either
some offensive armour, or to finite an enemy, or to save the life of a Citizen. Which having been
aforetime a voluntary covenant & accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes
or Colonels, reduced to a formal and solemn oath and bound the souldiers to observe them, fume
of necessity. Yet before the ensigns set forward and marched out of Rome, the Consul Varro dealt
many hot words and brave orations in the assembly of the people, intimating & purporting thus
much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in Italy, where it was like to remain long e-
nough, and to stick close to the ribs of the common-weal, if she were served with many in. h
Generals as Fabius was, "As for my self (quoth he) I shall (I trow) vanquish the enemy, the first day
that I set eye upon him, yea, and finish the war at once for ever. But his Colleague Paulus made
but one only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City, which was not

The Embassa-
dors of K. Hiero
in the Senat
of Rome.

* 11520 lib.
sterl.
* 2975 quar-
ters, reckoning
six modii to
Attidannus,
which is sup-
posed to be
about a
half London
measure.

* 4

so well taken of the people for the present, as it is proved true in the end. Wherein he gave *Varro* no hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: "That he marvelled much, how any Captain, before he had experience either of his own army, or of his enemies, and knew the situation of the place and ground, and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gown, could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field; and be able also to foretell and set down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joyn in ranged battell with the enemy. For his own part, he would not cast thus beforehand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due time & season, which present occurrences are wont much more to minister unto men, than men time & season, that shall happen. This would he wish with all his heart, That the enterprises taken in hand warily and with discretion, might prove as lucky and fortunate. As for I, inconsiderate rashness, besides that it is implieth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was well seen, that this man of himself enclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsels, before doubtful waies & fool-hardy courses: & so to the end that he might persevere in that resolution more constantly. *Q. Fabius Maximus* at his departure (by report) bad him farewell, in this or such like manner. "If either you, *Q. L. Emilius*, had a Colleague like unto your self, which I could rather wish, or that your self were fittable to your Colleague, these my words to you were altogether needless and superfluous. For you twain, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all things faithfully to the good of the Commonweal: and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, ye neither would vouchsafe to give ear to my sayings, nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, when I consider your companion what he is and your self, to be a man of that quality & worth, as you are he to whom alone I am addrest to direct my whole speech; to you, I say, whom he thinks I foresee already, like to be in vain and without effect: an honest man and a good Citizen. For if the Commonweal be hale and lame but of one side, as great sway and authority will be had projects & leud courses carry, as the good sage, and wholsom counsels. For you are set out of the way and much deceived, *Q. L. Emilius*, if you think to be less troubled with *Annibal* than with *C. Terentius*. And I wot not well, but I greatly fear, that you shall have a more cumbersome adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For with *Annibal* you are to fight in the field, and in time of battell only; but with *Terentius* you shall have to do in every place, and at all hours. Against *Annibal* and his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your own Cavalry and Infantry; but General *Varro* will assail you even with your own footsouldiers. For he be from you in any illenise the late remembrance of *C. Flaminius*, for I love no such unlucky prelagings. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul, and never before: when he was in his Province with command, & in the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this *Varro*, even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the whiles he was a sutor therefore, and now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth cam or enemy in field, is horn-mad, and talketh like a man besides himself. What foul work then, think you, will he make, when he shall see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in their gowns and long robes within the City, stirreth so great storms and tempests, cracking and vaulting at every second word, of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battell? What a coil, I say, will he keep there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blow given; and when upon direct, M. on, presently ensueth execution? But in case this man (as he saith flatly he will) I fall immediately to strike a battell, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than was the Lake *Thrasymenus*. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorifie my self in comparison of this one person: who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed and go beyond all measure in despising glory & honour, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against *Annibal*, is that which I took and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is matter and teacher of fools) which sheweth & proveth this unto us, but even reason it self which hath, N and will be fill the same and immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We war, (you see) in Italy, at home, in our own ground and place of residence: all quarters round about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready still to furnish us with armour, men, horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faithfulness have they given us already in our hard distresses and adversity. Space and process of time maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Contrariwise, *Annibal* is in a strange and foreign land, in his enemies country, in the midst of all things that are croise and adverse unto him, far from his house and home, far from his native soil, having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertainment, no wals he hath, within which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing seeth he, whereof ever he goeth, that he can say is his own. From day to day, from day to day, he is transported over the river *Pyrene* and *Ipsal*. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river *Pyrene*. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this small remainder that is left, he is hard and scant provided of food and sustenance. Make you any doubt then, but we shall vanquish him, whilst we sit still and take our ease, who day by day decrease (scarcely, and waxeth old and feeble, who neither hath store of victuals to maintain an army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mals of money to entertain them.

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A "How long was he faine to fight for *Gerion*, a poor little Castle in *Apulia*, as it had been for the wals of *Carthage* it self? Neither will I boast and magnifie my self at all before you *O. Emilius*. "Do you but only consider, how *Cn. Servilius* and *Artorius*, the last Consuls, paired mock-holiday with him and deluded him. This is the only way of safety, *O. L. Paulus*, which I ear me our own Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than to enemies can. For you shall have your own footsouldiers and your enemies both of one and the same mind, *Varro* the Roman Consul, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the self same thing. And you, being but one man, must make account to resist two Captains: and resist them you shall: well enough, if you will stand firm and hold your own against all bruits and speeches of the people, if neither the vain glory of your fellow that shall be blazed, nor the infamous rumour: that shall be falsely blown abroad to your disgrace, shall once stir you from your constant resolution and maintenance of the truth. Oid sayings, these be, and common prove by: "That right and true-dealing may well be sick, but it shall not die: it may lie a bleeding but shall not miscarry. And he that will despise vain-glory, shall attain in the end to true glory. Let them call you and spare not fearful for careful, cold and flow for wise and considerate an ill foudier and ignorant for a skillful warrior and experient ed. But be not you dismayed: I had rather hear a wife and sober enemy to fear you, than see foolish and brain-tick Citizens to praise you. Adventure all things boldly, *Annibal* will condemn you: enterprise nothing; shyly, he shall dread you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speak I this that you should enter into no action at all: but my meaning and advice is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by three reasons, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter so, that I things lie within your compals, and at your disposition. Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have your eye about you still, and keep good watch, that neither you lose any opportunity that shall present itself unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and leisure your shall find all things clear plain easie, and certain. Contrariwise, shall maketh waste: it is ever to seek it forefeeth nought, but is stark blind.

The Consul answered to these speeches, with no light som cheer and gladome countenance, as confessing, That all he spake was rather true in substance, than easie in execution. "For (said he) if the General of hostiemen were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his Dictator and sovereign Commander: what could he take, what shift may I make, what power and authority insufficient, am I like to have to sway against my tedious, quartelme, and heady Colleague? For mine own part, in my former Consulship, I hardly escaped a scourging, and much ado I had to pass through the fire, fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy sentence, wherein I was well scorched and half-burnt. I with all may be well in the end. Howbeit, if any thing shall fall out otherwise than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the enemies, and leave my life behind me amongst them, than put my self to be tried again by the voices and suffrages of angry and tatty Citizens. *Paulus* had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journey, and the chief LL. of the Senat accompanied him, The other Commoner Consul was likewise attended of his favouris the Commons, more looked on & gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their persons.

So soon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was increasing ed with the old, they divided the whole army into two camps & ordered the matter so, that the new which was the lesser should be nearer to *Annibal*: and in the old, the greater number and the whole strength and flower of the main forces should be quartered. Then they sent away to *Senae M.* sitting the Consul of the former year, who excused himself by reason of his old age, and desired to be gone. But they gave unto *Cn. Servilius* the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and besides of two thousand horsemen and footmen of their allies in the lesser Camp. *Annibal* notwithstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re-enforced by one half more than before; yet wondrous joyfull he was at the coming of these new Consuls. For not on y F he had nothing left of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to serve his present need and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with: by reason that after the territory was not safe to travel in, the corn from all parts was conveyed unto the strong walled Towns, and there laid up: so that (as afterwards it was known for certain) he had scarce corn enough for to serve ten daies: and the Spaniards, by occasion of the death and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might but enjoy a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides, to the inbred rashness and over-hasty nature of the Consul. Fortune also ministered matter to confirm him therein. For in a certain tumultuary skirmish (to it up and impeach the torragers and Phidreus of *Annibal*, and which began rather by chance, as the footsouldiers happened to encounter one another, than upon any deliberate counsel beforehand, or by direction and commandment from the Generals) the Carthaginians had the foil, and went by the worst: for of them there were 17 slain: but of Romans and Confederates, not passing 100. And when in theirin of glory they hotly followed the chase in pursuit, the Consul *Paulus*, who that day had the absolute command (for they governed by turn: each once his day) refrained and staid them, *Varro* thereat chafed and fretted, crying out aloud. That he had let the enemy escape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given over the pursuit, the war might have been ended at once. *Annibal* took this loss and damage nothing near the heart, but rather made full reckoning, that he had caught

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(as it were) with a bait, & fleshed the audaciousness of the fool-hardy Consul, and of the new soldiers especially. For he knew as well all that was done amongst the enemies, as in his own Camp; namely, that the Generals were not fit to be trusted one unto the other, and that of three parts of the army, two in a manner were but raw, fresh, and untrained soldiers. And therefore supposing he had now got place and time favourable unto him, to contrive and compass some stratagem, the night following he led forth his soldiers, carrying nothing about them but their armour; and abandoned the Camp full of all things, as well private goods and furniture, as public provision; and beyond the next hills he bestowed secretly in ambush his footmen well appointed and in ordinance of battle on the left hand; and the horsemen on the right; and conveyed all his carriages into the midst between two flanks: to the end, that while the enemy was buied in rifling and ransacking the tents, and looting (as it were) and forsaken by the flight of the owners and masters, he might surprize him laden and encumbered with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the Camp many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should not think and believe, that under a pretended shew of an army in Camp, his purpose was to hold and keep the Consuls amazed till where they were, while himself in the mean time might gain more ground and escape further away: like as he had plaid by *Fabius* the year before. When day-light was come, and the Consul saw, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached nearer) unwonted silence they marvelled much. But after they discovered certainly that the Camp was abandoned, and no person remaining behind: there was running of all hands who could run fastest to the pavilions of the Consul, with news that the enemies were fled, in such fear, as they left their tents standing entire, and had quit the Camp wholly: and to the end their flight should be more secret and not desired they had left light fires burning in every place. Then began they all to cry and call upon the Consul, or to commend the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad and to lead forth in pursuit of the enemies; and without any stay to make spoil and have to their Camp. And in truth, one of the Consul, was no wiser than the common soldiers. But *Paulus* replied, and told them ever and anon, that they were to be circumspect and wary, and to look about them what they did for fear of an ambush. Yet seeing in the end no remedy, and that otherwise he could neither stay the mutiny, nor tell the Captain thereof: he sent out *M. Stacidus* (the Praefect marshall) with a troop of Lucan horsemen in cassail to discover the coats and seals were clear: who having ridden hard to the gates, and given order to all the rest for to stay without the fortifications, himself with two horsemen besides, entered within the rampire, and having looked and searched every corner advisedly, he returned and made relation. That past all peradventure there were knaves abroad and a piece of treachery was in hand: for why there are fires made (quoth he) on that side only of the Camp that looked toward the enemy: the pavilions stand open and all things of price and value which they set more store by are left at random even to fit our hands: and we have been beset in divers places, silver plate and coin scattered along the way here and there, as it were a bait laid to train us to a booby. These circumstances reported, of purpose to withdraw their minds from covetous and greedy desire of pillage; set them on and kindled them the more. And the soldiers had no sooner cried aloud, that unless the Consuls were given, they would set forward without Commanders; but they had a Captain straight at hand to lead them. *M. Paulus* who of himself made slow hast, and perceived besides that the birds in taking the Consul approved not this enterprize nor gave good tokens of happy speed, gave order straightwaies that his Colleague should be advertised of the unlucky Auspice, who was ready now to set out of the gate with his late misfortune of *Flaminius*, should stay. Wherewith albeit *Varro* was not well content, yet the late misfortune of *Flaminius*, and the memorable overthrow at sea of *Claudius Pulcher* Consul, in the Punic war, wrought some scruple of conscience and fear in his heart. But it was even the fair grace of the gods (if a man may so say) and nothing else, which put by and deferred rather than impeached and inhibited the danger and destruction that hung over the Romans heads. For as good hap was it chanced at the very instant, when the Consul commanded the ensigns to be brought into the Camp, & the soldiers would not obey him that two lasses (who served sometime two horsemen, the one a Formian, and the other a Sidicin, and who in the year when *Servilius* & *Antius* were Consuls among other foragers were taken prisoners by the Numidians) made an escape and fled that day to their old masters again. Who being brought before the Consul, advertised them constantly, that the whole army of *Annibal* lay close in ambush, ado on the farther side of the mountains. The coming of these bondslaves to right and jump as they did, caused the soldiers to obey their Consul. Whereas the one of them by his ambitious courting and seeking unto them at the first for a Consulship, and afterwards by his unbecomingly indulgent and pleasing of them, had lost all his majesty and reputation among them.

Annibal, when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without advice, than still to run rashly on head to the full, and that his ravy device was disclosed and took no effect, returned again into his Camp. Where he could not for want of corn make abode many daies: and besides, not only soldiers (who were not all one mans children, but also their Captain himself was of many minds) to plot and enter into new designments, but also their Captain himself was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling: and afterwards with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages, complaining first of the dearth of victuals, and in the end, of meer hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenary soldiers,

* Read the
Breviary of
the nineteenth
book.

And the Spaniards especially, were minded and intended to give him the slip, and to turn to the enemy; *Annibal* likewise bethought himself otherwhiles as it was said, how he might flee into *Gallia*; but so, as he would leave his Infantry behind him at six and seven, and to be gone with his Cavalry alone. As men, I say, were thus plotting and devising in the camp, he received at length to dislodge from thence, and to remove into the hotter countries of *Spain*, where the harvest was more timely: considering withal, that the farther he went from the enemies his soldiers who were by nature light-headed and inconstant, would not so easily revolt and flee from him. So he took his way by night, and made fires likewise, and left a few tents standing in light, that the Romans tearing the ake trains and ambush, as before, might keep in and not stir abroad. But when as the same *Statilius* the Lucan, having scoured all the consuls both beyond the camp, and the other side of the hills, and brought word, that he had discovered the enemies afar off dimarching, then began they the morrow after to think and consult of making after him with hot pursuit. But both Consuls continued, as ever before, the same men still, that is to say, diversely minded, and persisting in their several resolutions: but so, as all in a manner accorded with *Varro*, and none agreed unto *Paulus*, but only *Servilius* the Consul of the former year: yet according to the opinion and counsel of the major parts, they went both together (for what might hold that which fatal necessity driveth to make *Camma* much renowned and famous for the notable overthrow and defeat of the Romans. Near this village *Annibal* had encamped under the wind *Vulturnus*, and had it on his back: which wind, when the fields are scorched and burnt with drought, is wont to bring with it clouds (as it were) of dust. Which as it was good and commodious for the very camp it self, so it was like to serve in special stead, when they should range their battell in order, and fight with the wind blowing on their back, against the enemy, whose eyes the dust was ready to put out, flying with the wind full in their faces so abundantly.

The Consuls having diligently searched the ways and tried the passages ever before them, followed *Annibal* hard, and so soon as they were come to *Camma*, had him in sight: where they fortified two camps, of like distance almost alunder, as at *Gerion*; and divided their forces like as before. The river *Ausidus* ran close by both these camps, and yielded waiting places according as either of them had occasion and need, but not without some trifling and skirmish. But from the lesser camp, which lay on the farther side of *Ausidus*, the Romans had more liberty to water, because upon the farther bank there was planted no fence nor guard of the enemy. *Annibal* having possessed himself of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meet for the service of horsemen (in which kind of forces he was invincible) ordered his battalions in array. & by putting out certain Numidian light horse, made a bravado, and bade the Consul's battell. And when they fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutiny of the footsolders, and what with the disagreement and jarring of the Consuls: while *Paulus* laid hard unto *Varro*, and let before his eyes the rashness of *Servilius* and *Flaminius*: and *Varro* again hit him home, and twit him with the example of *Fabius*, which made to goodly a shew in the eyes of fearful, idle, and cowardly Captains: both of them fell to protesting and calling God and man to witness, the one giving out, that the fault was not in him that *Annibal* was

now Lord well-near of all Italy already, and why? because himself was kept short and tied fast enough by his Colleague, and the soldiers whose hot blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: *Annibal* on the other side complaining, that it ought should hap amis unto the Legions thus betrayed, and offered willfully and unconsiderately to the danger of doubtful battell, notwithstanding he were not blame-worthy but innocent altogether; yet should he be the first that imputed, and be partaker of the mischief and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were to be ready and laffy of their tongue to speak, would be as nimble & active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus while they spent time in chopping of Logick & quarrelling one with another, rather then in good & sober consultations, *Annibal* who had stood arranged a good part of the day ready to fight, minding to retire his

other forces into his camp, sent forth certain Numidians out of the battell to charge upon the Romans on the other side of the river, who from the lesser camp went for water. These being disordered & confused multitude, were not fully landed on the bank, but with the fiercest & tumult of the Numidians, they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enemy rode forth, even to the standing *Corps de guard*, quartered before the rampart, and had at the very gates of the Roman camp. This was such an indignity offered to the Romans, to themselves thus thus braved and bearded even in the very camp by the auxiliary footsolders, and the fatal sort of the enemies, that there was no other thing stayed the Romans from passing the river presently, and embattelling themselves, but only this, that it was *Paulus* his anniversary day to have the foretold command of all. And therefore the morrow after, when it came to *Paulus* his anniversary day, he, without any advice of his companion, he put forth the signal of battell, and with a little force put in order of battell, went over the river, *Paulus* also followed after him as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his Colleague, but otherwise could neither will, nor chuse, but second him, and take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they joined all the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the other: and in this manner they ordered the battell. In the right point which was nearer to the river, was arranged the Roman Cavalry, and after them the footmen. The left point on the outside, was flanked with the horsemen of the allies: within stood their Infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the Archers

* Thus a
Latin edition
of the Clie-
ment this par-
ticular.
T. Livius.
B. 20. c. 10.
Gallia.

and loose shot, close to the main battel of the Roman Legions; and of all the rest of light armed H auxiliary souldiers, consisted the van-guard. The Consul led both the points, *Tarentius* the left, *Emilius* the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the main battel. Now *Anibal* by the break of day, having sent before the Balearic slingers, and his other light armor, passed over the river, and marshalled them in battel array, ever as they came to land. The horse as well Gauls as Spaniards, he opposed in the left point, neer to the bank; even against the horsemen of the Romans: the right consisted of the Numidian light horse: and the main battel was strengthened and fortified with his Infantry: but in such manner as the Africans flanked both, in manner of wings: and between them were bestowed the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midst. A man that had seen the Africans, would have taken most of them for Romans, so armed were they with Roman armor, I gotten much of it at *Trebia*, but most of all at *Thrasymenus*. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had targets neer of one fashion, but their swords were unlike and far differing. Those of the Gauls were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whose manner is rather to fight with the thrust and to toy, then to slash and strike edglong, had handsome short cutlasses, and sharp at the point. And after this sort stood these two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both for the bigness of their persons, and also for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel upward naked: the Spaniards with linnen waistcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordered and embroidered with purple and scarlet. The compleat number of all, as well horse as footmen, that stood embattelled, amounted (as they report) unto forty thousand foot, and ten thousand men of arms. These Captains had the leading of the two points, to wit, *Alarbal* commanded the left, *Maharbal* the right, *Anibal* himself in person with his brother *Mago*, conducted the middle battel. The Sun shone sideways upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts, were it that they were so placed and marshalled of purpose, or chanced at adventure so to stand: the Romans with their faces full forth, the Carthaginians into the north. But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call *Fulturnus*, arose and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raised such store of dust, and drove it so upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect. The cry and shout began on both sides, and the Auxiliary souldiers put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one another with their light shot. Then the left point of the Gauls and Spanish men of arms encountered and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of horse-service. For they were of necessity to affront one another straight forward, as having no room left about them to fling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and enclosed on the other with the battailon of footmen. Whereupon I say, they were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them, so long as their horses stood close and thrust together: but at length when they began to stir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold and claipe one another, and every man to pluck his enemy besides his horse, so as now they were driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather sharp then long: and to be short, the Roman Cavalry was discomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horse made an end of their fight, began the skirmish of the foot also. At the first the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their enemies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and arrayes. At length the Romans cast about and deviled on what side, and with what form of a close battailon, to force back that pointed Squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by so much the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the rest of the battel. Now when they had once driven them to retreat, and give ground, the Romans pressed on still at one instant, and with the same violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entered as far as to the very midst of the vanguard and main battel: and finding none able to stand in their way and make resistance, they gained in the end the very rearward of the Africans: who having drawn in from both sides their skirts and wings, stood together strong, and firmly kept their ground. The Gauls and Spaniards continued still in the midst, somewhat advanced without the rest of the battel. Now when this pointed Squadron was driven by the Romans, and made even and equal fight with the front of the battel, and afterwards upon farther enforcement, gave way for them to pass in a lane through the midst thereof: by that time the Africans charged upon their flanks: and whiles the Romans unwarily were engaged over far within them, they came about them on the skirts, and within a while having stretched out and spread their wings, enclosed the enemies round on their backs also. Hereupon the Romans who had performed one battel and conflict in vain, were forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had discomfited and put to flight, and were to begin a fresh fight with the Africans: and that to their own great disadvantage; not only because they being enclosed and pent up in a straight room, were to deal with them that had compassed them all about and were at liberty, but also because they being wearied, were to maintain a new skirmish with those that were fresh in heart, and lusty. And now by this time, in the left point of the Romans battel, where the horsemen of their associates were marshalled to affront the Numidians they were fain to close fight: which at the first these Numidians began but coldly and faintly. After the deceitful manner of Carthaginians, unto whom they were fain and neer neighbours. For so, of them or thereabout, having besides their usual javelins and darts which they commonly carry, short daggers or skeins hidden under their cuirasses and harness, made semblance of riding away from their own companies, and siding to the Romans, with their bucklers at their backs, all of a sudden dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets, and

A and spears at their enemies feet, were received within the main battel, and from thence conducted to the hindmost in the rearward, were commanded thence to abide behind at their back. And until such time as the skirmish joined on all sides, they continued quiet. But when they saw every mans eye and mind busied and occupied in the conflict, then they caught up those bucklers that lay streyed and scattered among the dead bodies all abroad, and played upon the battel of the Romans from behind: and what with wounding their backs, & cutting their hamstrings, they made foul work and slaughter among them, and more then that, raised a greater fear and tumult by far. Now when the Romans in one place were lighted and ran away, and in another fought for life, armed only with despair of a means to escape; *Alarbal* who had the charge of that side, withdrew from the midst of the battel, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chafe. And to the Africans over weary now with execution and killing, rather then with any other fight, he joined the Gauls and Spanish footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battel, *Paulus*, albeit at the very first shock and encounter, he was sore wounded with a bullet from out of a sling, yet oftentimes he made head against *Anibal*, and kept his battailons close and thick together, yet, and in divers places renewed the conflict, and evermore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected him. But at the last they left their horses, because the Consul his strength failed him to rule his own, and to fit him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto *Anibal*, that the Consul had commanded his men of arms to light aloot. Then (quoth *Anibal*, as the report goeth) Yea, marry: But how much gladder would I be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot? And surely the horsemen fought so after they were lighted, as if there had been no doubt, but that the enemy had the victory. Howbeit, although they had the worse, yet they chose rather to die in the place, then to flee: and the victors angry at the heart with them for thus flaying the accomplishment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all those whom they could not make to give ground and yeeld. And yet a few such as were wearied with much toil and overcharged with many wounds they enforced to retreat. Anon they were all discomfited and scattered asunder: and as many as could, recovered their horses, and fled away. *Cn. Lentulus* quoth (he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the only guiltless man, and innocent of this days work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horie of mine, while some vigor and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him: to accompany and protect you also. Come I say, and make not this battel more cursed and sorrowful by the death of a Consul. Without it, I wot, we have cause enough already, and too much, of dolorous tears and wofull lamentation. Whereunto the Consul made this answer: Give thee thanks, *O. Lentulus*, gra-mercy for thy kindness, and God bless thee in this thy vertue and prowess. But take thou heed to thy self, lest by thy foolish pity of me, thou lose that little time which thou hast to escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy self, and go thy ways to the L. of the Senat, and will them all from me in general, to fortifie the City of Rome, and man it well with strong guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come against it. But more particularly, let *Q. Fabius* understand, that *L. Emilius* yet, was mindful of his wholom precepts, all the while he lived, and now also forgot them not at the hour of his death. And suster thoume to yeeld unto nature, and let go my last breath, even here among the heaps of mine own slain souldiers, that I may end my days and die neither an accused and guilty person, nor in my Consulship stand up to accuse my Collegues, and to defend mine own innocency, and justice my selfe, by the blaming of another. As the Consul uttered these words, first the multitude of his own citizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursuit, ran over him: and not knowing who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for *Lentulus*, his horse carried him away to a little hill. Then they fled all main as fast as they could, 7000, recovered the lesser camp, and ten thousand the greater: and upon two thousand put themselves into the village it self of *F. Canne*. But because it was an unvalled and fenceless town, they were immediately environed by *Cartago* and the horsemen, and so perished every one. The other Consul made no semblance, that he was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled, were it of purpose, or as it chanced: and accompanied with fifty men of arms or thereabout escaped to *Pompeia*. In this battel were slain of Romans (by report) 40000, footmen, and 2700, horsemen: and in a manner, as many besides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongst whom there was one Consul, two Treasurers, *L. Atilius* and *Furius Bibaculus*, 21, Colonels: some also who had been Consuls, Pretors, and *Ediles*. Of which number was *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Minutius Numatius*, who the year before had been Commander of the Cavalry for some certain days. Besides 80, Senators, or such as were Senators fellows, and had born those dignities, in regard whereof, they were to be chosen Senators. These served as volunteers and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at this field, as the general speech went, 3000, footmen, and 300, men of Arms.

This is that noble battel, so famous for the overthrow at *Canne*, and comparable to that defeat at the river *Alia*. For like as this was of less importance then the other, in respect of that which ensued after the conflict, because the enemy stayed his hand, and pursued not his victory: so if we consider the loss of men and defeat of the army, it was the greater, and for the shameful flight more dishonorable. For the running away that was at *Alia*, as it betrayed the City, so it saved the Army: but at *Canne*, when the one Consul fled, there were scarce 50, of his army that accompanied

him, and as for the other Consul, while he lay a bleeding and dying, all his forces to speak of, H took their heels.

Now there being a number in both camps, half disarmed, and wholly without their chief Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp sent a messenger unto the other, willing them to come over thither, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to *Cannisum* in the night season, whilst their enemies were fast asleep; as partly wearied with long fight and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This advice, some there were that mistook altogether and rejected. For, why [say they] might not they come hither themselves to us, as well as send for us, since we may as soon go join together? Because, I wot, all the ways between are full of enemies, and they chose rather to hazard the bodies of others, then adventure their own persons in so great danger. Others were not so much displeased for any dislike of the motion, as their hearts failed them to take in hand the enterprise thereof. Then spake *Py. Sempronius* of *us Tullianus* a Colonel, & And will ye rather chose (quoth he) to be taken captive by a most covetous and cruelty enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapmen coming to buy you in open market, should ask every one of you this question, Whether art thou a Roman Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And to thy disgrace, reproach, and misery, another man shall get honor, and thy self none. Ye are not [I see well] like to *Lucius Emilius*, who made choice to die valiantly, then to live in shame and obloquy; nor to many other he brave and hardy men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light surprize us, and greater troops of enemies beset the passages, let us break through these, that in disorder and out of array, make to foul noise at our gates. The point of sword and edge of courage, is able to pass through enemies, and they never so thick and close together. We will make a pointed battailon in wedge-form, and pierce through their loofe and thin squadrons, as easily as if nothing stood in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to save your selves and the Common-weal. The word was no sooner out of his way through the midst of the enemies: and when the Numidians flanked them, and forth hard at their right side that lay open to them, they shifted their targets to their right arm, and so escaped to the number of 600. unto the bigger camp, and forthwith from thence, joining to the other greater company, they retired themselves safe to *Cannisum*. These exploits were performed by men vanquished, more upon a present fit of courage, as each mans natural instinct guided, or chance led him, then either any sage advice of their own, or command of other.

mand of other.

Now when all the rest came about *Anniball*, immediately upon this noble victory, to congratulate and rejoice with him, yea, and to advise him, that after to great a battel performed, he should the rest of that day, and the whole night following, both reitell himself, and also give reit and repose to his wearied souldiers: *Mahabarb*, General of the Cavalry, was of mind that it was no giving over thus: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what consequence this battell is, you shall break yourfast and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hardly with your horsemen, that they may fee you are come, before they hear that you are coming. No, saith *Anniball* again, let couriers on Gods name go alore, and spare not to carry news thereof: Your words are good, M and it is a gay matter and plausible you speak of: but the way thereto is longer, and more then I I can presently conceive and comprehend: give you thanks *Mahabarb*, and I commend your good mind and forwardness: but we had need to deliberate and pause further upon this point. Ah (quoth *Mahabarb*) true it is, I see well, that God hath not endued one man with all gifts. Thou halt the way O *Anniball*, to win a victory, but not the grace to use a victory. And surely, in this one dayes play as it was certainly believed, flood the sack and preservation of the City & Empire of *Rome*. The morrow after, so soon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the gathering of spoils, and to view that great butchery and slaughter: a pitifull and lamentable sight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there along in every place, horsemen and footmen pell mell, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together, N and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise up all bloody from out of the midst of the slaughtered bodies, such as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and made them to start up by reason of their smart, and were by the enemy knocked down again and killed. Other some they found lying along still alive, cut shorter by the thighs & hams, who offered their bare necks & throats to be cut & ca'd upon them to let forth the rest of their blood. Divers were found with their heads covered within the earth, who as it appeared, had made themselves holes & gutters in the ground for this purpose, to inter themselves: whereinto they thrust their mouths & faces, & being buried with mould cast over them, were so stifled & choked. But above all the rest, there was one that drew every mans eye upon him & made them all to wonder: a *Nu-midian* with his nose and ears piteously mangled & cropt, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. O For when his hands so wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon for very anger he fel mad & lay (so long as he had any breath within him) biting his enemy with his teeth, and gnawing at his privities.

Aguiball marched forward to

After they had spent a good part of the day in gathering spoils, *Amibul* marched forward to aid the lesser camp and first and foremost he turned aside the arm of the river that flanked them, and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being over-wearied with toil, with watching and bleeding of their wounds, yielded sooner than he looked for: and, covenanted, *Imprimis*, to deliver up their armor and horses: *Item*, to pay 300. *Quadrante* pieces

A pieces of silver, for every Roman: 200. for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a piece. *Item*, that after this ransom paid, they should depart in their single apparel. Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trifled time there, there were about 4000. footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to *Casertum*, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the work way of the twain, and leis'le safe. And then the camp was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartless, upon the same conditions that the other was. A rich booty was there gotten: and letting aside horses and men, and silver, which they used much in trappings and caparisons of their horses, (for soldiers, by ye sure, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparel, or at their board) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ransacked amongst them. Then he gave commandment that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together to be buried. And as men lay, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hardy men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was fought up and interred. As for those, which elapsed to *Casertum*, were by the Cannins entertained only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wealthy, named *Bysa*, relieved them with some victual, apparel, &ye, and money all in their purses for their journey. In regard of which bountiful liberality of hers, after the war was finished, she was highly honored by the Senat. of Rome.

C Now, there were amongst them four Colonels, namely, *Fabius Max*, of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before; and *L. Publicus Bibulus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Corneli Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion who had been Edictor before; and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *App. Lucidus* were choicest to bear the sovereign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they act with some few others, in council together about the managing of their main affairs, behold *P. Furio Philus*, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand, that all their consultations were in vain, and that they did but foster and cherish a foolish hope of an overthrow late: for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, pall all cure, and remedies. Also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cestius Metellus* was the principal, minded nothing else but to take sea, and were ready to embark, to abandon Italy, and to fly for succor to some King or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievous and heavy in it self: to falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astounded them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to council upon this point, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in to great extremity, but leaving all did, offices, presently proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for no where are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, then where such designments are plotting and contriving.

E Forth he went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen aforeaid, close together in council therelabout: he drew his sword, and brandish it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. "I swear before you all (quoth he) "and I swear from my very heart; and no man urgeth me thereto, that I for my part will neither forsake the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen else of *Rome* to abandon her. And if I fail writing and willing, then confound me *O Jup. Opr. Max*. And bring a most shameful end upon my honour, my family, and all that I have, Swear thou *O L. Cestius* after me, as I have done. I add: "vile thee: and ye all that here are present take the same oath: for whoever shall refuse, know he assuredly, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had seen the Conqueror himself *Anibal* in person, took the oath every one, and yielded themselves unto *Scipio*, forth to be kept in ward to serve against *Anibal*.

At the same time, whilst the things were working at *Cannifum*, there arrived at *Venusia* upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated under all over the fields. and repaired unto the *Conful* there. The *Venusins* took order for the all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several hostes; and they bestowed upon the horsemen, a hide caskock, a coat, and 25. *Quadrantes* a peece: and gave ten *Quadrantes* to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitality, both publick and private, they strove and endeavoured that the people of *Venusia* should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind one woman of *Cannifum*. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude, the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame *Bustaforn* than their number was fitten to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence that the other *Conful* was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure wthal whether he would command the army to be brought unto *Pennisia*, or abide still at *Cannifum*. But *Varro* (the *Conful*) of his own accord brought his forces to *Cannifum*. So as by this time, they made a pretty good shew of a *Confular* army, and seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by force of arms in the field, yet at leastwile, with the strength of walls within the towne. But the newes came to *Rome*; that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and

* 15. 7. d. ob-
fler, A Quadri-
gate, which is a
piece of silver
coyn among
the Romans,
the same that
Denarius: cal-
led so of Qua-
driga, i. a cha-
riot drawn
with four hor-
ses, represen-
ted on the one
side of the
piece.

[illegible]

Supported with less courage, and valour of mind, *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, assembled the Senat in the
 Court, to proceed, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, assembled the Senat in the
 Court *Hofia*, to for consult about the defence and guard of the City; for they made no doubt,
 but now that the armies were both defeated the enemy would speedily come to assault *Rome*, but
 only piece of work, and warlike service that remained behind undone. But being to seek what
 counsel to take, and what remedy to devise for the relief of these calamities, to exceeding great and
 grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and shrewly troubled besides with the
 clamorous noises and plaints of women: whilst that in every house almost, they cried not to
 mourn, weep, and wail loudly, as well for the quick as the dead (because as yet it was not com-
 pely and for certain known who were alive, and who were slain.) Then *Fabius Max* gave
 his opinion, that certain light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highways: *Asi-
 nius* and *Latina*, and to ride along and enquire of them whom they had met to combat with, first L
 mean as fled, and were scattered here and there abroad; if happily from them they could report
 upon his knowledge, what was become of the Consuls, and the armies: and in case the im-
 mortal gods had of their mercy and compassion: some poor remnant still of this miserable
 and woful Empire, for the Roman name: where that residue of small forces was: what way *As-
 inus* took; and whether he was gone after the battle was fought: what preparation he maketh,
 what presently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advice was, I say, that to efly, hearken
 and learn certainly, these premises, certain lusty young men, active and industrious, should be
 employed. But for the L.L. of the Senat thus much, that considering there were few Magistrates
 at home, and those not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hubbub, therefore M
 they should take upon themselves, to debar the dames and women for coming abroad, and
 force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors: to take order that all Posses-
 sors of households and families: to cause silence throughout the City; and that every man should at-
 tend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himself, or his own state. Over and be-
 sides, that they should let wardens at the gates, to see that no person went out of the Cityard
 to compel every man to hope for no other safety for themselves, but in the preservation of
 the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurry is once hushed, then (quoth he)
 may the senators well be called again to the Council-House, and consult for the defence and
 safeguard of the City. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went N
 every man on *Fabius* his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authority of the
 Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators returned to the Coun-
 cill-house, to appease the uproars: then at last, came letters from *Tarentum* the Consul, import-
 ing, that *L. Aemilius* the Consul was slain together with the army: that himself was a shipwreck upon the
 sea; and there were ten thousand soldiers of them, or very near, and the whole count of frame
 and good order. As for *Annibal*, he lay still now at *Cauca*, busily occupied about the ransoming of
 prisoners, and intensive to the rest of the spoil and pilage: not measuring the victory with the
 mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guile and manner of a subtle warrior and great
 commander. Then were the private and particular losses also divulged: the spread abroad through
 every man his household, and family, and the whole City was so filled with sorrow and lamentation,
 that the Anniversary solemnity of sacrifices to *Ceres* was forelet, because it was not lawful for
 those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was not a matron throughout the City, but
 was in heaviness and sorrow for the loss. Left therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well public
 as private, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued, there passed an Act
 of the Senat, by virtue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thirty
 days. Now was the trouble of the City no sooner allayed, and the Senators called again
 into the Council-house.

A into the Council-House: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of *Sicily* from *T. Othacilius* the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much: That the realm of *Hiero* was much wa-
 A sted by the Cathaginian navy: and when he would have succoured him at his earnest suit and pe-
 tion, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands *Aegae-
 res*, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Cathaginians perceived one that he had
 turned and bent his forces to the defence of the coast and river *Syracus*, they might immediately
 set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded
 to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of *Sicily*, they must of necessity rig
 and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pre-
 B tor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that *M. C. Claudius*, Admiral of the fleet which rid
 in the harbour of *Ofis*, should be sent unto the army at *Cannifum*, and letters be dispatched withal
 unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto
 Rome with all speed possible, and not fail, for far forth as he might, without any detriment and hin-
 drance of the Common-weal. Besides these to great losses and adversities, men were put in fear
 with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Veital Virgins, *Opimius*,
 and *Florinus*, were detected and attained of manifest whoredom: the one of them was buried
 quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate *Colina*, the other killed herself, *L. Can-
 titius* (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call * *Minoris Pontificis*) thepatry
 who had committed fornication with *Florinus*, was by the chief or high Priest to beaten with rods
 C in the *Comitium*, that he died under his hand. This heinous fact, and enormous offence falling
 out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a porten-
 tous sign: and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search and peruse the Books of *Si-
 bylla*, And *Q. Fabius Pittor* was sent to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle there of *Apollo*, and
 to learn, by what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and what would be the
 end of so great and fearful miseries. In the mean while, out of the learning contained in those
 books of definitions, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices among which, a French-
 man together with a French woman; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive
 D in the beast market into a vault under the ground (stoned all about: a place aforesaid embred and
 polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religion
 of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, *M. Claudius
 Marcellus* (sent from the haven of *Ofis* for the defence and guard of the City, 1500. soldiers;
 whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea, himself having lent afore the legion belong-
 ing to the Armado (which was the third) with *Theon* a Sidicinus a Colonel, and delivered the
 fleet unto *P. Varinus* companion with him in commission: within few days after made haste, and
 with great joyousness arrived at *Cannifum*, At Rome, by virtue of the Authority of the Senators *M.
 Junius* was created Dictator, and *T. Sempronius* General of the horie, who proclaimed a muster,
 and enrolled all the younger foot above 17. years old, young, and some also under that age that
 were in their * *Prætexta*, and were not come to * *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up four legions
 full, and a thousand horsemen. Likewise they sent unto their Allies, and namely to the Latine na-
 E tion, to receive souldiers from thence according to the form of the league: giving command-
 ment, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of war, should be in readines, Also to
 furnish out the army, they plucked from the Temples, and public k Galleries and walking Places,
 the ancient spoils and armor of their enemies. And for very need and want of free men, they were
 compelled to devise a new kind of mustering never used before: for they bought up in open mar-
 ket with the City moneys, 8000. luty strong young men, meer bond-slaves: but they demanded
 first of every one by himself, whether they were willing to serve in the wars, and so they put them
 in armor, And they thought it better to take up and levy souldiers thus, then to redeem and
 buy again their own who were captives, albeit they might have been ransomed for smaller sums
 of money: For *Annibal*, after this so fortunate field fought at *Cannæ*, letting his mind wholly up-
 on the affairs belonging to an absolute conquest, rather then any more wars: caused his captives
 to be brought forth, and fevored the Roman confederates apart from the rest: and unto them
 (as he had done aforesaid at *Trebis*, and the Lake *Thrinymenus*) he spake graciously, and sent
 them home untaken. The Romans also he called unto him, and gave them kind and loving
 words, more then ever he had done before, "What? we and the Romans (quoth he) war not
 mortally and deadly one with the other to the utmost: nay, our quarrel is rather for honour
 and sovereignty. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were subdued of the Romans, and
 "yeed did at length to their valor and prowess: so the only thing that I seek for, and indeed, or unto
 "is this, That they likewise in their alternative turn, may give place unto my felicity and vertue
 "together. And therefore I grant the Romans this favor and liberty, to redeem their prisoners:
 "and this shall be the ransom, for every man of arms I demand 500 *Quadrants*, 300 for a foot-
 "man, and 100, for a bondman. And albeit the horsemen ransom was somewhat inhand: ad-
 above that sum which they capitulated for, when they yielded, yet glad they were to accept of
 any condition and covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that ten out of them should be chosen
 by voices, to go to Rome unto the Senat: and he took no other pledge for assurance of them but
 their oath, that they would return again. With them was sent *Carthalo*, a Noble man of *Carthage*
 with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romans encline to peace) to offer unto them con-
 ditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soon gone out of the camp, but one

* The Pry
 or Minor Prie-
 lates.

* It was the
 upper garment
 that the Ro-
 mans children
 used until they
 were fully 16.
 years of age,
 embroidered
 with purple,
 and otherwise
 called *Parsa*, &
Ægisgorgon,
 because it was
 all white, and
 without any
 purple, which
 they put on at
 17.

* The Petty
or Minor Pic
lates.

* It was the
upper garment
that the Ro-
mans children
used until they
were fully 16
years of age,
embroidered
with purple.
* Other wife
called *PHYL*, &
ἀπόρρητος,
because it was
all white, and
without any
purple, which
they put on at

of them (a man of no Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten it somewhat behind him, and so to discharge himself (forth) of his oath, returned into the camp, and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming to Rome, there was a Lictor sent out to meet *Carthalo* upon the way, and to warn him in the name of the Dictator, before night to depart out of the confines of the territory of Rome. But the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator. And the principal man among them, *Marcus Junius*, spake in this manner.

The Oration
of *M. Junius* to
the Senat.

"Right honourable, and my very good LL. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, that never any City whatsoever, hath been at less charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in wars, and made so small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blinded in our own conceits, and think better of our cause, then there is reason: never were there any soldiers that fell into the hands of our enemies, more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yielded not our weapons in battell for cowardize and fear, but after that we had stood well near unto the night fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following, notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended our rampart. The morrow after, when we were beset and invested round about by the conquerors army, yea, and excluded from water: and saw no other hope at all to break through our enemies, ranged so strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against the law of arms, that when 50000. of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman soldiers should remain alive after the battell of *Cannæ*: then and not afore, we agreed upon a sum of money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large, and so we yielded unto the enemies our weapons, wherein now we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors deemed themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding they were most straight laced, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet sent Embassadors to *Tarentum*, for to redeem their captives: and both those battells, first in Italy with the Gauls, and then before *Heraclea* with *Pyrrhus*, were not so ignominious and shameful for the losse it felt, as for the fright and heathly running away. But the plains of *Cannæ* are covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies: and we that be here, had not remained alive to kill them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battell: but being left behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it was surrendered into their hands. Certainly, I envy not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and good estate of any Citizen or fellow soldier, neither would I be thought the man, who by deceiving another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good footmanhip and swift running deserve reward) who for the most part fled out of the field unarmed, and never (tinted before, they gat *Venusia* or *Casuntum* over their heads, cannot justly praise themselves before us, nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-weal in better stead, then we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous soldiers: so shall you us, too, yea, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good means we have been ransomed and restored again into our country. Ye have levied soldiers of all ages and degrees, and I hear say, there be 8000. bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in number our selves, and redeemed we may be with as small moneys as they are bought. I say no more but so, for if I should make farther comparisons between us and them, I must do wrong to the Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye are due to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of us, or of our defense, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrrhus* peradventure, who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Carthaginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that yeflaw the irons and chains, the nasty filthines and foul usage of your Citizens. I am assured, you would be no less moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, then if ye beheld on the other side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of *Cannæ*. Ye may observe and behold the sorrowful cheer, and salt tears of our kinsfolk standing here in the porch and entry of this Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they so fare, and are so pensive for us, and for them that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whose liberty and whole life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himself would, contrary to his nature, be respective and merciful to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed. There returned in times past to Rome certain captives, sent home by *Pyrrhus* without any ransom paid, but the returned accompanied with Embassadors, right honorable personages of this City, who had been sent for their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth 300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fanie of his own my LL. And I woe well, that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I fear more the hazard of honor and good name, lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never believe, that you did it to spare your purse, and to save money.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediately the multitude who were gathered together in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and held out their hands unto the Council.

A Council-house, beseeching the LL. of the Senat to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolk again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this prels of men in the market place. But when all others besides the Senators were voided, they began to debate and consult about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason, that their ransom were disbursed out of the common chest: others were of mind, that the City should be at no charge at all for their redemption: many they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their own cost and expenses. And in case there were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by surties bound, as by their good and lands, mortgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of the old world for precise severity, and as most folk thought too too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the cause in this wise.

The Oration
of *T. Manlius*
Torquatus in
the Senat.

"If the Committees (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there (saide) it they had not reckoned the person of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them. For what need I to have done else, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom delivered unto you from your ancestors, and to maintain the same, so good and necessary for the service of war. But now, seeing they have not only justified, but also (as it were) glorified themselves, in that they yielded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be preferred. Not only before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that saved themselves, and escaped to *Venusia* and *Casuntum*; yea, and before *C. Terentius* himself the Consul; I will not hide any thing from you my LL, but a quaintom with every thing that was done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I might deliver at *Casuntum*, even before the body of the army, the best witnesses of every mans cowardise or valour: or at leastwise, that *P. Sempronius* were present here alone whom, if the fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been soldiers at this day in the Roman camp, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For whilst the enemies were wearied with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victory, and most of them retired into their own camp, they might have had the whole night to save themselves at their pleasure: and if that were not, yet being even thousand strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them, were they never so thick, and to have broken away in despite of their hearts. But nevertheless tempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another, *P. Sempronius* *Tuditanus* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them, for to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp, whiles they were at repose and rest, and whiles the night lasted favourable unto them, for to hide and cover their enterprise: perfwading with them, that before day light they might easily reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days of our Grandfathers, *P. Decius* a Tribun Colonel in *Saguntum*; like as of late time when I was a young man my self, in the first punick war, *Calpurnius Flamma* laid unto three hundred his voluntary soldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little Hill, flanking in the midst of his enemies: Let us die hardly my soldiers, and by our death save and deliver our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If *P. Sempronius* had said so much to you, he would never have esteemed you men of valour nor yet Romans, if no man among you would have born him company, or seconded him in that singular virtue. But he shewed you a plain and easy way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory. He offered himself to be your guide, to bring you to your native country: to your parents, your wives and children: yet would not your hearts serve you to escape and save your selves. Where had your hearts been then, if he would have had you to die for your country? 50000. of our Citizens and Confederates, lay that very day slain at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and virtue could not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you: it is to great a foil and overthrow was not able to make you despise and set little by this life: none will ever do it, Desire home a Gods name, and long after your native country, whiles ye are free and in safety: nay, desire to be in your country, whiles it is your country, and whiles ye are Citizens thereof. Now your desire and longing cometh too late, being disfranchised, having lost your former estate and right of Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a peece of money to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which I through faint heartedness and cowardize ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to *P. Sempronius* your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand and to follow after him: but anon after ye could listen after *Annibal*, commanding you to betray and render the camp, and deliver up your armor. But why blame I their littleness and dastardly fears: when I may reprove and accule them for willful and lewd wickedness: For they not only refused to be ruled by his good counsel and exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and lay him in his intended enterprise, had not right hardy and valiant men with their swords drawn, set these dastardly beasts farther off. *P. Sempronius*, I tell you, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and squadrons of his own countrymen before he could break through the battalion of his enemies. Lengthen our country to have these far her Citizens? who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have had never.

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a one of them that fought at *Canna*, for her Citizens. Of seven thousand armed souldiers, there were found 600 that had the heart to break away, maugre the enemies, to escape and return with liberty, and with their armor, home into their country, notwithstanding there were forty thousand enemies to resist them: how easily then and safely, deem you, might a power almost of two Legions, have passed through them and gone their ways? Ye had had this day my Lords twenty thousand at *Canninum*, of right brave hardy, and loyal souldiers. But now which way can they covards possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens? (for valiant souldiers,) am I sure, they will not think themselves, nor take up on them to be, unless a man could be persuaded and beleaved they were such) who would have impeached and withheld the rest for getting away, even when they were at the point to open a passage; or that they rather do not envy now, both the safety and also the honor of others which they have won by prowess: knowing in their own confidence, that their timoroutness and cowardlinesse was the cause of most ignominious and shameful servitude. They loved better to cloie within their pavilions, and to look for the day light and the enemy together: whereas in the still dead time of the night, they had the opportunity to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them to break away out of the camp, yet to defend the same manfully, they had courage and valor enough. Besieged they were, straitly beleaguered: invested they were day and night for a good timecend in their armor forced to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit themselves within their ramparts, at length (God wot) when they had assayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them for sustenance of this life: so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to bear their own armor and lift up their weapons; overcome at the last, rather with the necessity of mans frail nature, then by the violence of the enemies, they, good men, gave over and yielded themselves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morrow morning when the sun aroode, the enemies advanced and approached toward the rampart: and within two hours after, without any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves. Thus ye see what their good service was, for two days together. When they should have stood to it in field, and fought, then they fled back to their tents: when they were to guard and defend their trench and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy: good no where, neither in battell nor in battell. I agree to ransom you, you (I say) when you ought to have sallied forth of the camp, to linger behind and stay still: and when need was, to abide by it and to defend it like valiant men, surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yield your own bodies to the enemy? Nay, but to speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that these fellows deserve no more to be ransomed, then those to be delivered unto *Annibal*, who lifted out of the camp, pierced through the midst of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their country. When *Manlius* had said, albeit the precedent of the City it self, which never from the first beginning favoured the redemption of such souldiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners: the ransom it self, which amounted to a good round sum made them to pause: because they were unwilling both to empty the publick treasury: (having already disbursed great sums, in buying up bond-slaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that *Annibal* (who as the voice went, was at a very great stand for money) should be enriched thereby. When this their answer was returned, M to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a new fit of weeping and wailing afresh added to the former sorrow of the people, namely for the loss of so many Citizens; and so with many a tear that they shed, with sundry plaints and moans which they made, they accompanied the Committees above said, as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his house the same time, who upon a fraudulent and cautelous return made into the enemies camp, as is aforesaid, supposed he had acquit himself and disburdened his conscience of his oath. Which being known and recounted to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to *Annibal*. There goeth another report of these Captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was debated in the Senat, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no; N they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat: and upon longer stay made then they looked for, three others followed after them, to wit, *L. Scribonius*, *C. Calpurnius*, and *L. Manlius*. Then by mediation of one Tribum of the Com, a kinsman of *Scribonius*, the matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives: but granted it would not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Annibal*, and the other ten that first came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to *Annibal*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, forsooth, of the names of the prisoners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Also, that in the Senat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the hands of *Annibal*: and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendered and sent back, failed of their purpose, by reason they came short by few voices and opinions, and that the other side carried it clean away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked and branded with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediately made themselves away with their own hands: and the rest forbore, not only the common place and market all their life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very street, and never looked out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among themselves,

A selves, than from any of them pick out and discern the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and loss at *Canna* was, than any other before time, appeareth by this evident argument, in that those Allies, which ever to that day stood fast and iure unto them, now fell to shrink and fail: and surely for no earthly thing else, but because they began to despair of the main chance of the whole State and Empire. For hereupon there revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Attelians, the Calatins, the Hirpines, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites, except the Petellians all the Brutii in general, and the Lucans. And more then these, the Surrentins, and the whole tract well-neer, of the Greeks along the sea coast, The Tarentins, Metapontins, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gauls within the Alps. And yet for all these defeats, and rebellions of their Allies B and Subjects, were not the Romans one whit inclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Consul, nor yet after that he was returned, and renewed again the dolorous remembrance of that wofull overthrow received. And even at that very instant, so high minded was the City, and so far from drooping and being cast down, that as the Consul returned homeward from so great a defeat, whereof himself only was a principal cause, he was not only met upon the way by all the States and companies of the City in great numbers, but also highly thanked, in that he despaired not of the State of the Common-weal: who, if he had been the General and Leader of the Carthaginians, should have been sure to have inoaked for it, and endured all extremity for torment and punishment.

The three and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and twentieth Book.

T H E Campsienterred unto *Annibal*. Mago was sent to Carthage, with news of the victory at *Canna*: and in the entry of the Council-House, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there slain, which by report exceeded the measure of a *Modius*. Upon these tidings, Hanno, the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, persuaded with the Senat of Carthage, to sue unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Barchin side a fiction, that gain-said him. C. Marcellus the Pretor fought fortunately before Nola, in a battell which he made out of the town against *Annibal*. The Army of *Annibal* fell to riot at Capua, E and gave themselves to such sensuality, while they wintered there, that both in bodily strength, and also in courage of mind they became much enfeebled. *Caesilius* was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extreme famine, to eat thongs and leatherings, plucked from off their shields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Mice and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans sent unto them down the river *Vulturnus*. The body of the Senat was replenished by receiving unto them a new supply from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen, the number of 197. L. Posthumus the Pretor, was together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the sword. Cneus and Publius Scipiones, vanquished *Adrubal* in Spain, and had the conquest thereof. The remnant of the army defeated at *Canna* was sent away and confined into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A league and society was concluded between Philip the King of the Macedonians and F *Annibal*, *Sempronius Gracchus* the Consul, discomfited and slew the Campsienter. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits achieved by T. *Manlius* the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, against the Carthaginians and the Sardi: who took the General himself *Adrubal*, together with Mago and Hanno, prisoners. *Claudius Marcellus* the Pretor vanquished and defeated in a battell before Nola, the army of *Annibal*: and was the first that put the Romans in some good hope of better success, after they had been toiled out with so many foils and losses.

The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A N *Nibal* after the battell fought at *Canna*, and the winning and ransacking of both the Roman camps, dislodged anon, and was removed out of *Apulia* into *Samnium*, being sent unto, for to come unto the Hirpines country, by *Statius*, who promised to betray and deliver the City of *Consia* into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of *Consia* named *Trebbius*, a noble personage and of great name in his country. But the bend and faction of the *Cossines* (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but

after the fame of the battell of *Canne* and the coming of *Annibal*, divulged and blown abroad by H the speeches of *Trebinus*, those *Coffens* abandoned the City: and so was it without any conflict rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garrison. *Annibal* leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his army into two parts: giving *Mago* in charge, to possess himself of the towns of that country, which would revolt of themselves from the Romans: or else to force them thereunto, in case they denied and refused to do. Himself took his journey through the land of *Campanie*, toward the nether sea, intending to assault *Naples*, that he might be Lord of a Port Town also, and have it at his devotion. When he was entered the confines of the Neapolitans, he placed some of the Numidians in Ambush, as cunningly as he could, (and there for the most part, the wayes are hollow, and full of close and secret nooks and holes) others he commanded to make a show of driving away a booty out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the City. Against whom (seeming to be not many, and those disordered) a troop of horsemen issued forth, but the enemies of purpose giving back and retiring from them, led and trained them on, to the place of ambush: and so they were environed on every side, and there had not one of them escaped alive, but that the sea was near, where they espied many fisher boats along the shore on the bank side; and as many of them as were skilful in swimming, gat unto them, and saved themselves: but in that shirinish nevertheless certain young gentlemen were slain. Among whom, *Hegesias* also, the Captain of that Corner of horsemen died in the place, who followed too hotly upon them that retreated & seemed to flee. But *Annibal* after he had viewed the walls, and saw they were not easie to be won, was discouraged and feared from giving assault to that City. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to *Capua*, a City flowing in wealth and superfluity of all pleasures, by reason of long felicity, and the favourable aspect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there reigned, it was infected most with the licentious looseness of the Commons, who exceeded beyond all measure, and abused their liberty. *Pacuvius Calvius*, a man of noble race there, and popular withal, but one that by lewd and indirect courtes became rich and mighty, by means thereof, had both Senat & Com. under his girdle, and might do what he would. This man changed to be head Magistrate the same year that the Romans were defeated and overthrown at the Lake *Thrasymenus*: and supposing that the Commonalty (who had been a long time maliciously affected to the Senat and Nobility) would by occasion of alteration in the State, enterprise some notable act to wit, (in case *Annibal* should come with his victorious army into those parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of *Capua* into the Carthaginians hands. This man I say, lewd and bad enough otherwise, but yet not stark naught and wicked in the highest degree: desirous to lord it, and domineer with the safety of the Common-wealth, rather then with the utter destruction of the same: as knowing full well, that no State could remain safe, spoiled and bereft once of a publick counsel: cast about and plotted, how he might both save the Senat, and also oblige the same to be at his and the Commons devotion. He assembled therefore the Senat one day together, and after he had protested with a solemn preamble, "That in no case he would kill & allow of the defigment and intent of revolting from the Romans, unless it were upon necessity and constraint: for as much as himself had married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had fair issue by her: and besides, affianced a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Livius in Rome*: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of greater consequence toward, and a danger like to burst out more to be feared then that. For the Commons intend not by way of revolt and rebellion to rid the City of the Senators authority, but are purposed to massacre all the Senators, and so to deliver unto *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, the Common wealth, clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent peril (quoth he) know how to free you, in case you will wholly trust and rely upon me, and forget all former jars, and old debates, which have fallen out in governance and managing of the Senat. Now when all of them in place, for fear were forced to put themselves into his hands: I will, quoth he (thrust you up within the Council-Chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their complices, both privy and party to this intended practise of theirs: and so by soothing them up, under a colourable approbation and allowance of their designments, which I should in vain cross and gain-say, I shall find out a ready way to save all your lives. And for assurance hereof, ask and have of me what bond and security ye will your selves. Thus having made his faithful promise to be fast and true unto them, he went forth, and commanded the Council-House doores to be shut sure, and left warders to keep the gate and entry thereof, that no man without his license and commandment, should either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a solemn and frequent assembly, thus he spake unto them. "That which ye have often wished for (O ye *Campanians*, my good neighbors and friends) namely, to have the power and mean to revenge your selves thoroughly of this wicked and cursed Senat, now lieth in your hands to perform with safety at your pleasure. And ye need not by way of an uproar to assault their houses one after another, to the great danger and hazard of your persons, considering how they are defended with strong guards of their vassals, favorites, and bond-slaves: ye have them all fast and close mued up within the Council-Chamber: themselves alone, without company, without armor and weapon: there you may take them. But see that ye do nothing hastily upon head without pause, nor rashly without advisement. I will lo compais and bring about, that ye shall give your doom of life and death upon every one of them, to the end that each one may have his desert, and suffer due punishment accordingly. But

The Oration
of *Pacuvius
Calvius* to the
Commons of
Capua.

A "But above all things ye must have an eye and look to this, that ye proceed not too much in heat and choler: but that ye have more regard of your own safety and profit, than of ire and revenge. For (I take it) they be these Senators only whose persons ye hate and detest: and your meaning is not wholly to put down and overthrow the Senat quite: for either ye must accept of a Kings (O government abominable) or else admit a Senat, the only Council indeed of a free City and State: and therefore with one blush (as they say) ye are to go flop two gassands to do both at once, namely, to abolish and depose the old Senat, and to elect a new, I will command, that the Senators shall be sited by name one after another: and concerning their life and death, I will demand your opinion and resolute sentence: and look what judgement ye give, shall surely stand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guilty person be done to death, ye shall substitute in his room a new Senator, some good man of valour and courage, and worthy to succeed in his place. With that, he late him down. And after all their names were thrown in to a lottery pitcher and shuffled together, he called him to be cited and called aloud by name, and the man himself to be brought forth of the council-House whole name changed to be drawn out first. He was no sooner named, but every man cried out, that he was a lewd and wicked person, and worthy to be hanged. Then *Pacuvius* said, I see (quoth he) what destiny ye prefigure this man. Rejected he is, and cast out for naught and unjust: choole now a good Senator, and a righteous in his room. At the first, all was silent, and as still as midnight, for default of finding a better to place in his stead. Afterwards, when some odde groom pat all shame and reverence, seemed to nominate one: by and by they grew to much longer words, and greater clamor: while some that they knew not the man others laid to his charge sundry lewd and naughty sties, and objected against him either abject baseness, poverty and beggary, or else some dishonest kind of trade and occupation, whereby he lived. Thus sared they, and much wore a great deal, when a old or third Senator was named: so as it was well seen, that the men be thought themselves and repented of that they had done already, considering how they sated still and were to weck, when they should substitute another in his place: forasmuch as it booteth not, but was as hard to nominate the same again, since that their nomination gained them nothing but either to hear their vices decipered, or to bear reproachful terms: and as for all the rest, they were far more vile and obscure persons, than those that came first into their remembrance, and were loathly thought upon. D So, the people fell at length, and gently came down to this point, and confessed, that Much better was bad they knew, than bad they knew not: and Seldom came the better: while the old Senators to be let out of ward and enlarged. By this policy *Pacuvius* having bound the Senat to himself, more than to the Commons, and even as much as their life was worth: without force of arms ruled the rest, and was at his devotion and command. Hereupon the Senators laid aside the remembrance of their own dignity, port, and liberty, became affected to the Commons, and would salute them kindly: inviting them courteously, and entertaining them liberally at their boards, with exquisite and delicate fare: undertaking and maintaining all their futes and causes: ready at all times to assist them and stand by them: and in one word, compelling Juries (to go upon all causes and matters in law) of those whom they knew to be gracious and popular, and fitter to win and procure the favour and affection of the common sort. Thus at the Council-Table all matters were decided, as if the Commons had there sat, and not otherwise. E This *Capua* was a City ever given to dissolute life and excess in pleasure, as well by reason of the natural corruption and infer disposition of the Inhabitants, as also for the pteuous & flowing abundance of all delights, and the alluring inticements of all dainties, that either sea or land might afford. But at that time (such was the obsequious fawning and flattery of the Nobles which was the licentious living of the Commons) they were lo lavish, that they exceeded in lull and superfluity beyond measure, and laid it on in expence without stay. Besides their contempt of Laws, Magistrates, and Senat, they grew to this pals after the overthrow at *Canne*, that whereas before, they had some awe and reverend regard of the Romans now they detested and set naught by the government and Empire of *Rome*. And nothing else stood in the way, but that presently they would have rejected their rule, and shaken off the yoke of obedience and allegiance, saving only this, That by reason of ancient entercourse of loves and mutual marriages, many noble houses and mighty families were linked and allied to the Romans: and again, which was the greatest bond of all, whereas there had served in the Roman wars, certain of them: there were three hundred men of arms, and those of noblest birth of all the *Campanians*, chosen out of them and sent by the Romans to be reliant in sundry garisons of the Cities of *Sicily*: whose fathers and kinsfolk (with much ado) obtained, that Embassadors should be sent unto the *Cathars* of *Rome*. They found the Consul *Penuia* with a few souldiers and those armed by the halves (for as yet he was not gone to *Capua*) being in that poor taking and hard plight, as he could not be in worse: either to move pity in the hearts of true and well affected allies, or to breed contempt in proud and hollow-hearted friends, such as these *Campanians* were. Contemtable was their case. But the Consul, made himself and his condition more deplored, by bewraying too much his present distresses, and laying open to the world the nakedness of his calamity. For when the Embassadors delivered unto him, That the Senat and people of *Capua* took it to the heart, and greatly grieved at the adverse overthrow of the Romans, and promised therewith, to furnish him with all things fit and meet for war: "Ye have (quoth he) O *Campanians* observed an order and custom, and for form and fashion visited us your confederats, in willing us to require at your hands all supplies of war: rather

The Oration
of *Pacuvius
Calvius* to the
Embassadors
of *Capua*.

"rather than said any thing directly befitting the present estate of our fortune. For what have we
 "leaves at all, after this discomiture of *Carthage*, that we should be willing to have that supplied
 "by our allies which is wanting? As who would say, we had somewhat already. Should we de-
 "mand of you footmen, as though we were furnished with horse? Should we say that we lack-
 "ed money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no, Fortune hath dealt
 "hardly with us, that she hath left us just nothing, nor so much as that, which might be made
 "up and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Cornets of horse, our armor and munition,
 "our Standards and Ensigns, horse and man, money and victuals, all is gone, lost, and perished;
 "either in the battell, or the morrow after in the ruin of our Camp, when we were turned
 "out of our tents and pavilions. And therefore ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this
 "war: but in our behalf, and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your
 "own selves, against the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in time past, when your an-
 "cestors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your walls, standing in dread and
 "bodily fear, nor of the Samnites only your enemies, but also of the Sidicins: we took them into
 "our protection, and defended them before *Satricula*: and how for your sakes we began war
 "with the Samnites, and maintained the same for the space of an hundred years, and in great
 "variety of fortune, giving and taking sundry foils all the whiles. Over and besides, call to mind,
 "how we concluded an indifferent and equall league with you, to the disadvantage of neither
 "parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under our own laws: and how at the
 "last (a matter, I wot, of right great importance and consequence, before this our late over-
 "throw at *Canne*) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and privilege of Burgei-
 "se, and parced with you the franchises of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my
 "Masters of *Capua*) to repute this loss and misfortune now received, to be as well yours as ours:
 "and to make re-soning to defend the common state and country of both. It is neither Samnite
 "nor Tuscans that we have to deal with, to whom, if we lost and parted with our Empire, yet it
 "remained still within the compass of *Italy*: but the enemy that pursueth us, is a Carthaginian,
 "drawing after him a train of souldiers, who are not so much as born in *Affrick*, but coming
 "from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the streights
 "of the Ocean sea, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and dif-
 "ference of conditions, without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without commerce of
 "mans language. These souldiers so fierce and fell by nature, so cruell and merciless by use and cus-
 "tome, their captain hath withall made more wild and savage, by making bridges, cauleys, and
 "high-waies, over heaps of dead mens bodies: and (which I abhor to speak, by teaching them
 "to eat men flesh. To see and endure these men to be their LL, whom feeding as they do upon
 "such execrable meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we
 "may not: to relore for justice as far as into *Affrick* and *Carthage*, and to suffer *Italy* to be re-
 "duced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not detest and
 "abhor, were he but born only within *Italy*? A worthy honour and immortal glory it will be
 "for you, O ye Campans, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling
 "down prostrate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible
 "power be staied and upheld. And set upright again, I suppose ye have levied and enrolled alrea-
 "dy thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, out of Campans: for coin, for corn, ye have
 "store and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be answerable to your wealth and fortune, nei-
 "ther shall *Annibal* find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have lost
 "a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consul gave the Embassadors their discharge,
 "and dismissed them. As they returned homeward, one of them, *Sibius Virius* by name, said
 "thus unto his fellows. "Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able,
 "not only to recover again the lands which in times past the Romans have wrongfully taken
 "from them, but also obtain & enjoy the sovereign rule & Empire of *Italy*. As for *Annibal*, we
 "may conclude, covenant, and capitulate with him what articles and conditions we list our selves:
 "to our best behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Annibal*, having now dispatched
 "and finished the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conquerour into *Affrick*, and with-
 "draw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of *Italy* shall be left wholly to the peo-
 "ple of *Capua*. *Virius* had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and
 "accorded thereto. And in such terms they related their Embassage, as all men thought no less
 "but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the
 "Commons and the greatest part of the Nobility of *Capua* inclined to revolt and rebell: Yet
 "by the countenance and authority of the Ancients and Elders the matter was staied and deferred
 "for some few daies. At length, the greater part prevailed, whose opinion was, That the same
 "Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Consul, should be addressed in embassage unto *Annibal*.
 "But I find in some Annals, that there was an Embassage sent from the *Capuans* to the City of *Rome*, demanding
 "that they might have any help and aid from them, one of their Consuls might
 "be a Capuan. Whereat the Senat of *Rome* took such snuff and indignation, that the said Embassa-
 "dors were commanded to void the Council-House, and a Sergeant sent after them at their heels,
 "to set them out of the City: charging them at their perill, to take up their lodging that night
 "without the territories of *Rome*. But because this demand jumpeth too nearto the like that the
 Latines

* Gibraltar.

A Latines made long before: and both *Calpis* and other Historians have (not without good reason)
 passed it over and said nothing thereof, I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there
 came unto *Annibal*, and concluded peace with him under these conditions, and covenants: *In-*
primis, That no General, Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdic-
 tion or power over a Citizen of *Capua*: *Item*, That no Citizen of *Capua* should be compelled a-
 gainst his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a souldier. *Item*, That the
 Campans still enjoy their old Laws and Magistrates of their own: *Item*, That *Annibal* deliver
 unto the Campans three hundred Roman Captives (such as they themselves shall chooe): whom
 they might coule and exchange for these three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in
 B garrison, and served for pay in *Sicily*. These were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans
 stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and
 sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Roman Captives over
 the confederate souldiers, yea, and attached other Citizens of *Rome*, that were either employed in
 any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs: and caused them to be clapt up
 within the stores and hot-houses, as in ward and late custody, where their breath being stifled
 and stopped up with exceeding heat, and flaming vapours, they were stifled, and died miserably.
 But there was one *Decius Magnus*, a man who wanted no means of sovereign authority, but on-
 ly the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens: with whom he lived: who withstood
 all that ever he could (such enormous and audacious courtesies, and endeavoured to hinder the Em-
 C bassage sent to *Annibal*. And so soon as he heard that *Annibal* was sending a garrison, he recom-
 mended unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrhus*, the miserable and wretched
 thraldom in the Tarentines as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He ceased not to cry
 aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City:
 then, that being admitted they should either be thrust out again: or rather if they would expire
 and make amends by some valiant and memorable act for that shamefull lend part of theirs, in re-
 venging for from their most ancient Allies, yea, and kinsmen by blood, they should fill upon the
 Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one and so reconcile themselves again to the Romans.
 D *Annibal* having intelligence of these plots (for they were not so forging, and contriving in a cor-
 ner) sent first certain messengers to summon *Magnus* to repair unto his presence within his Camp.
 After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that *Annibal* had no authority nor
 right to command a Citizen of *Capua*) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be ap-
 prehended, and to be haled perforce bound unto him. But fearing, upon better advice, lest by of-
 fering such violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood break forth into an uncon-
 siderate fury, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marius Blunus*, the Prae-
 tor of *L*, Governor of *Capua*: signifying, that the morrow next following he would be perio-
 nally in *Capua*: and so with a small guard about him, he set forth of his Camp, and put himself
 on his journey. *Marius* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning
 them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet *Annibal* up-
 on the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magnus* and the Romans performed this not only
 E obediently, but also most effectually, and with great diligence and endeavour. Yea, the common
 sort likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see the great General
 and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories, *Decius Magnus* neither went forth
 to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty con-
 science: but walked up and down idly for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sons,
 and a few of his vassals and followers, whilst the whole City besides was busily occupied, and
 much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the
 Carthaginians. *Annibal*, being entred the City, incontinently required to have audience in their
 Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principal Citizens of *Capua* regarded him that
 he would not that day intend any weighty matters of importance, but himke it in perion sole-
 F nize it with joy and mirth, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his
 first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and viewing
 the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the *Atians*, *Celians*, *Stewians*,
 and *Pacuvians*, the most noble and honourable perimages, and the wealthiest of all others. Thi-
 bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Annibal*, brought
 his ownson a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Deci-*
 us, and that he was faine to pluck him away from his company and train, whose part he took,
 and luck most fitly to him, in maintaining the old society and unity of the Romans, against
 G the new League with the Carthaginians: and neither the bending and inclination of the whole
 City to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from
 his obstinate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with *Annibal* rather by way of
 prayer and intreaty, than by excoing and clearing his son, that he would not be discontented
 nor displeased with the young man. So he was over-come with the importunate request
 and plentiful reares of the father, and gave commandment, that he together with his father
 should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the company of no other guests
 of all *Capua*, but only of his hostels that have him entertainment, and one *Jubellius Tanceus*.

a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day-light went down, and fared at the table, not after the guise of Carthaginians nor according to the discipline of soldiers, but after the order of a City and house, which had been used a long time to have the board furnished with sundry sorts of dainty dishes, and with all delicate juckets to please the palate and taste. *Perella* only the son of *Calpurnius*, could not be brought to change his mind, and shew himself cheerful and merry at meat, notwithstanding the Matters of the feast, and *Annibal* himself otherwise in- vited him to bear them company, and sit with them; but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at ease and sickly whensoever he seemed to examine him, and to know the cause of such a wonderful trouble of mind, and vexation of spirit. So a little afore sun-setting, when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, he followed hard after him: and when they were come into a secret place apart, a garden it was on the back side of the house, how he shall not only obtain pardon at the Ro- mans hands for our treasurs committed, in falling away from them, and turning to *Annibal*: but also how we Campanians may be in far greater estimation and favour among them than ever we were. The father marvelling hereat, was desirous to know what device that might be: and with that the youth call his gown from off his shoulders, and shewed him a good blade girded to his side. I will, quoth he, out of hand, establish and seal sure the Roman League with the blood of *Annibal*. I was desirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would be willing to be out of the way when the deed is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this, in a great surprisall, as if he had been present to see the execution of that which he heard *K* him to speak of. Now I beseech thee, my son (quoth he) pray thee of all loves and bonds him to speak of. Now I beseech thee, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either com- that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either com- mit or suffer this so horrible a part, full of all abominable wickedness whatsoever, and not to be named. There are not many hours since, that we swore by all the gods and holy hallows in hea- ven, and by joining hand in hand, made faithful promise, and obliged our selves to commu- cate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of sacred viands. And are we no sooner departed alunder from our familiar conference and parley, but we arm our selves against him? Aristel thou indeed from thy friends guest-board, to which thou wert thyself a third man bid- den of all the Campanians, and even by *Annibal*, and wilt thou stain and pollute that board with the blood of the principal guest? I, thy father, erewhile was able to reconcile *Annibal* to my I son: and can I not pacifie my son likewise, and appeale his fierce stomach against *Annibal*? But if their be nothing sacred and inviolable, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithful promise, nor religious oath, nor any pieties at all and good nature, things to honest and just: then adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spo- ken, for that besides the note and infamous mark of wickedness, they bring not upon our own heads present mischief, and utter confusion. Darest thou alone assail the person of *Annibal*? What wilt that multitude about him do the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All their regard and all their eyes upon him alone, what serve they for? What will become of their guard and regard all their eyes upon him alone, what serve they for? What will become of so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be benumbed and dead at the time of that frantic enterprise of thine? The grim visage of *Annibal* himself, whom whole armies of soldiers tremble to behold: who the people of *Rome* dread, and for fear of whom they quake again, wilt thou alone abide to see? And if all other means of help should fail him, wilt thou endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my body between for the safeguard and defence of *Annibal*? And stab me thou mult through the very heart, before thou canst hurt him fence of *Annibal*? And run him through, suffer therefore thyself there to be sacrificed from this thy intended mischief, before thou have the foil there, and mis of thy purpose. Let my prayers take place with thee, as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked his son to weep and shed tears, and embracing him about the middle, and kissing him ever and anon, he left him not, nor gave over to pray & entreat him instantly until he got at his hands to lay off his sword, and pro- mise him faithfully, that he would not attempt any such enterprise. Then the youth, seeing how the case stood, I will (quoth he) pay unto my natural father that kindness and love, in which I am bound as a debtor to my native Country. But alas for you, good father, I am right sorry for your hard hap: who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your country no fewer times than thrice already. Once, when you gave council and persuaded to forsake the Romans, and to revolt from them: again, when you were the principal agent, and advised to make peace with *Annibal*: and now this day the third time, when you are the only obstacle and hinderance that *Capua* is not resolved again into the hands of the Romans. O sweet country and native soil of mine, take here at my hands this sword, wherewith erewhile I was girt and armed for dear love of thee, and was fully minded to defend this thy chief Castle and Fortres, and not to spare, but embrace it in the blood of thy mortal enemy: take it I say, and Fortres, and not to spare, but embrace it in the blood of thy mortal enemy: take it I say, since my own father is ready to wreath it from me. This said, he flung his sword over the garden wall into the high way and open street: and therewith, because he would not grow into any suspicion, he shewed himself again to the guests within the house, and took part of the banquet. The morrow after, the Senate in favour of *Annibal* solemnly met together in great number: in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein he gave the Captains thanks, for preferring his amity before the alliance of the people of *Rome*: and among other fair and magnificall becheits to them made, he promised that within a while,

Capua

A *Capua* should be the head City and chief State of all *Italy*, whereunto the people of *Rome*, together with other nations, should resort for law and justice. Mary, quoth he there is one that hath no part or fellowship in the society and league made between the Carthaginians and you. name- ly, *Magius Decius*, who neither was a Campan nor ought of right to be so called and reputed: him I demand to be delivered into my hands, and as in my presence the Senate should be af- fected their opinion concerning his treasurs, and an Act presently entered thereof. All of them there assembled allowed of the motion, and gave their assent in the end: albeit a great sort of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard fortune and calamity, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the infringing of the right of their freedom. The chief Ma- gistrate then went forth of the Council-Chamber, and late in the Judicial Hall or Temple, and commanded *Decius* to be attached, and to stand before him at his feet, and there to answer for himself and make his defence. Who persisted still in the same stoutness and boldness of spirit, al- ledging that by virtue of the covenants in the League comprised, he might not lawfully be pressed and forced thus far. Whereupon he had irons clapt upon him, and commandment was given that he should have a Lictor attend upon him, and to be conveyed into the Camp of *Annibal*. All the way as he was led, so long as he was bare-headed and open-faced, he went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a loud voice spake and laid: "Now Campanians, ye have the liberty that ye fought and longed for. In the open market place, at noon-day, and in your fight, how I, a man inferior to none in all *Capua*, am led away bound in chains to die. What greater violence could be offered if *Capua* were won by assault of the enemy? Go forth, go and meet *Annibal*, adorn and hang the City with rich cloath of capillary Regiter in your Kalender, among other holidays, this day of his Entry into the end ye may behold this goodly triumph over one of your own Citizens. Upon the utterance of these words, the multitude seemed discontented at the indignity of this sight. Whereupon he was hoodwinked and his head covered, and the Serjeant was charged to have him away quickly, and make haste out of the gates. So, he was brought into the Camp, and immediately shipped and sent to *Carthage*, for fear lest some commotion might arise in *Capua*, upon so unworthy and shameful a deed: and left the Senat al- so to should repent themselves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principal personage among them: also to prevent that no Embassage might be sent unto him for his redeli- very, whereby he should either offend his new Allies, in case he denied them their first request, or suffer *Capua* to have always a baffle and seditious Citizen ready ever to stir up new troubles, if he granted their suit. The ship wherein he was embarked, was by a tempest calt upon *Cyrene*, a port town in the dominion at that time of the *KK*. There, *Magius* fled for refuge as to a Sanctuary unto the Image of King *Ptolomaeus*, and was brought by his guard and keepers unto *Alexander* to the Kings presence, and enforced the King, how contrary to the tenor and privilege of the covenant he was in bonds by *Annibal*. Whereupon he was loosed from his chains, and put to the choice, whether he would return to *Capua*, or go to *Rome*. *Magius* answered, that he could not in *Capua* remain in safety, and if he went to *Rome*, at that time especially when there was war between the Romans and the Captains, he should be sooner lodged therein a prisoner like a fugitive runnagate, than entertained in house for a friend and loving guest: and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the rest of his daies more willingly in no place of the world, than in his high- ness Realm, whom he found already to be the favourer of his life, and the redeemer of his liberty and enlargement.

While these occurrences fell out abroad, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, sent (as is above said) Embassador to *Delfos*, returned to *Rome*, and out of a writing he read openly, the answer of the Oracle in their words (now ye mult understand, that in this Script were certain gods and saints named, unto whom they should make solemne supplication, and the manner also with all ceremonies and com- plements thereto belonging). Then (O Romans) if ye shall so do, your state shall prosper and be more happy: your Common-weal shall go forward better to your mind, ye and victory in the wars shall happen unto the people of *Rome*. But remember, that when all things shall go well on your side, and your State shall be saved and prevailed, ye send unto *Pythius Apollo* a present ac- cording to the merit of a due recompence; and of the silver failed of the pillage, prizes, and spoils taken from the enemies, do him honour accordingly. After he had rehearsed these words, truly translated out of the Greek Original then he said moreover, That so soon as he was depar- ted from the Oracle, he presently sacrificed unto all those gods with frankincense and wine. Also, that he was commanded by the Priest of *Apollo*, that like as he be home came to the Oracle, and also celebrated sacrifices, crowned with a garland and chaplet of Laurel, so he should in the same man- ner adorned take ship and be embarked, and not lay off the said garland before he was arrived to *Rome*. Finally, that all ceremonies performed most precisely and diligently, which he was com- manded to observe, he had laid and bestowed the said chaplet upon the altar, before the Shrine of *Apollo* at *Rome*. Then the Senate made a decree, That those sacrifices and supplications should with all speed and careful regard be celebrated.

While these things passed at *Rome* and in *Italy*, *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, arrived at *Car- thage*, and brought the first tidings of the victory at *Canus*. This *Mago* was no immediately and directly sent from his brother, out of the field where the battle was fought, but staid certain daies about receiving the homage and subjection of certain Cities of the *Bruttii*, which revolted from the Romans. Who having audience given him in the Senat of *Carthage*, related what ailes

known of any hope they had of aid from the Romans. Himself went from *Cannus* to *Calatia*, and from thence passed over the river *Volturnus*, and by the way of *Saricula* and *Trebia*, journeyed over *Suessula* through the mountains, and arrived at *Nola*. A little before the coming of the Roman Prætor, *Annibal* was departed and gone out of the Territory of *Nola*, and drew downwards to the sea-side near unto *Neapolis*; his teeth watered at the Port-town, and that out of *Africk* his ships might arrive thither, as to a safe and sure harbour. But after that he heard that *Nepes* was held by a Roman Provost, *M. Junius Syllanus* (sent for thither by the Neapolitans themselves) and had received a garrison: seeing he could not be admitted into *Neapolis*, no more than into *Nola* he went to *Nuceria*. Having beleaguered it round a long time, and often assaulted it forcibly, and assailed to solicit as well the Commons as the Nobility, but without effect: at length by famine he forced them to yield, and he became master of the Town upon composition. That they should depart every man disarmed in their single garments. Then, as one that would seem ever from the beginning, to use clemency to all Italians, but only the Romans: he made fair promises of great rewards and advancement to honour, unto all those that would carry behind and serve under him. But no man upon those hopes would remain with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went sundry waies, some to their friends and acquaintance, others at a venture to their mind flood to divers Cities of Campania, by most to *Nola* and *Nepes*. Amongst the rest, there were almost thirty Senators, and those (as it fell out) of the best sort, that came to *Cepus*; but being kept out there because they had shut their gates against *Annibal*, they went to *Cumes*. The pillage of *Nuceria* was bestowed upon the soldiers, the City sacked and burnt. K Now kept *Marcellus* *Nola*, not presuming more upon the strength of his own garrison, than upon the confidence he had in the great men and chief of the City. But he had the Commons in jealousy, and above all, one *L. Banius*, who for that he had comploted to rebel, and therefore flood in fear of the Roman Deputy: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treason, and to betray his Country: another while, in case he should fall of that opportunity, and mis his purpose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A courageous and lusty young man he was, and the bravest Cavalier in those daies of all the Roman Confederates. His hap was to be found lying half dead among the heaps of slain bodies before *Canna*: *Annibal* took order for the curing of his hurts, and when he was thoroughly healed, right courteously sent him home well and bountifully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good turn, and in token of L thankfulness, he was willing to deliver and yield *Nola* into the hands of *Annibal*, to be at his devotion. But the Prætor had an eye unto him, and observed how his head wrought, and was busy occupied to bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two waies to deal with him, either by punishment to keep him short, and cut him off: or by some benefit to win his heart: he thinking it a better course, to gain unto himself so hardy and valiant a friend, than only to bereave his enemy of him: he sent for him, and in this manner spake friendly unto him: "You have (quoth he) amongst your countrymen and fellow-Citizens, I see well, many that envy you, as it appears well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at *Nola* that hath told me of you, and how many noble exploits and good services in war you have performed. But yet your valour cannot be unknown and hidden, ever since you served in the Roman army. For many there M "be which were soldiers then with you, which have made report unto me of your prowess, and what perils you have entered into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safety and honour of the people of *Rome*: and namely, how in the battel before *Canna* you gave not over fight, untill at length having bled well near to death, you were born to the ground and lay under foot, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you, and to keep down that you could not rise up again. But be of good cheer man, and go on still in this thy virtue and well-doing: you shall have at my hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the oftner you come to me and keep me company, you shall find it will be more for your reputation and commodity both. The young man was glad at heart for these gracious words and large promises: and so *Marcellus* gave unto him freely, a good brave courier, and commanded the Treasurers to tell him out in money 5000 Bigats of silver, charging his officers and Lictors to let him have access unto him at his pleasure, whensoever he came. By this courteous usage and humanity of *Marcellus*, the young mans stout heart was so dulced, mollified and eased to be wrought, that of all Confederates and Allies there was not one, who bare himself more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of *Rome*. When *Annibal* was approached to the gates of *Nola* (for he was returned from *Nuceria*, and came thither again) and the Commons within the town practised a-fresh to rebel, *Marcellus* had a little before the coming of the enemies, retired and put himself within the walls: not for fear that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold: but lest he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the City, seeing too many of them within disposed and forward thereunto. After this, they began on both sides to arrange their battels in array the Romans under the walls of *Nola*, the Carthaginians before their own fort. Small skirmishes there were between the City and the Camp of *Annibal* (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing, either to deny and debar some few that were so eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signal of a general battel. Whilst these two armies temporized thus, and held their *Corps de guard*, continually, and in manner of a solemn set Assembly, the chief Nobles of the Nolans advertised *Marcellus*, that there used to be night-meetings and conferences between their own Commons and the Carthaginians: and

* *re lix*, sh.
6 d.
* Bigatus was a piece of Roman silver coin, so called of Bigla, a character drawn with two horns, struck on the one side, and it was the same that Dracm.

A and that it was plotted and set down, That when the Roman Host was issued in battel-array out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while should fall to rifling their carriages, packs, and trusses within, and then shut the gates upon them, and keep the walls: and so having the City and all their goods and baggage under their hands, should from thenceforth receive *Annibal* into the City instead of *Marcellus*. Upon these advertisements, *Marcellus* after he had thanked and commended the Senators of *Nola*, determined before any commotion and mutiny arose within the walls, to try the fortune of a battel. At those three gates that flood toward the enemy, he ranged his forces, divided into three battalions, &c. gave order, that all the carriages should follow after him, and that the lackies, launders, and other Camp followers, together with the feeble and sickly persons, should carry stakes and pales for the rampier. At the middle gate he placed the flower and strength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalry: at the two gates at either hand he bestowed the new soldiers the light armed, and the auxiliary horse men of allies. The Nolans were by straight commandment forbidden to approach the gates or the walls. As for the baggage and carriages the ordinary guard was appointed to attend thereupon, for fear, lest while the Legions were busy in fight, there should be some assault made upon them. In this order and array marshalled they were within the gates, *Annibal* al, who likewise ready arranged flood with banner displayed (as he had done for certain daies together) untill it was well toward noon first wounded at it, that neither the Roman army issued out of the gates nor any soldier appeared upon the walls: and supposing afterwards, that their usual exploits and conventions were discovered and revealed, and that for very fear they kept within and sat still, sent back part of their soldiers into the Camp, with commandment, in all speed to bring abroad into the open field before the vanguard, all the Ordnance and Artillery for to batter the City walls: with assured confidence, that if he came hourly upon them, and gave an assault, whilst they thus lingered and issued not forth, the Commons would make some tumult and stir within the City. But anon as every man was busily occupied, running to and fro in haste about his own charge, before the vanguard and forefront of his battel, even at the point when he advanced forward to the walls: all upon a sudden a gate was set open, and *Marcellus* caused the trumpets to sound the alarm, and the soldiers to set up a shout, commanding the footmen first, and then the horse to fly out, and with all the might and force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soon had they terminated their main battel, thickly and made disorder there, when at the two gates of each side, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Canna*, *Arrelus*, two Lieutenants generally issued forth upon their flanks and wings. The horse-boies swiftly and the other multitude above laid, which was set to guard the carriages, arose up, and made a new outcry, and shouted, so as to the Carthaginians (who amongst them before for their small number especially) they represented all at once a show of a mighty army. I dare not at such that which some Authors stick not to write, that of enemies were slain in this conflict 2500 and that the Romans lost but one only man. But what victory soever it was, either so great, or smaller, surely a doughty piece of service was that day achieved: and I wot not whether I may truly say, of the greatest consequence that any ever was, during the time of that war. For as the time was then, it was a greater matter for the Romans (albeit they were the Conquerors) not to be E vanquished of *Annibal*, than it was afterwards to vanquish him. *Annibal* did appointed of his hope to win *Nola* retired to *Acerra*. And *Marcellus* immediately having shut the gates, and placed the guards and warders to keep the same, that no man might go forth, sat judiciously in the marketplace to examine those that had used secret conference and plying with the enemies: and finding above seventy guilty of this action pronounced sentence of death upon them, as in case of treason. Thoe he cut shorter by the head, and commanded their goods to be confiscated. And thus leaving the government of the City to the Senat thereof, he departed with all his forces, and above *Suessula* encamped himself, and there abode.

Annibal being come before *Acerra*, first summoned the City, to surrender voluntarily & without constraint: but seeing them obstinate, and willing to relent, he made preparation to lay siege unto the town, and to assault it. But the *Acerrans* had better heart and courage than might and strength to resist him. Therefore, when they saw themselves like to be intrenched all about, and were past hope to defend and keep the town: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and scones together they got between the trenches and rampiers (where they were not finished and flood not close together) in the dead time of the night, and escaped through the sentinels and watches that were stendly looked unto, and as well as they could making their flight through by-waies and blind lanes over hedge and ditch (as either their wise guided them, or their carried them) recovered those Cities of Campania, which they knew for certain were not revolted, but perfidiously true and fast unto the Romans. *Annibal* after he had put *Acerra* to the sack, and let it on fire, having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and the Legions were received at *Capitulum*: and fearing, lest while the enemy lay so near encamped, some should have recourse also into *Capua*, led his army to *Castellum*.

At the same time *Prenefte* was held by 500 *Preneftins*, with a few Romans and Latines, who upon the news of the overthrow at *Canna*, were retired thither. These *Preneftins*, by occasion that they were not levied and mustered at *Prenefte* by the day appointed, set out from thence somewhat too late; and were come as far as *Castellum*, before the rumour was bruited of the defeat before *Canna*: where they joyned themselves with other Romans and Confederates, set forward from *Castellum*, and marched together with a good great company: but meeting by the way with

with the tidings of that unfortunate field, turned back again to *Castellum*. And after they had spent certain daies there, as well fearing the Campans as suspected of them again, (for they received on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others trains) and having devided also certain intelligence, That in *Capua* there was treating about a revolt, and that *Annibal* was there received: they in one night left upon the Townsmen of *Castellum*, and killed them, and got that part of the City which is on this side *Vulturinus* (a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well encreased by the coming of a cohort of four hundred and sixty Perusins, who likewise were driven to *Castellum*, by the lame report and news, which a few daies before had turned the Prencelins thither. And surely there was insufficient almost of armed souldiers to man and defend the walls of that part, being off so small a circuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again, for the proportion of corn (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many. *Annibal* being now not far from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain named *Isalea*: with direction, that first, if he could come to a parley, he should persuade with the Inhabitants within, and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison: but in case they continued still in their obduracy, then to assail them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous Captain *Isalea*, (supposing because he heard no noise, and saw no stirring) that they had quit and abandoned the town and were fled, began to assail the gates, break open the locks, & burst the bars. But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, sallied forth, with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies, and beat them down. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set back, *Maharbal* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his party good with these squadrons that sallied forth and charged upon him. At last *Annibal* himself encamped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to give assaile to this little town & small garrison. And whilst he pressed hard upon them with fresh and hot assaults, investing it round about, the enemies from off their walls, curtains, and turrets, let flie their shot so lustily upon the assailants, that he lost some of his best & most forward men. Then once they issued forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them battel, but by a course of Elephants, set between them and home, they had like to have been shur forth and kept out, and so they made haste in great fear to recover the gates and put themselves within the town again: having lost, considering so small a number, a great sort: and more had died for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailants were all of them sharp set to give a fresh and hot charge, but not before there was a mural Coronet of gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the General himself came in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assailing of a small and weak conceit, to speak of, feared also upon a plain: whereas before they had won the strong town of *Saguntum*. He put them in mind both all and some, of *Canna*, *Thrafymenus*, and *Trabia*. Then began they to set mantlets and pavories to, and to undermine. Many and sundry enterprizes were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either by meer force could be performed, or by art and cunning devised. The Roman associates against these their engines and fabricks raised mounts, and platforms: yea, and with countermines and cross trenches, met with the mines of the enemies: so as both above ground, and underneath, they impeached all their attempts: so long, until *Annibal* for very shame was faine to give over his design for the present. And when he had fortified his standing Camp and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have relinquished altogether the enterprize, he withdrew himself into *Capua*, thither to winter. There he lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiers, I say, who many a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travels and hardships that can possibly happen to the body of man: and never had been used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could name and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and so much the rather, as they more greedily fell thereto: and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, flews and hot-boules, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custom grew pleasant and delightome unto them every day more than other: had in such sort weakened their bodies, and made their hearts so effeminate, that from that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than any present strength and vigor they had: inasmuch, as expert and skillfull warriors judged their Captain *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overseen in this action, than in not leading his Army straight forward to Rome, after the battell before *Canna*. For, that they might have been thought to have deferred only the entire and final victory for a time, but this error and oversight seemed to disable him for achieving the victory for ever. So little retained he of his former old discipline that I assure you, he went out of *Capua* again as if he had led some other Army and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intangled and snared in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of other military toil and labour: their bodies so tired, their hearts so faint, as if they had been

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A raw souldiers, new come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their summer abode in Camp many of them without license and palpost, would slip out of the wall, and depart from their colours: and these flart-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in, but *Capua*. Now when the winter season began to be more mild, and draw towards the spring, *Annibal* brought forth his souldiers out of his wintering harbours, and returned to *Castellum*: where, albeit the assaile ceased, yet the siege had continued so freight, that the townsmen and they that were within the Fort, were driven to extreme necessity and want of victuals. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was *T. Sempronius Gracchus*: by reason that the Dictator was gone to Rome to take new auspices. And as for *Marcellus*, who was detours for his part to receive and succour the besieged, was impeached for coming to them partly by the rumour and swelling of the river *Vulturinus*, and partly by the intreaty of the Citizens of *Nola* and *Acerre*, who greatly feared the Campans. In case the garrison were once departed from them. And *Gaius*, lying and keeping near unto *Castellum*, flirred not one foot, by reason of the express commandment of the Dictator. That he should attempt nothing in his absence: albeit there came daily from *Castellum* into the Camp such news, as would have moved and provoked the most patient man that was. For it was constantly reported, and for certain known that some of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves down headlong, and brake their necks: others stood unarmed upon the walls, offering their bare and naked bodies as a butt and mark to the shot of arrows, and others dare *Gracchus* grieved much to hear these pitious tidings, yet durst he not for his life, skirmish and fight without the warrant of the Dictator: & he saw full well that if he would convey corn and victuals unto them openly (till he milt there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to send any, but that he should be spoiled, he devised to fill many tuns and pipes with corn, that he had gotten together out of the country all about and withal, to dispatch a messenger to the chief Magistrate of *Castellum*, advising him that he should in the night season take up all those vessels that came down the river. The night next following, every man was held at the river side according to the hope they conceived by the foresaid Roman messenger, and to receive those tuns, bringing down the midst of the stream: and the corn was equally divided among the milt. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day also. For, either by night these vessels were let down to the water and the same night they might easily come unto them: by reason whereof the females and guards of the enemies were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards, the current growing more swift and rough, by occasion of continual rain that fell, the said tuns were some of them driven cross the channel to the bank side, even where the enemies were: and were eapily waving and sticking among the willows and others that grew along side unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was advertised. And so from thence forward they tended the watch more faithfully: that nothing sent down the river *Vulturinus* could escape them, and pass to the City. Afterwards, there was poured into the water great store of nuts from the Camp of the Romans: which floated down the channel unto *Castellum*, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the last, they within the town were driven to this poor shift and extremity, for to take their thorns and bridle reins, to pick of the leather from their shields & buckers, and make them fort in leading water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they spared not to much as mice, and rats, nor any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by upon their banks and terraces under the wall, but they gathered and digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green-herb of the counter-scarp without the walls, they within cast their nip-feces upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a shout at it and cried aloud: What? shall we sit here about *Castellum* so long, until these rapes be come up and grown, and whereas before that time, he would never you able to hear of any composition and agreement now at last he was contented to take reason, and be conferred withal about the ransom of as many as were taken within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them that they should pay, or their redemption seven ounces of gold a peece. So upon this full promise made, and as it was given, they yielded themselves: and were kept bound in prison until they had made full payment of the fine gold aforesaid. After which they were sent back under safe conduct to Rome. For this is more like to be true, than the report which goeth, That there were sent out after them, certain other enemies, who fell upon them and slew them in the way. Most of them were Prencelins, and whereas there were of them in all five hundred and seventy in garrison the one half well near, were either by sword or hunger consumed: All the rest, together with their Prator *Manlius*, one who aforesaid had been a Scribe or Notary, returned safe unto *Prencle*. In memoria, and testimony of this his Statue was erected in the market place of *Prencle*, armed in his cuirass, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Brass, with this tenor: That *Manlius* had made a vow for the souldiers who lay in garrison with him at *Castellum*. And the same title also was engraven under three other images, set up in the Temple of *Fortuna*. The Town of *Castellum* was restored again to the Campans, with a strong garrison of 700 souldiers deducted out of the army of *Annibal*: for fear lest when he was departed once from thence, the Romans should assail them.

The Senat of Rome by virtue of a decree, granted unto those souldiers of *Prencle* double wages, with five years vacation & rest from warfare, And when to gratifie them farther for their valiant service, they made offer unto them of the Burgessie and freedom of Rome, they chose rather to remain still at home, and would not change their own Country, But what befell unto the Perusins,

Perusins,

rolins, is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any public monument and memoriall of their own, nor yet decre extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellins (who alone of all the Brutii remained in friendship and amity with the Romans) were assailed not only by the Carthaginians, (that were possessed of a great part of the Country about them) but also by the other Brutii with whom they would not joyn in the complot of their rebellion. The Petellins not able of themselves to hold out and endure these dangers, sent their Embassadors to Rome, for to crave their aid and assistance: whose humble prayers and piteous tears (for after an answer received, That they should provide and shift for themselves) they fell into lamentable moans and complaints, and lay prostrate upon the earth, before the porch of the Council-House, wrought exceeding compassion and pity in the hearts of the Senators, and also of the people: whereupon the LL. were moved again the second time, by M. *Æmilius* the Prætor, to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well weighed and considered their present state, and what they were able to do: being forced to confesse, that it lay not in their power to help their Allies, so far distant and remote from them: they willed them to repair home again; and since they had performed their fidelity to the full, according to covenant, they gave them leave in this calamity of theirs to take that course that they thought best for themselves. When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellins, their Senat all on a sudden was stricken into such sorrows, dumps, and fearful mazes; that some of them were of mind, and gave advice, to abandon the City, and fly every man wheresoever he could: others were of opinion and persuaded, that seeing they were forsaken of their old friends, they should joyn with the other Brutii, and by their means, turn to *Annibal*, and come under his protection. Howbeit, a third side prevailed, who would in no wise that anything should be done over hastily and rashly: but that they might meet again, and sit in council about the matter. And so it was put off, and respite given until the next day. Then, after more mature deliberation, and their former fear somewhat allayed, the principall perionages there assembled grew to this resolution, namely, To convey all things out of the Territory about them into the City, and to fortifie both it and the walls.

Near about one and the same time, there came Posts with Packets of Letters to Rome, from out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Those out of *Sicily* from *Offacilius* the Vice-Prætor, were read first in the Senat-House importing these news: That *L. Furius* the Prætor was come out of *Africk*, and with his fleet arrived at *Lilybæum*: himselfe fore hurt, and lying at point of death: that neither the soldiers, nor sailors, and mariners, had their money or corn duly paid at the day; neither indeed was there any to be had, for to keep roach and make payment: moving and advising them earnestly, to feed supply thereof with all convenient speed: and if they thought fit good, one also of the new chosen Prætors to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner wrote *Cornelius*, *Mammula* the Pro-Prætor, out of *Sardinia*, as touching that point of money and corn. Answer was returned to the one and the other That they had it not; and therefore they were to look themselves both to their Armados and Armies, and to provide for them. *Offacilius*, who addressed Embassadors unto *K. Hiero* (the only refuge and stay of succour that the people of Rome had) received for soldiers pay, as much silver as was needfull, and corn to serve six months. The confederat Cities likewise in *Sardinia* contributed liberally unto *Cornelius*, and served his turn. As Rome also for want of silver, there were (by a law published by *Minutius*, Tribune of the Commons) created three Bankers, called *Tyrrhæni*, *Menæti*, to wit, *L. Æmilius*, who had been Consul and Censor: *M. Atilius Regulus*, twice Consul afore time; and *L. Scribonius Libo*, a Tribune of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, *M. and C. Atilii*, who dedicated the Temple of *Concordia* which *L. Manlius* Prætor had vowed before, Three High Priests also were consecrated, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, *Q. Fabius Max.*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, all to supply the rooms of *P. Scævinius* late deceased: of *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, and *Q. Ælius Paullus*, slain both in the journey of *Cannæ*.

Now when as the LL. of the Senat had fulfilled other wants, and made up all decays and breaches, which fortune by continual calamities and losses had wrought and brought upon them, so far forth, as by any wisdom and policy of man, they could provide for: at length they had respect and regard unto themselves also, even to the decaying estate of the Council-House, and the unrequent number of Senators, assembling to the publicke Council of the City. For since that *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Flaminius* were Censors, there had been chosen no new Senators, notwithstanding that in five years space, what with unfortunat battles, and what with other particular chances, so many of them had miscarried. And when *M. Æmilius* the Prætor, in the absence of the Dictator (who after the loss of *Castellum* was now gone again to the host) had at the request of them all, propounded this matter: then *Sp. Carvilius*, after he had in long oration complained, not only of the penury, but also of the small choice of those Citizens, who were capable of Senators dignity, fell upon the point, and said, "That he held it a matter of good importance both for the publicke repairing and restoring of the decayed body of the Senat, as also for to bind the Latine Nation in a more fast bond of amity, that two Senators out of every State of the Latines (if the LL. of the Senat or Rome would agree unto it) should be enfranchised Citizens of Rome, and taken into the Senat in place of those that were deceased. This opinion of his the LL. of the Senat could abide to hear with no better ear than in times past they accepted the motion and demand of the Latines themselves in that behalf. And there being throughout the whole House a great muttering,

A muttering, for very indignation and disdain of those his words, *Manlius* above the rest heale out into this speech, and said: "That they were not all dead, but one man yet was alive of all that "house and line, out of which a Consul (when time was) threatened in the Capitol, that he would "kill with his own hand, that Latine whomsoever he was finding in the Council-House of Rome. With that, *Q. Fabius*: "Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the "Senat-house, in a worse and more unreasonable time, than at this present, when as the heats and "affections of our Allies being to wavering, their faith and allegiance to subvert, as very treat- "ing and breaching of such a matter as this, were enough to let them further out. And therefore "this inconsiderat speech of one foolish man perforce, is to be accepted and heard not privately with "the silence of all men, and never once to be spoken of again. And therefore were intended at "Council Table, any secret and mystery, which were to be examined, and of which might most "to be kept close, hidden and smothered in oblivion, and referred to never, as never said. So this "matter was dashed, and dyed there in the very fire. Then they rose up, and came to the great Dictator for the choosing of Senators, one that had been Censor before, and another who had been Censor, and were then living, the most ancient and therefore they gave entry, that *C. Terentius Varro* the Consul should be sent for, to the no mislike of that Dictator. Who being returned out of *Apulia*, leaving the camp there with a good guard, and taking long journeys, until he was come to Rome: the night next following (as the manner was) exercised authority of an act of Senat, *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dictator for six months, without a General of Horse. And he was mounted up with his Sergeants to the *Regia*, [which is the place of publicke audience] for to make a speech unto the people, he said: "That he never should see two Dictators at the same time, (a precedent never seen and known afore) nor yet could it be handled for a Dictator, to long as "he was without his General of Cavalry. I will like also (quoth he) to see the entire authority and "power of Censors, should be put into the hands of one and the same man, twice; and that a Dictator should have the rule and government for six months, and he were exercised for the "managing of wars. And therefore (said he) I will my LL limit and give no more things, which "fortune, occasion of the times, and necessity have made excessive, and beyond all measure power to convey. Neither am I minded to depose or displace any of those from his Censors dignity, whom "C. *Flaminius*, and *L. Æmilius* late Censors, have admitted into the Senat: but only, that a "transcript and rehearsal be made of their names, for that I would not have the like in the power of "one man alone, to censure and give judgement of the same as a Governor of a Senate: but this "course will I take in substituting new Senators in the room of the dead, that it may appear, and be said: That this Order and degree is preferred before that, no one person should be another. So after that the names of the old Senators were copied out and read, then he chose first to the place of them that were deceased, those who after the time of *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius* Censors, had born any Magistracy of State, and of the chair, and yet were not elected Senators. And according as they had exercised their office one before another in order of time, to were they chosen first Senators in their course. This done, he made a second election of those who had been *Ædiles*, *Tribuns*, *Prætors*, or *Quæstors*: and last of all, such as could shew the spoils taken from the Enemies of Rome hanging in their houses: or had been honoured and rewarded with a Civic garland. Thus after he had with right great approbation and contentment of all men, taken into the Senat 177, forthwith he resigned up his office, descended from the pulpit, a private man again, discharged and put from him the Sergeants, and came and stood himself among the other multitude that attended their own private business: trying out the time for to goe and of purpose, because he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and stay which he made, the peoples affections cooled never the more, and so with a goodly train of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his house.

The next night following, the Consul returned toward the army, without making the Senate privy and acquainted with his departure, for fear he should have been detained still in the City for the solemn election of new Magistrats. The morrow after the Senat decreed, upon a motion propounded by *M. Pomponius* the Prætor, to write unto the Dictator, that if the time were for the good of the common-weal, he would together with his General of the Cavalry, and *M. Marcellus* the Prætor, repair to Rome, to subrogate and choose new Consuls, to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL. of the Senat might by them take knowledge of all state the Common-wealth stood and consult how to provide for every thing. They all came that were sent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictator spake of himself but little, and with much modesty, ascribing the greatest part of the honor unto *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and then himselfe in general assembly for the Election: in which were chosen *Coss. L. Pœstumius* the third time (who then was absent, and as *L. Deputy* ruled the Province of *Gallia*); and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commanded the Cavalry, and repaired to Rome with speed. Then were elected Prætors *M. Valerius Maximus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. M. Min. Scævola*. The Dictator after the choosing of these Magistrats, returned to *Thebanum*, where the army wintered: leaving the General of the Horse behind at Rome, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few days after, might consult with the LL. of the Senat as touching the levy and enrolling new armies against the year ensuing.

day to meet at *Cales*. Item, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*. Item, that the legions which were (and those confisted for the most part of the residue of the Cannian army) *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* the Pretor, should put over Sea into *Sicily*; and as for those that were in *Sicily*, they should be transported to *Rome*. Item, unto that army which was appointed to meet by a day, at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent: and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of *Claudius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old army, and to lead it into *Sicily*, *T. Metellus Crotus* Lieutenant, was sent by *Ap. Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly for the creating of a Colleague unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for that year, in regard of his notable good service while he was Pretor, there arose much mattering in the Senat house. Which the Consul perceiving: "My L.L. quoth he, it was for the good of the Common-wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into *Campaign* to exchange the armies: and also that the Election of Consuls, should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again "from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Consul, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So there was no more speech of the election, until *Marcellus* was come back again. In this mean time were two Duumvirs created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the dedication of one Chappel to *Venus Erycina*, and *T. Otacilius Crassus*, of another to the Goddess *Mens*. Both stand upon the Capitol hill, divided alunder no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And as concerning the three hundred Campain Horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to *Rome*, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Denizens of *Cumes*, from the day afore that the Capuans revolted from the people of *Rome* and rebelled. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied flatly that they knew, to whom they did appertain, seeing they had abandoned their old native country: and as yet were not enrolled and incorporated into that state, unto which they had retired. After that *Marcellus* was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of *L. Postumius*, was published. And with exceeding great content of all men, *Marcellus* was chosen: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracy. At whose first entrance, it hapned to thunder: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought he was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it out commonly and brined abroad, that the Gods were not well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Consuls were elected of the commonalty (a thing never seen before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his room was substituted *Fabius Max.* the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At *Sinnessa* a cow brought forth a horse foal. And at *Lanuvium* in the Temple of *Iuno Hospita*, certain statues or images dropped with blood: and about that Temple it rained stones. For which shew, there was solemnised, according to the custumable manner, a Novendial sacrifice. The other prodigious signs likewise were expiat with great care and heedfull regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them. *Fabius* took charge of those forces which had been commanded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries sent from the confederats. *M. Valerius* the Pretor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicily*. *M. Claudius* the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garison at *Nola*, above *Suessula*. And the Pretors took their journey into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Consuls, whensoever they would assemble the Senat, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak their mind and deliver their opinion in the Council-house, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunal (seats and places of Assizes at the publick Fish-pool, and thither they commanded all writs to be returned, and appearance there to be made. And for that year all pleas and judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to *Carthage* (from whence *Mago* the brother of *Annibal* was minded to transport and set over into *Italy* 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 galleies.) That in *Spain* things went untowardly: and that all the Cities of *Spain* (in a manner) were revolted unto the Romans. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the emperie of *Italy* into *Spain*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddain, recover again *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of Romans there: and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputy, well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the Sardinians were weary already of the Romans government, which they had long endured, as who the year that past was, had transcribed over them cruelly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributs, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of corn: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relie themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principal actor and procurer hereof, was *Hierfiorus*, a man in those dayes of great authority and power among them. Upon these tidings aforesaid, hapning in just at one time, they were both dis-

A disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent *Mago* with his fleet, and other forces into *Spain*: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Afranius* (named *Calvus* for the L. General), furnished and appointed with as great a power almost, as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, addressed the selves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Sinnessa* to be the Rendez-vous, where the souldiers should meet at a certain day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senat, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *July* next ensuing, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled strong Towns: proclaiming that: whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay waste: tell their servants in port tale at the spar, and let their farms and villages a fire. Not to much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for *Valerius* the Pretor, he was appointed to go into *Apulia*, for to receive the army of *Terentius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicily*, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that country; and that the army of *Terentius* should be sent with some one of the Lieutenants. And *M. Valerius* had 25 sail allowed him, to keep and defend all the Sea coasts between *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned to *Q. Fabius* the City Pretor, for to guard the River side, neer adjoining to the City of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsul had in charge to take up by commission souldiers in the Picene country, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Otacilius Crassus*, after that he had dedicated the Temple of *Mens* in the Capitol, was sent into *Sicily*, as Lord Admiral of the Armado there.

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most puissant states of the World, there was not a King and Prince, nor a Nation under Heaven, but was amused. Among whom *Philip* King of the Macedonians, had an eye thereto, and was more intensive, in that he was seerer unto *Italy*, and only divided from thence by the Jonian Sea. He at the first, when the bruit came to his ears, That *Annibal* was passed beyond the Alps: as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so, as long as it was uncertain, whether not on was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspense, whether of the twain he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battails one after another, *Annibal* and the Carthaginians had gotten the better hand, he inclined to the fortunate side, and sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*: who falling off, and desirous to avoid the Havens of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*: and so through *Apulia*, travelling toward *Capua*, chanced to light upon the midst of the Romans corps de guard, and were brought before *M. Valerius* the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before *Nuceria*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principal of the Embassadors, basted not to say, That he was sent from King *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of *Rome*, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senat likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect, *Valerius* taking great contentment to hear of this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in stead of a truly friend: and E appeouly diverse to accompany him forward, to guide him carefully in the wayes, and to shew him what places, what passages and freights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards into *Campaign*, and to the next way arrived at the camp of *Annibal*, and made a league and amity with him, under these conditions and capitulations. *Imprimis*, That King *Philip* should with a right puissant Armada (for that he was supposed able to set out 200 sail) pass over into *Italy*, wait and spoil all the Sea coasts, and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. Item, That when the war was finished, all *Italy*, together with the very City of *Rome* should be possessed by the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and unto him all the pillage and booty likewise should belong. Item, When *Italy* was thus subdued, that they should fall into Greece, and wage war with what Princes there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the Islands which lay to *Macedon*, should fall unto *Philip*, and be annexed to his Kingdom. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General *Annibal*, and the Embassadors of the Macedonians: and with them were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legats, to wit, *Gilgo*, *Bosar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same Temple aforesaid, of *Iuno Lucina*, where there did closely a ship at anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not so soon launched out into the deep, and had taken the open Sea, but they were descried by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* made out certain Corycians, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Whereupon, the Macedonians began to flie, but seeing themselves overmatched in swiftness of sail, and G not able to make way with them, they yielded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral: Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already spied so well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and say, That he was sent from *Philip* unto the Romans: that he came unto *M. Valerius*, because to him only he was able to pals in safety, but could not pefibly get beyond *Campaign*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began to suspect the Embassadors of *Annibal*: and they being questioned withal, their speech and language betrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatened to

confels. Letters also were found upon them, sent from *Anibal* unto *Philip*, concerning the peace between the King of the Macedonians and *Anibal*. Upon these matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the Embassadors and their Company with all speed prisoners to *Rome*, unto the Senat there, or unto the Consuls wherelover they were. To this purpose were chosen five Pinnales that were most swift, under the conduct of *L. Valerius Antia*, who had his direction and charge to part the Embassadors in several ships, and keep them sure slunder: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the same time it happened at *Rome*, that *Corneius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the Province *Sardinia*, made report in what like the Island stood; namely, that they all inclined to rebellion and war: that *Marius* who succeeded after him, presently upon his first coming, by reason of the ill air and unwholesome water, was fallen into a sickness, not so quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the service of war: that the army there, as it was sufficient to guard and keep the good order a quiet and peaceable Province, so it could not hold out with the war that was like to ensue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, should levy and enrol good foot, and good horse, and provide that this legion should pass over with all speed into *Sardinia*, and fend there with whom it pleased him to conduct and manage the war until *Anibal* were recovered of his life. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* sent Governour; one, who had been twice Consul and Cenfor, and in his Consulship and subdued the *Sardinians*.

Near about the same time, there was an Armado sent out from *Carthage* unto *Sardinia*, under the leading of *Aidrubal* named *Culvum*, and being sore tossed and beaten with tempests, was cast upon the *Balear Islands*: where (so far out of order was not only the ship-tackling, but also the very keels and bodies of the ships broken) they drew up the ships to shore, and whilst they layed there about calking and trimming them again, they spent much time.

In *Italy* whilst the war began to flake and wax cold, by reason that after the battail of *Canna*, the strength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the others well allayed and made effeminate: the Campains upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of *Cumes* under their obedience, first soliciting them to revolt from the Romans: and seeing that course would not speed and take effect, they devised by a fraudulent practise to compass and entrap them. The Campains use yearly to solemnize a let feast and sacrifice in a certain place called *Hama*; and they gave notice unto the Cumans, that the whole Senat of *Capua* would confert together: requesting the Senat of *Cumes* likewise to meet them there, for to confer and consult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the same friends and the same enemies, and no other: giving them withal to understand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of some sodain and dangerous attempt from the Romans. The Cumans, albeit they suspected some treachery, denied nothing, supposing thereby to colour and cover their own crafty intended designment. Now all at while, *T. Sempronius* the Roman Consul, having forces and purged his army at *Sinnesa*, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces should meet together: passed over the river *Vulturum*, and encamped near unto *Linternum*: where because the Souldiers in the standing camp had nothing else to do, he exercised them to run often the race and skirmish in array, to the end that the raw Souldiers (for such were the voluntaries for the most part) might by use and practise learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battail know their own ranks and ensignes. In these kinds of training, the special care that the General had, and the chief thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpose, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they should not cast in any mans teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforesaid, thereby to breed any discord and heartburning among the companies: and that the old experienced souldiers should suffer themselves to be but equal in estate to the new learners: and those that were born free unto the voluntaries, who had been slaves: reuping them all of birth good enough, and of gentle blood descended, unto whom the people of *Rome* had vouchsafed to commit their armor and ensignes: saying, that the same fortune which had driven them to do, forced them likewise to maintain the same, and make the best of it, now it was done. The Captains were not more careful in giving these good lessons and instructions, but the souldiers were as diligent to observe the same: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be so linked and united together, that they forgot generally, in what degree and of what condition each souldier entred into service. Whiles *Gracchus* was busied hereabout, the Embassadors of *Cumes* certified him, what kind of Embassage came unto them from the Campains, a few days before, and what answer they had returned: advertising him that their festival day was to be holden three days after: that not only the whole Senat would be present, but also the camp and army of the Campains. *Gracchus* having commanded the Cumans to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themselves to keep within their walls: himself the day before the tolemnity aforesaid of the Campains, removed his power to *Cumes*, and there incamped. Now *Hama* is three miles off from thence. The Campains by this time were assembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, *Marius Alfius* the chief head Magistrat of *Capua*, was incamped closely with fourteen thousand souldiers. He, what with preparation of the sacrifice, and

A and contriving withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more busy and careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three days continued this festival sacrifice at *Hama*. And ever in the night season it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished, *Gracchus* supposing that a good time for his ambush to be employed, having set certain wardens before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, caused the souldiers betwixt the sixth and tenth hour of the day, [from noon until four of the clock] to refresh themselves and take their sleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might assemble together at the watch-word or signal given them. And about the first watch he commanded to display their Ensigns and advance forward: and thus with a still march, he arrived at *Hama* by midnight, surprised the hold of the Campains, and entred all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleep: others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night-tumult there were slain more than two thousand, with *Marius Alfius* himself their leader: and 43 Ensigns taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the losse of fewer than one hundred of his souldiers, having won the camp, retired speedily to *Cumes*, for fear of *Anibal*, who lay in fort encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*. And (as he was a provident man and of great foresight) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For so soon as this defeat was reported at *Capua*, *Anibal* supposing that he should at *Hama* find the army of the Romans (consisting for the most part of raw souldiers, and those, bondslaves) joind and lusty above measure, and insolent upon their fresh victory, busied in rifling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage: removed his forces in halt, and marched apace beneath *Capua*: and encountered with some of the Campains that were fled, whom he caused between two guards to be conducted late to *Capua*, and such as were hurt and wounded, to be let in waggons and carried thither. Himself toad at *Hama* the camp empty and void of enemies, and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Some there were that advised him presently to advance forward to *Cumes*; and to assault the Town. And albeit *Anibal* was willing enough thereto, and passing desirous (seeing he could not come by *Naples*) to have *Cumes* at least, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other: yet because his souldiers had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such haste, he retired D back again to his fort and camp upon *Tifata*. From whence, at the importun prayers of the Campains, the day following he furnished himself with all the Ordinance and Ensigns meet for the assault of a City, and returned toward *Cumes*: and having waited the territory thither, he encamped himself a mile from the Town. Then *Gracchus*, more for shame, that he might not seem to leave his associates in such necessity, (who craved protection and recommended themselves to him, and to the people of *Rome*) than for any confidence and trust that he repoted in the strength of his army, stayed in *Cumes*. Neither *Fabius* the other Consul, who was encamped at *Caler*, durst let his army over the River *Vulturum*: as having been bidden first at *Rome* in renewing the Auspices and bird-flights: and after that, troubled also about the fearful prodigious signs which were reported one after another. And when he sought expiation thereof by sacrifices, the Sooth-layers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeased and pacified for all that he did. Thus whilst *Fabius* upon these occasions was kept back, *Sempronius* was besieged, yes, and by this time assaulted, with fabrics and engines of battery. One mighty great Towre of wood there was erected against the Town. Against which, the Roman Consul raised another from the very wall somewhat higher than it: for that he used the wall (which of it self was of good height) in stead of a ground-work, and planted thereon strong polls and piles of timber to bear up the forehead frame. From thence, at first the souldiers without, defended the Town and Walls with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to lance against the assailants. But at length seeing the other turret coming forward even close to the Town wall, they flung thereon at once much firework, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town issued out at two gates at once, discomfited the guards of the enemies, and drove them into their camp: so as that day *Anibal* was more like one besieged himself, than laying siege unto others. There were of *Carthaginians* slain about fourteen hundred: many more were taken prisoners alive, such as about the walls and their Corps dead food careles and negligent, fearing nothing less than a fallly out of the Town, and were suddenly as unwares taken and surprised. *Gracchus* founded the turret, and caused his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their suddain fight could be rallied together. The morrow after, *Anibal* (supposing that the Consul in his suit for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a let battail) arranged himself in array between his Camp G and *Cumes*. But after that, he saw no stirring at all from the usual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the rash hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to *Tifata*, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before *Cumes*, *Titus Sempronius* surnamed *Longus*, fought fortuhatly in *Lucania* before *Grumentum*, with *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*: slew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himself two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 ensignes. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of *Lucania*, retired himself back into the country of the *Brutii*: And *M. Fulvius* the Pretor, recovered by force from the *Hilpines*.

"it be lawful so to say) were they never so angry against us. Howbeit assuredly, for this summer I
 "season, we have been divers and sundry times so spoiled and walked, not only whiles you are a-
 "live and safe, but also (which is more) present in place, where you might both hear, in manner,
 "the wailing and weeping of our wives and children, and also see our houses on a light fire: So it
 "seemeth it was *M. Marcellus* and not *Annibal* that had the victory at *Cannæ*. And the Romans
 "boast and say, That you are good at the first pull only, and when you have once let lie and lan-
 "guish the Javelin (as it were) out of your hands, you are clean done, and can abide no longer. We
 "warred almost an hundred years with the people of *Rome*, without help either of foreign Cap-
 "tain, or army of strangers: save that for two years only, *Pyrrhus* with the aid of our soldiers,
 "rather increased his own strength, than by any power of his defended us. But we list not to make
 "vaunt and boast of fortunate success and brave victories, namely, how we subdued and put under
 "the yoke two Consuls, and two consular armies: nor of other noble exploits which hapned to
 "our joy and honor. And as for the crosses and adversities that befell us during that time, we may
 "report them with less grief and indignation, than those that this day light upon us. Then in
 "those days, mighty great Dictators with their Generals of Horsemen, two Consuls at once,
 "with their two royal hosts, entered our territories, having sent out before hand their espials and
 "scouts, and led forth their soldiers to make spoil, under their colours and ensigns, arranged in
 "good order of battail, and seconded throng behind. Now are we exposed as it were to be
 "prey of one only garrison, and that but a small one, left for the guard and defence of *Nola*. For,
 "now they overrun all our confines and borders, not by bands and companies in warlike wise, but
 "like Thieves and Robbers, more craftily and negligently, than if they ranged about for their
 "pleasure in the Roman territory. The only cause is this, because your self make no reckoning to
 "protect us, and all our own youth (which if they were at home were able to defend us) serveth
 "under your banner and standard. But I know neither you, nor your army at all: if I should not be
 "persuaded and believe that he whom I wot well to have discomfited and put to flight so many
 "Roman armies, were soon able to defeat and oppress these robbers that wander about our coun-
 "try, stragling without leaders, and without their colours disorderly whither they list, according
 "to the vain hope of pillage that healeth them here and there, and, as every one gapeeth for prizes,
 "which they shall never get. No doubt but if you put forth a few of your Numidians, they will
 "soon fall into their hands: Send but unto us a garrison to succour us, you shall quickly discom-
 "fit that other at *Nola*; in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your coun-
 "federates) now unworthy to be defended after you have received us into your protection. Here-
 "unto *Annibal* made this answer again, and said: That the Hircinis and Samnites bided up all at
 "once together: they declared their calamities and losses, they craved aid and succour, and they
 "made complaint that they were neither guarded by him, nor regarded of him. Whereas they
 "should have first made declaration of their harms: after, sued for help, and last of all, if they
 "might not obtain, then and not afore they should have complained, that they had deluged his
 "helping hand in vain. Howbeit he promised, that he would not bring his army into the territory,
 "either of the Hircinis or the Samnites, lest himself also should be chargeable and troublesome unto
 "them; but into the next quarters belonging to the allies of the Romans: by spoiling and wasting
 "whereof, both he would fill his soldiers hands, and also with the terror thereof, let their ene-
 "mies far enough off from them. And as for the managing of the Roman war, like as the battel
 "of *Thrasymenus*, was more noble than that of *Trebia*; and the field of *Cannæ* more memorable,
 "than that of *Thrasymenus*: even so would he make the memorial of *Cannæ* dim and obscure, and
 "regard of one greater victory yet, and more renowned than the other. With this answer, and
 "with honourable rewards besides, he dismissed the Embassadors, and gave them their dispart.
 "And leaving a small guard to keep the Hill *Tifata*, he marched in person with the rest of his ar-
 "my against *Nola*. Thither also was *Hannibal* come, out of the country of the Brutii, with the sup-
 "plies that he brought from *Carthage*, and the Elephants. Where, after *Annibal* had pitched his
 "Tents not far from the Town, and made diligent enquiry, he found, that the case was far other-
 "wise, than it was reported by the Embassadors of his associates. For *Marcellus* bare not him-
 "self in any of his actions, so as it might be truly said, that he blindly committed ought to the ha-
 "zard of fortune, or rashly adventured upon the enemy. For he never went a plundering without
 "his scouts and espials, without setting strong guards in due places, whereunto he might retire
 "himself in safety: but had a good eye afore him, and a wary regard and heedful foresight, as if he
 "were to encounter with *Annibal* in person. And even then at that time, when he perceived,
 "that the enemy approached and was coming, he kept his forces within the City: commanding
 "the Senators of *Nola*, to walk up and down upon the walls, and to survey all over, and espie
 "what the enemies did, or were about. Amongst whom, it hapned, that *Hannibal* being come under
 "the very wall, espied *Herennius Bassus*, and *Herius Petrus*, whom he called out to a parle. And
 "when they were gone forth unto him by the permission & leave of *Marcellus*, he debasing and
 "treating under soft and the dignity and Majesty of the people of *Rome*, growing now old in time, and
 "decaying in force and strength. "Which if they were (quoth he) on both sides equal, as some-
 "times they were, yet seeing they had good experience, how heavy and grievous the government
 "of the Romans was to all their Allies, and again, how indulgent & gracious *Annibal* is, even to all
 "the captives of the Italian nation and name, they should wish rather to be in league & amity with
 "the

The answer of
Annibal to the
 Embassadors.

The speech of
Hannibal to *He-
 rennius* and
Herius Nolans.

A "the Carthaginians, than with the Romans. If both Coss, were with their armies at *Nola*, they
 "were no more able to match with *Annibal*, than they were at *Cannæ*: much less might one tra-
 "itor with a few raw and new soldiers hold out and keep *Nola* against him. And as for the No-
 "lans themselves, it concerned them much more than it did *Annibal*, to consider, whether he
 "should win *Nola* by force, or enter upon it by surrender and composition. For to be Lord there:
 "he made no doubt, like as he was Master already of *Capua* and *Nucerina*: about what odds and diffe-
 "rence there is between the state of *Capua* and of *Nucerina*, the Nolans know best themselves, who
 "are seated (as it were) in the mid way between both. Loath he was to prognosticate so much un-
 "to *Nola*, what calamities might befall the City, if it were conquered by *Annibal*: rather yet would
 "B "he give his word and promise, That if they would deliver *Marcellus* with his garrison, and yield
 "up *Nola* unto *Annibal* his hand, they should themselves, and none but they, sit down and capti-
 "vate under what conditions they would entertain alliance & friendship with *Annibal*. To the
 "motion *Herennius Bassus* framed his answer in this sort: "For many years already there hath been
 "continual amity between the people of *Rome* and *Nola*, and neither of both to this day hath
 "repented thereof. As for the Nolans themselves, if they had been disposed to turn with the wind,
 "and to change their faith and allegiance, together with their fortunes, they would have done it
 "long before this: for now it was too late to start & alter. If they had minded to yield themselves
 "unto *Annibal*, they would never have lent for a garrison of Romans: but since they were now
 "come to protect and defend them, they had imparted & communicated all their fate with them
 "C "already, and would take such part as they, so long as they had an hour to live. This embarras
 "*Annibal* clean besides all hope of gaining *Nola* by treason. Therefore he beleaguered the town on
 "every side, and invested it round about like a garland, to the end, that in one instant he might give
 "the assault on every part of the walls. When *Marcellus* saw him under the walls he set his people
 "first in battel aray within the gate and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly sallied out.
 "At their first shock and onset divers of the enemies were beaten down and slain: but after that,
 "they ran from all parts to battel, and were come together with equal forces the fight began to be
 "hot and sharp, and a memorable conflict it had been and few like it, but that it rained and poured
 "down to fast and with so many storms and tempests, that it parted both the battels, and laid the
 "fight, so for that day, having with that small skirmish kindled their courages, and let their blood in
 "D "their, they retired back as the Romans within the City, and the Carthaginians to their Camp. How-
 "beit of the Carthage, as there were slain, upon the first rally and charge given, not above thirty,
 "and of the Romans not one man. This tempestuous shower of rain lasted all night long, and con-
 "tinued still, and never gave over until nine of the clock before noon the next day. And therefore,
 "albeit they were sharp set, and their fingers itched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day
 "they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day *Annibal* sent out to certain companies in
 "the territory about *Nola*, for to forage and fetch in booties: which, so soon as *Marcellus* un-
 "derstood he presently let his men in array, and entered the field, neither was *Annibal* for his part
 "behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very near, between the City and the enemies Camp. In
 "this space between (for all upon both sides, plain and champaign) they encountered and joyned battel.
 "E "The shout that they set up on both sides, raised and caused to return unto the fight already be-
 "gun the nearest of those cohorts and bands which were gone foraging into the country. The
 "men of *Nola* likewise came unto the Romans, and meddled their battel: whom *Marcellus* com-
 "mended for their forwardness, and gave them in charge to abide in the rearward, to help as occa-
 "sion served, and to carry forth of the skirmish those that were hurt and wounded, and to forbear
 "fight in any case, unless they had a signal and token given them by him. The fight was doubtful,
 "for both the Generals gave encouragement, effectually, and also the soldiers did their best, and
 "fought right manfully. *Marcellus* was earnest with his men to press hard and charge still upon
 "their enemies, whom they had defeated not three dayes ago, who not many dayes past were put
 "to flight, and driven from *Cannæ*, and who the year before were beaten from *Nola* under his con-
 "duct by other soldiers, saying, "That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone
 "F "ranging abroad in the country, for to lie booties and get prizes. As for them that fought they
 "were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in *Capua*, as it has with
 "wine-bibbing in every tavern, whose hunting in every Stews and Brothel-houses, all the while
 "winter, were become enfeebled in body, spent and wasted utterly. As for that lively strength and
 "vigour of theirs, it was clean gone: those able and lusty bodies were decayed. Those couragi-
 "ous hearts abated, wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean mountains, and the high cliffs of
 "the Alps. There remained now nothing but the reliques and shadow of those men to fight, who
 "are scarce able to bear their very armour, to lift up their arms, and carry their own bodies.
 "Adding withal, that *Capua* was another *Cannæ* unto *Annibal*: there died his warlike prowess,
 "G "there, lost he his military discipline: there was the glorious fame of former dayes buried: there
 "the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled. As *Marcellus* by reproving these and such
 "like things in his enemies, animated his own soldiers: so *Annibal* rebuked his men with more
 "sharp words and bitter checks. "I know thee to be (quoth he) the fame arms and weapons,
 "of all at *Cannæ*. But surely he thinks, when I went to *Capua*, there to winter. I carried with me
 "thither, other manner of soldiers than I have brought again from thence. Have ye indeed
 "much ado to maintain fight with a Roman Lieutenant, Leader of one only Legion and cornet:
 "N "whom

The answer of
Herennius to
Annibal.

The speech of
Marcellus to
 his soldiers.

The words of
Annibal to his
 soldiers.

wait-laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitfull fraud of men. Great increase therefore of wealth and much commodity accrued by those cattle, inasmuch as there was made a single Column or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous, as well for riches as holiness and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that in such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an altar in the very porch of the Temple, the ashes lying whereupon no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to *Croton*. The Cattle thereon on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was only by the natural situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part, whereas *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind by craft and guile sometime won it. This Cattle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles loved and kept, notwithstanding the *Bruttii* and their own Commons befieged them. At length the *Bruttii* leaving the Cattle impregnable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessity to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assailed to draw and urge the Crotonians to yield upon these conditions, To suffer a Colony of the *Bruttii* thither to be brought, and there planted; and that thereby a City lying so waste and desolate, might be replenished and peopled again as in ancient time: could not move and persuade any one of them all, but *Arifomachus*. For all besides, protested and said, they would die before they would be intermingled with the *Bruttii*, to change their own rites and manner of life, their customs, their laws, and within a while their language also for others that were strange and foreign. *Arifomachus* alone, seeing that he could not prevail neither by persuasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the Cattle like as he had done the town before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certain Embassadors from *Laeris*, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entered the Cattle, and persuaded them to be content for to be translated to *Laeris*, rather than to abide and stand out the extremity: saying, that they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto *Annibal*, and had got a grant at his hands, that they might to do. So they abandoned *Croton*, and the Crotonians were brought down to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude despoiled to *Laeris*.

In *Apollonia* the very winter season was not quiet between the Romans and *Annibal*. *Senpronius* the Consul wintered at *Luceria*, and *Annibal* not far from him in *Arpi*: and as they could by opportunity, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes between them. But the Romans had always the better, and every day more than other, became more wary and feared from all trains and deceitfull snares of the enemy.

In *Sicily* the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that King *Hiero* was dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew, or some son, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like to use his own liberty with moderation, and much less to sway the Kingdom and Scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends glided into the protection and government of such a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickedness. Which King *Hiero* foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left *Syracusa* free and at liberty, to the end that so noble a kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and shame of the world, be ruined and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail crossed this his designment, and made full reckoning, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*: who were the principall guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for an aged man, now fourscore years old and ten, so hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to intend private regards, and the publique consideration of the State. "And therefore he left fifteen tutors to oversee and govern the child, whom he bestowed upon his death-bed, even when he was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unpotted, the faithfull allegiance to the Romans, which he had kept and observed inviolate for the space of fifty years: and to let to their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to follow that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings left will and testament, and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people and well near fifteen years of age he was.) Where some few, such as were bestowed here of purpose within the press of the assembly for to shout and shew testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open voice, and allowed the Kings will: whereas all the rest feared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their King, and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was interred and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjects, more than with any studious care and diligence of his own friends that were nearest to him. After this, *Andronodorus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving out oftentimes that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by depositing the Protectorship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him and usurped the power and authority of them all. Hard it was even for a right good King and well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the *Syracusan*: so heartily they affected and loved King *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if he had been willing and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great misse of his grandfather, and with again for him: at the very first sight, when he shewed himself abroad in open place,

A place, declared unto the world, what difference and great odds there was. For they who so many years together had never seen *Hiero*, nor his son *Gelo*, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other Citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regal Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed pensioners: yea, and otherwhile, after the manner of *Demis* the Tyrant riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a Chariot drawn with four white steeds. This proud pomp and lately array was accompanied and suited with seemable qualities and conditions. He contemned and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants; and sent them away with reproachfull terms and taunts. And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his lulls and delights whereto he gave himself, were new and strange: his cruelty that he exercised outragious and inhumane. So dread and terrible was he to all, that some of his Tutors, either by making themselves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruel torments. Of whom, three only, who alone had more familiar recourse into the Court, to wit, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*, the sons in law of King *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Thersa*, had little or no ear given unto them in other matters: but whilst two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Thersa* to the Roman alliance: with their arguing, debating, and dispute, they otherwhile turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracy intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one *Cals*, the companion and playfellow of *Hieronymus*, and of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracy, could appeale and nominate all the conspirators, only *Theodorus*, by whom himself was made privy to the treason, and solicited to be a complice therein. The party was apprehended instantly, and delivered unto *Andronodorus* to be tortured: Who at the first without delay confessed himself to be guilty, but concealed all the rest that were accessories. At the last, when he had been torn, mangled, and dismembered, with most dolorous torments, and intolerable (or any man to endure: preceding and making semblance, that he could abide no longer pains: distressed not for all this the guilty persons indeed, but accused the innocent, and said finally, that *Thersa* was the first deviser of the whole plot: and unless they had born themselves, and relied upon to mighty an head, to let them on work, they would never have attempted so dangerous an enterprise. He appeached also some other of the Tyrant his guard and household servants and daily waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and pains, and bewailed his groans he imagined to be such, as whose lives might be best spared, and deaths least lamented. The naming of *Thersa* especially made the Tyrant to believe, that the detection founded to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediately led to execution and put to death: and the other innocents, as clear as himself, tasted of the same cup and suffered with him for company. As for the conspirators themselves, albeit one of their fellows was along while put to bitter and extreme torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancy and faithfull promise of *Theodorus*: and such power and strength had *Theodorus* himself, to keep close the secrets committed unto him. Now when *Thersa* was once dispatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in, and to bind them to their alliance and allegiance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to incline to rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young Gentlemen, *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* unto *Annibal*: From whom also they were sent back again in Embassy. These were both born at *Carthage*, but descended in blood from the *Syracusan* by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mothers side meer Carthaginians. By enticement of these two Embassadors, a League was concluded between *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracusa*. And *Annibal* was content that they should abide till as Leigers in the Tyrants Court.

F When *Appius Claudius* the Prætor and Lord Deputy of the Province of *Sicily* heard these news, he addressed straightwaies Embassadors unto *Hieronymus*: who saying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had scorned audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by *Hieronymus* with a scump, demanding of them by way of a scoff, "How they had sped at the battell of *Cume*. For I can hardly believe" (quoth he) that all is true which the Embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly know the certain truth & thereupon deliberate and take counsell, which side I were best to take. The Roman Embassadors said, they would repair again unto him when he could begin once to give audience with gravity and in good earnest to their embassy: and so after they had warned & admonished, rather than prayed and entreated him, not to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then *Hieronymus* sent his Legates to *Carthage*, for to confirm the League with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and amity made with *Annibal*. In which it was capitulated and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would shortly come to pass, in case they sent thither ships and a power of men) the river *Himerus*, which (as it were) divided the Island in the midle, should confine and limit, both the *Syracusan* kingdom and the dominion of the Carthaginians. After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember and call to mind, that not only King *Hiero* was his grandfather, but also King *Pyrrhus* by the mothers side: he sent Embassadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to understand, That he de-

med it right and meer, that all *Sicily* wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of *Italy* only belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity and vain glorious humour they neither wondered at, as a strange thing in a giddy-brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, so long as they might allinge him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romans. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For whiles *Hippostratus* and *Epicides* were set alone with two thousand souldiers, for to found and sollicit the Cities rebellion, that were held by the garrisons of the Romans: and himself in person entered the country of the Leontini, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together: certain conspirators, who chanced all to be his own souldiers, and bare arms under him, possessed themselves of a yake house, standing over a narrow lane, through which the King was wont to go down into the market place of the City: there when other food armed and well appointed, and waiting when the King should pass by, one of the conspirators (whose name was *Indigeminus*), had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the Kings body, when the King approached near unto the door of the said house, to find some occasion or other, in that straight passage, to slay the troop and train that followed behind. And so he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For *Indigeminus*, lift up his foot, making as though he would looke and slack a freight knot of his sho-latchet, which hindring his going, whereby he flaid the company that followed after, so long, that the King passing by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assaulted mean while, and received sundry stabs and wounds, before they could come to rescue and save him. Hereupon arose an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard let flie at *Indigeminus*, who by this time was ready to oppose himself and to award all venues: howbeit he was hurt only in two places, and so escaped. The guard seeing the King there lying dead, fled away as they could. The murderers, some of them betook themselves into the market-place, unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to *Syracuse*, to intercept and prevent the designments of *Andronicus*, and other favourites and followers of the late King.

While things stood in these uncertain and doubtful terms, *Appius Claudius* foreseeing war like to ensue, and that very shortly, addressed his letters unto the Senat of *Rome*, certifying them that *Sicily* enclosed already, and was at hand to side with the people of *Carthage*, and with *Annibal*. Himself in the mean time bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that Kingdom, to withstand and hinder all the proceedings and enterprises of the *Syracusians*.

In the end of that year, *Q. Fabius*, by order from the Senate, fortified *Puteoli*, a town of merchandise, and which in time of wars began to be much resorted unto and frequented, and there he placed a garrison. From whence as he was in his journey toward *Rome* against the great Election of Magistrates, he proclaimed the solemn assembly of the people for that purpose, to be the next Comitall day that followed upon his arrival thither: and so it fell out, that he went along the City side immediately upon his journey, and came down into *Mars* field before he entered the City. Upon which day, when it hapned that their voices nominated *T. Otacilius* and *M. Emilius Regillus* for Consuls, then *Q. Fabius* after silence made, rose up, and delivered this or such like speech, for Consuls, "If either we had peace in *Italy*, or war at leastwise with those enemies, with whom if we deal "neither negligently or unadvisedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and danger: I would think, that whosoever disturbed and crossed your favours and free affections "which ye bring hither with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bestow honours and dignities upon whom ye please had but small and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But since that in this war and with this enemy, never any General of ours failed in the managing of his affairs, but it, of us dear, and we had some great foil and overthrow: it behoveth you, that "with what mind and carefull regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the same ye "should come hither into this *Mars* field in your gowns, and so proceed by your suffrages to elect your Consuls: and that every one of you should thus say to himself, I am to nominate a Consul to march with General *Annibal*. No longer since, than this very year, when as before "Capua, *Jubellius Taurica*, the bravest horseman and Cavalier of all the Campans defied all the Romans, and best man at arms, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaul that offered combat upon the bridgeover *Anio*, our ancestors lent our *Manlius*, a courageous, resolute, and puissant Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon such another occasion not many years after, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, who took arms likewise against another Gaul that challenged single fight. And even as we are desirous, & wish to have our foot and horsemen both, more valorous and hardly than our enemies, or if that will not be, at leastwise equal unto them, and able to countermatch them: even so let us be careful to find out a General of our own comparable every way to the chief commander of our enemies. And when we have chosen the best warrior and Captain in the whole City, then presently without any longer delay, being elect and created for one whole year, he shall be sent to march with an old captain, that hath ever continued in the field, one who is not enclosed within compalls of time, nor restrained & gaged within the straight bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing, according as the occasions and present occurrences of war do require: whereas, by that time

The Orasion
of *Q. Fabius* to
the people of
Rome.

A "that we can make all ready and dispose every thing in order, and set in hand to begin our affairs, "the year is come about and clean gone. Now for much as enough hath been said what manner "of Consuls ye ought to create: it remaineth to speak on what of them, whom the past "five Century so highly favoureth, and is so much affected unto. A, for *M. Emilius Regillus* he "is the Flamin of *Quirinus*, whom neither we may take from his ministry of Sacrifices, nor yet "retain and keep him still, but we shall neglect either the service of the gods, or the due care and "regard of the wars. *Othacilius* hath married my sisters daughter, and hath fair issue by her. But "your favours and good turns shewed both to me, and also to my ancestors, are not of so small "account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-weal before all private "regards and alliances whatsoever. Every mariner, yea, and my passenger is able to pierce and rule "a Ship in a calm water: but when a buffetting tempest is up, and the vessel tossed in a troubled "furious sea, and carried away with violent force of the winds, then there had need come a man "indeed, and a skillful Pilot to sit at the helm, and to guide the helm. We fail not now in a still "and quiet sea: but we have been drenched, and in a manner drowned, with some storms already: "and therefore we ought to have exceeding great care and be well advised, arched, whom "we have to be the steers-man. In a matter of less consequence and importance, we have made "triall, O *T. Otacilius*, of your knowledge and service: and you have not given us yet to good "proof of your vertue and prowess therein, that we should put you in trust with the managing "of greater affairs. A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands "this year for three causes: first, to annoy and spoil the sea-coast of *Affrick*: secondly, to defend "and keep to our behoof the ports and havens of *Italy*: last of all, and above all, to empeach and "slay all supplies and new succours, together with money munition, and victuals, for being transported unto *Annibal* from *Carthage*. If *Othacilius* have performed, I say not all these things, "but in any one quit himself well, to the good and benefit of the State, Elect him *Comiti* hardily and good leave have you. But if it appear, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all "things (that a man would have) passed out of the country unto *Annibal*, with as great safety "and security as if the seas had been open and void of enemies: If, I say, the sea coast of *Italy* "hath all this year been more in danger, and subject to sustain harm, than that of *Affrick*: what "reason can you allege, wherefore the people of *Rome* should chiose you above all others, to "oppose as Captain, to confront their enemy *Annibal*. If you were Consul in place already, we "would judge it requisite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the example of our forefathers: neither could you take snuff or be offended, that there should be found "in the City of *Rome* a better warrior, and more sufficient than your self, And surely it concerneth "no man more than you, O *Othacilius*, to see that there be not imposed a burden upon your "shoulders, under which you should fail and fall down right. Wherefore I advise and exhort you "all as much as possibly I can, in electing of Consuls this day, to carry that mind and due care, as full provisions, as ye would, in case ye were standing armed in battell array: and to chiose out "of hand two General Captains, under whose conduct and government ye should presently "fight a field: and make chioice of such Consuls, unto whom our children were to take the oath "of allegiance: at whole commandment they shoud come and assemble together, and under "whole charge and protection they might willingly serve as souldiers. The pool *Therapsin*, the plain before *Cannae*, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they serve for good precedents unto us, to teach us how to avoid the like mischief another time. So the prerogative Century of the younger and puny sort, was called again to a new & rutiny, and to give their voices again. Whereat when *T. Otacilius* began to cry out aloud and say very stoutly, that *Fabius* his drift was to continue Consul still, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troublesome to the assembly: the Consul commanded the Licitors to cry out unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And forthwith as yet he had not entered into the City, but came down straightways into the *Mars* field presently from his journey, he put them in mind, that the knitches of the rods, together with the axes "F within them should be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began afresh to give their voices: and by it were nominated Consuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. M. Velleius* the third time: and all the Centuries besides without any jarring and variance elected the very same. One of the former Prators likewise was chosen again namely *Q. Fabius Flaccus*. And other new created, that is to say, *T. Otacilius Crassus* the one, and *Q. Fabius* the Consul his son, who at that time was Adile of the chair and of the *Curule*. After the Election of the Prators was ended and finished, there passed an Act and decree of the Senate that *Q. Fabius* should extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Prator there: and that he above all other, when the Consuls were gone forth to the wars should be President and Governour of the City of *Rome*. There fell great rain and much snow that year, whereby the *Tiber* overflowed the fields, overthrew many houses, and overwhelmed much cattel and people, so as they utterly perished.

Thus in the fifth year of the second Punick war, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Velleius* the third time, when they entered their Consulship, set the City on thinking and musing of them more than usually had been known. For in many years there had not been the like couple of Consuls. And old men would talk and say, that even so were *Max. Rullus* and *P. Decius* declared Consuls against the Gauls war: and after them likewise, *Papirius* and *Cornelius* against the Samnites and Brutii: against the people also of *Lucania* and *Tarentum*. *M. C. L.*

soon as he heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river *Colores*, he there waited the Country, he himself issued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemy; where he assembled all his souldiers together, purposing to make a speech unto them. He had with him the Legions that consisted most of volunteers, who already two years before, had been more willing to deserve their freedom in silent manner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to murmur and grumble in the army when they marched, and to complain in this wise, What shall we never serve in the quality and condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Senate, and shewed unto them, not so much what they desired, as what they desired to have: certifying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: and wanted nothing I save only their freedom, but they might go forth and lawful souldiers. Whereupon the Lords of the Senate had put it into his discretion for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the Common-wealth. Thereupon, before that he should join battell with the enemy, he pronounced these words before them all, and said: "That now the time was come, of obtaining and acquiring that liberty, which so long they hoped after. For the next morrow they were to affront their enemies with banner displayed, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without fear of any ambush the triall might be made with more force and true valour: Whoever therefore, should bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure & will is, to make free immediately: and who so loatheth ground and retreateth, him will I challenge as a bondslave ought to be punished. Now every man hath his state and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom, I not only myself will assure you, but for further warrant, ye have the allowance of *M. Marcellus* the Coe, and generally of all the LL. of the Council, whose advice I sought, and who committed unto my hands the ordering of your liberty. And withall he read the Consuls letters, and the decree of the Senate in that behalf. Whereat they set up a mighty cry, in token of their assent and approbation, and called for battell, and earnestly urged to give the signal out of hand. Then *Gracchus* having pronounced the next day for battell, dismissed the assembly. The souldiers were joyous, especially such as were to have their freedom in reward of one daies service, and bestowed the rest of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after, so soon as the trumpets began to sound: they were the first of all other that presented themselves before the General his pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the sun rising *Gracchus* led forth his men into the field in order of battell. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number seventeen thousand of footmen, most of them *Brutii* and *Lucians*: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the rest were in number all Numidians and Moors. The fight was sharp, and continued long, and for four hours it was not seen which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more than their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the souldiers liberty. For as any had killed their enemies lustily, they were slain first, with much ado, to cut off their heads, within the troublesome press and tumult, and so to lose time: and after that, by reason that their right hands were employed, and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out, that the best souldiers gave over fighting, and the feeble dastards and fearful cowards only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the Marshalls of the field and Colonels reported unto *Gracchus*, and namely, that there was not a souldier of the enemies standing that was wounded and hurt any more: but that they lay along were hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his own souldiers instead of swords, held their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haste, that upon a signal given, they should fling away their heads from them, and charge afresh upon the enemies. For their valour and prowess (saith he) was well enough seen already, and evidently testified, and so long as they were so hardy men and bare themselves so manfully, they should not need to doubt of their liberty. Then the conflict began to be renewed, and withall the horsemen charged the enemies: whom the Numidians received with equal valour: inasmuch as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory seemed doubtful, to which part it would incline: whilst in both hosts the Generals reproached and debated the adverse part. *Gracchus* said that the *Brutii* and *Lucians* were so often vanquished and subdued by the Roman ancestors: and *Hanno* again girded at the Romans, calling them bondslaves, and souldiers let logic out of prison and houses of correction. At the last, *Gracchus* declared aloud, and said, They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unless that day their enemies were discomfited and put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat, that they raised a fresh shout, as if they had been cast again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies so violently, that they could no longer be resisted and withstood. First, they that fought in the vanguard of the Carthaginians were put out of order: then they about their standards and ensignes: and last of all, the whole battell was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and fled so fast one upon another into their Camp, in such fear and fright, that not so much as at the very gates, nor upon the rampier, they staid once, and turned again to make head: so as the Romans following them hard at the heels into their camp, as it were in one train pell-mell made a new skirmish even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not so cumbersome, by reason of the frightfulness of the room, wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution was as cruel and bloody. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused confusion, tumult, joyed themselves and stuck close together: and having caught up some weapons, helped

A helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians slew them, or else hindered them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the Generall himself: all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military enliges were carried away forty five twain. Of the Victors, there died slain upon two thousand. All the spoil, but only the prisoners, was granted to the souldiers. The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirty daies the right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned laden with booties and pillage into the Camp, there were almost 4000 of the voluntary souldiers, who had fought but faintly, and brake not into the Camp with the rest: who for fear of punishment, were a little hill not far from the Camp, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after being taken thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the camp at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned his souldiers to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old souldiers with military gifts, according to each one his prowess and good service in that battell: then as concerning the volunteers, he said thus much, That he had rather they were all commended by him good and bad, one with another, than that one of them that day should have of any punishment: and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of Common-wealth and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness and alacrity: and one while they clasped and embraced one another in their arms, with gratulation and great joy: another while again, they held their hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessing for the people of *Rome*, and for *Gracchus* especially. Then (quoth *Gracchus*) before that I had made you all alike, and to have equal part in the right and privilege of freedom, would not it be upon any of you, either the mark of a stout and hardy souldier, or the note of a faint-hearted and heally coward? But now that I have discharged my self of the trust committed unto me by the Common-wealth, to the end, that all difference between prowess & cowardice, should not be forgotten all together and perished: I will take express order that the names of them, whose conscience accused them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battell, and therefore crevice with drew themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called to me, every one by his name, I will compell them to take a corporal oath (quoth he) that he will be upon himself. D "long as they shall continue in souldiery, they neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet. And this punishment (I am sure you will willingly take in good part: when ye shall consider better of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame for your filie hearts and slender service. Then he gave the signal to truss up bag and baggage, and founded the remove, and so dislodged: and thus the souldiers carrying and driving before them their booties, all the way disposing themselves to merrily and jocund, returned to *Arventum*: as it they had come from some great dinner, upon a solemn and festive day, and not from fighting a bloody battell. All the people of *Beneventum* came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, welcomed the souldiers, bad them joy, embraced them, and invited them to their houses, to give them entertainment and lodging. The boords were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merry with them, and requested *Gracchus* to give his souldiers leave to feast and make good cheer. And *Gracchus* was content, and upon this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things were brought forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The volunteers took their repast and refection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their brows with white wooll, some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their meat, and fed with them together. This was such a worthy sight and solemnity, that *Gracchus* after he was returned to *Rome*, caused the representation and resemblance of the celebration of this day, to be drawn and portrayed in colours and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddess *Liberty*, which his father caused to build in the mount *Aventine*, of certain fines and forfeits, and afterwards there dedicated it.

Whiles these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having spoiled and harried the territory about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for *Pomponius* the Pro-Prator, together with that army which lay encamped above above *Stessilia*, and provided to meet with the enemy, minding presently to bid him battell. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farthest from the enemy, giving him in charge to cast about closely, and fetch a compass, and fair and softly to follow the enemy, as he marched: and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward, and set upon him behind on his back. But whether it were that *Nero* missed of the way, or having not time enough, could not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his absence the armies joyed battell, wherein no doubt the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there in due time, the order of the direction failed, and took not effect. And notwithstanding that the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot upon them, but founded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 2000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sun set, *Nero* who all the day and night past had tied horse and man, and done no good, and now returned, without so much as a sight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the Coe, inasmuch, that he gave him this

check to choak him, That it was long of him and none else, that they had not cried quittance H with the enemy for the overthrow & iois received at *Canne*. The day following *Marcellus* came down again into the field, ready to give battel. But *Annibal*, as one that secretly confided himself to be overcome, held himself close within the strength of his Camp. And on the third day, giving over all hope to get *Nola*, (an enterprise that never sped well) he departed in the still time of the night toward *Isontium*, upon a better and more assured hope to gain it by treason.

The civil affairs at *Rome* were managed with no less courage at home, than the wars in the field abroad. For the Censors, who by reason that the City treasure waxed low, were eased of their care offsetting on the publick works of the City by the great: and having nothing else to do, employed themselves in reformation of mens manners and chastising of vices and enormities, which sprung upon war: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingering sickness grown weak, ever and anon breed new diseases. And first they consented before them those Citizens, who after the battel at *Canne*, were (by report) minded and disposed to leave the Common-weal, and to depart out of *Italy*. The ring-leader of them all was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, who hapned then to be Treasurer of the City. He, with the rest of that crew who were culpable in the same crime, were commanded of the City. He, with the rest of that crew who were culpable in the same crime, were commanded to make their answer and plead their causes: but when they were not able to clear and quit themselves, the Censors charged them openly, that they had given out certain words, and made speeches against the State, tending to a sedition and conspiracy, fort to abandon *Italy*. Next after them were cited to appear those cunning and crafty companions above said, who with their over-subtil interpretation and contriving of words, would seem to avoid their oath: those captives, I mean, K who being on their way to *Rome*, came back secretly into the Camp of *Annibal*, and took themselves freed and discharged, because they had sworn to return again. But these and the others afore rehearsed, as many as served upon the City hories, had their hories taken from them, were displaced out of their Tribe: and condemned all to lose their voices, and to serve without City pay. Neither were the Censors careful to correct the Senat and reform the degree of the Knights only, but also they proceeded to raise out of the publick checkroll of the younger Citizens, the names of all those who for four years space had not served in wars, as many, I say of them, as could not justly plead and alledge either ordinary immunity by law, or sickness for their excuse. And of those were found guilty above 2000: who were awarded to be *Araris*, and all of them to be removed out of their tribe. And besides this shameful disgrace and note of ignominy awarded by the Censors, there passed a heavy decree of the Senat against them, to wit, That all they whom the Censors had thus ordered and noted, should be bound to serve on foot in the wars, and be confined and sent over into *Sicily*, to the residue there of the army that remained at *Canne*. And no other time of service and warfare was limited unto this sort of the soldiers, but until the enemy were driven clean out of *Italy*.

Whiles the Censors as is aforesaid, upon occasion that the Cities stock was so decayed, gave over and forbore to bargain for the repairing and maintenance of the Churches and holy Temples, and for the finding and provision of chariot horses for the State, and such like: there reorted unto them a great number of those that were wont at the year to take these bargains at their hands by the great, and for a gross sum of money: who exhorted the Censors to deal in those matters still and to let, and enter into bargain with them: as if the City Chamber wanted no money: making this offer that none of them all would demand payment out of the common Chest, before the wars were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Censors the Masters of those bondmen, whom *T. Sempronius* had manumitted and set free at *Brundisium*, saying that they were sent by the Triumvirs, out of the office of the Bankers, called *Mensarii* for to receive again their monies, according as they prized and valued their slaves: howbeit, they would not, before the war was finished. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus: notably affected, to sustain and support the poverty of the treasure-house: so the stocks of money also that belonged first to Orphans, and afterwards to widows, began now to be lessened in the Chamber of the City: and they that presented and brought in those money, believed assuredly, that they could not lay them up more sure and safe, than in the publick credit and treasury of the City. And whatsoever out of these stocks was disbursed and defraught for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphans or widows afore said, the treasurers kept a book thereof, and noted it down in a register. This kindnes and benevolence of private persons unto their country, extended it self from the City, even as far as to the Camp: inasmuch, that neither horseman nor Centurion would take their wages, but rebuke and rate them that could find in their hearts to receive their pay terming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now the Consul lay in Camp before *Capitulum*, which City was kept with a garrison of two thousand Campans, and seven hundred of *Annibal*'s soldiers. They had for their Captain and Commander one *S. Silius Metellus*, sent thither by *Cn. Magnus Atellanus*: who for that year was *Magistrus* of *Capua*. He put the bondslaves and Commons in arms, intermingled one with another, so to enter upon the Camp of the Romans, whiles the Consul was busied in attending *Capitulum*. *Fabius* was nothing ignorant of all these things, and therefore he sent unto *Nola* to his Colleague there, signifying unto him, that there was need of a second army to make head against the Campans. Whiles the other was employed about the assault of *Capitulum*: and telling him besides, that either he must himself come in person, leaving a mean garrison behind him at *Nola*: or else if he might not be spared from thence, for fear of danger from *Annibal*,

* The head
Magistrus
of *Capua*.

A *Annibal*, he would send for *T. Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, from *Brundisium*. Upon this message, *Marcellus* having left in *Nola* a guard of two thousand soldiers, with the rest of his forces, presented himself before *Capitulum*: upon whose coming, the Campans who were ready to set forward, staid themselves and were quiet. So both Consuls together jointly began to assault *Capitulum*: where the Roman soldiers that rashly came under the walls received much hurt: and *Fabius* seeing little good done, judged it best to retire and give over the enterprise, being a service of small consequence, and nevertheless very dangerous: and to depart from thence, seeing there was business toward of greater importance. But *Marcellus* contrariwise was of opinion and said, that as there were many things which great warriors were not to attempt: so it they were once taken in hand and the adventure given they were not lightly to be given over and laid aside: inasmuch as in it lay matter of great consequence, for time and reputation, both wises: and so he prevailed, that the enterprise was not neglected and abandoned. And in response thereto were manifested, and all other kinds of fabricks and engines of battery and assault, brought from the City: so as the Campans besought *Fabius*, that they might depart to *Capua* in safety. And when some few were gone forth, *Marcellus* possessed himself of that gate whereunto they went: & then they fell to kill and slay one with another first about the gate: and after they had thus done, they put to like execution those also within the City. Fifty there were of the rabblement of the Campans that first got out of the town, and fled for mercy to *Fabius*: and they by his guard and safe conduct arrived at *Capua*. But see *Capitulum*, through the singing flames of the habitations that craved C protection was by advantage taken of their long price, and temporizing: won by the enemies. The captives so many as were either Campans of *Annibal*'s soldiers, were sent to *Rome*, and there clapt up still in prisons. But the multitude of the townmen were distributed into sundry Cities adjoyning, and there kept in ward.

At the very same time that the Consuls after their conquest, retired from *Capitulum*, *Gracchus* being in the country of the Lucans, and having gathered and enrolled certain cohorts and companies of soldiers out of those parts, sent them out foraging, under the conduct of a Captain of *Alles*, into the territories of the enemies *Napoli* encountered them: they fought int, uttering wile out of order and let upon them, and paid his enemies again with the sword and loss, or not much less than that which he had received at *Brundisium*: and in great haste withdrew himself into the country of the *Bruttii* for fear lest *Gracchus* should overtake him.

The Consul *Marcellus* returned back to *Nola*, from whence he came, and *Fabius* sent forward into *Samnium* to spoil and waste the country, and to recover by force of arms the Cities which had revolted. The Samnites about *Candium* were piteously and cruelly damned: their villages in all places set on fire, their fields laid waste and destroyed, and great booties both of cattle and people driven away. Six towns forced by assault, namely, *Camp. Arvens*, *Alipha*, *Cossa*, *Mela*, *Enfule*, and *Orbitanium*. In the Lucans country, the town of *M. Under*, and in *Apulia* the City *Auca* was assaulted. In these towns and Cities, there were taken prisoners and slain 2500 of the enemies: of fugitives and runagate traitors there were recovered 570. whom the Consul sent home again to *Rome*, and being thither come, they were all beaten and scourged with E rods in the Comitium, and then pitched down headling to the earth, from the rock *Tarpeia*. These exploits were achieved by *Q. Fabius*, within the compass of a few daies. But *Marcellus* by occasion that he lay sick at *Nola*, was hindered from performing any feats of arms. The Praetor likewise *Q. Fabius*, who had the charge and jurisdiction of the province about *Lucania*, won before about the same time the town *Acris*, and fortified a standing camp planted before *Arundine*.

Whiles the Romans were thus employed about these affairs in divers other places, *Annibal* was come unto *Tarentum*, to the exceeding great damage and detriment of all places where he journeyed: but being once arrived in the territory of *Tarentum*, he began to march and lead his army most peaceably. There he did no harm at all, made no havoc nor once went out of the F high way. And it was evidently seen that all this was done not upon any modesty that appeared either in soldier or Captain, but only to win unto him the hearts of the Tarentines. But when he approached the walls of the City, and saw no commotion, nor intercession from thence upon the discovery of his Vanguard, as he thought he should, he pitched his Camp almost a mile from the town. Now had *M. Valerius* the Vice-Praetor, who was Admiral of the Fleet at *Brundisium*, sent *T. Fulvius* his Lieutenant unto *Tarentum*, three daies before that *Annibal* showed himself before the walls. He had mustered and enrolled the flower of the Nobility, and bestowed at every gate, and about the walls where need required, good guards for defence: with such vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunity and advantage either to the enemies to adventure any assault, or to the doubtful and untrusty friends to practice any treason. So *Annibal*, having spent there certain daies in vain, and seeing none of them who repaired unto him at the Lake *Avernas* either to come themselves, or to send messenger or letters: and perceiving now that he had rashly and foolishly followed vain promises, and so was deluded: dislodged and removed from thence. And even then also he spared the territory of *Tarentum*, and did no hurt at all: and albeit his fained and counterfeited lenity and mildnes hitherto took no effect: yet he hoped still thereby to corrupt their faithfull allegiance to the Romans: and so he went to *Salapia*. And (by reason that midsummer was past, and he liked well of that place for a winter harbour) he conveyed thither all the corn out of the Territory of *Metapontum* and

* Lago di *Tri-*
puglia.

and *Heracles*. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out of the Salentine country, and all the woods and chafes next unto *Apulia*, from whence they drive of other cattell small store: but of hories especially they brought away great numbers, of which there were four thousand divided amongst the horsemen to be handled, broken, and made gentle.

The Romans seeing there was like to be war in *Stetly*, & the same not lightly to be regarded: & that the death of the Tyrant there, rather gave the Syracusians good Captains, than wrought any change in their minds, or alteration in the cause: assigned unto *M. Marcellus*, one of the Consuls, that Iro-ince to govern. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus*, first the souldiers in the Leontin country, began to mutine and make an upore, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings death should be expiate, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the blood of conspirators. But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of liberty and freedom restored unto them: and that there was good hope that the souldiers should have a largels dealt amongst them out of the Kings Treasure, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and having besides all this a bedroil rehearsed unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul facts, and of more filthy and loathsome lusts their affections were so altered, that they suffered the body of their King to lie above ground unburied, whom a litle before, they so greatly desired and wished for. Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and possesse themselves of the army, *Theodorus* and *Sofis* took the Kings hories and rode poff, as hard as ever they could to *Syracuse*, for to surprize upon a sudden all his followers and favourites (who knew nothing of that which was done) J and fall upon them at unawares: but they were prevented not only by the time (which above all other things in such cases is most swift) but also by a courier one of the Kings servants. Whereupon *Andronodorus* had seized beforehand of that part of the City which is called the Island, together with the Castle, and all other places that he could come at which were thought of any good importance: and then he fortified with good guards, *Theodorus* and *Sofis* being entered within the City at *Hesperus* after sun-setting, in the twy-light and shutting in of the evening: and shewing the Kings royal robes all embued with blood, and the ornament and attire likewise of his head, he passed through *Thicia*, and called aloud unto the people to fight all at once for their liberty, and to arm themselves, and willed them to repair into *Acradina*. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others flood in their entrees and porches, divers looked out at the windows from within their houses, and asked what the matter might be? Every place rhyone with torch and cresset-light, and was filled withundry garbolls and hurlyburies. As many as were in arms gathered together in the open places of the City: those that were unarmed, took down off the Temple of *Jup. Olympian* the spoils of the Gauls & the Illyrians, which the people of *Rome* had given as a present to *K. Hiero*, and which he let aloft for a memoriall praying unto *Jupiter* that he would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those sacred weapons & harness upon them that meant to arm themselves therewith, for the defence of their country, for the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods, & for the recovery of their liberty. This multitude also joynd with the *corpi de guards*, that in the principal quarters of the City were bestowed in places convenient. But *Andronodorus* amongst other places that he fortified made: there also with strong guards of armed men the publike garners of the City within the Island. There was a place enclosed round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a fortress: this was possessed by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that quarter: and they sent messengers into *Acradina*, to signify that the garners and the corn were kept by them to the behoof of the Senat, And on the morrow at the break of day, the whole people, as well armed as unarmed, assembled together in *Acradina* within the Palace, And there before the altar of *Concordia* which in that place stood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens, named *Polynus*, made an Oration unto them all, with frankness of speech enough, tendering unto liberty and yet seasoned with modesty & moderation in this wise: Men (quoth he) that have ex-

* The City of Syracuse was divided into four parts, *Hesperia*, *Thicia*, *Acradina*, and *Island*.
* In whose entrees call it *Thicia*, you may take *Epistola*, which Temple there stood.
* *Acradina* of others.

perience of servitude and other indignities, fall to abhor the same, and their stomachs rise against them as known evils. But as for civil discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with it, the Citizens of *Syracuse* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That ye have been lo ready to take up arms and weapons in hand I commend you for it: but I would can you more thank. If ye used them not, unless ye be driven thereto by extreme necessity. For the present, I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto *Andronodorus*, to intimate unto him, yea, and to require and charge him, to submit himself unto the Senat and people: and by them to be ordered: to let open the gates of the Island, to put away from about him his guard, and deliver up the castle and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence of being guardian or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to usurp it to his own use: he must be given to understand, by mine advice, that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the hands of *Andronodorus* more fiercely and forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon this assembly embassadors were sent. Then the Senat went together and sat in Council: for, as during the reign of *Hiero*, there was set an ordinary publike Council of State: so after his death unto that day, the Senators were neither called together, nor their advice taken or sought in any matter. When the Embassadors were come unto *Andronodorus*, and had delivered their message, he was himself (verily) for his own part moved with the generall consent of the Citizens: but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possessed by the ad-

verse

A verse side, that one part also of the Island, which was the strongest, was betrayed (as it were) and held out against him. But when the Embassadors called fill upon him to come forth, his wife *Demaria*, daughter of King *Hiero*, puffed up fill with the proud mind and naughty stomack of a Prince, and full of the vain humour and spirit of a woman, put him oftentimes in mind of a saying, that *Demis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, That a man should not ride on hories: back to be deplored from his royall dignity and estate of tyranny, but be led fair and softly a foot pace, and go to that as a bear to the flack. An easie matter (quoth she) it is for one to yield and forgo the possession of high place and honour, and a thing that may be done in the turning of an hand, whereforever one will: but to compais and straiten thereto is a right hard matter, and all thereof, to send for the Souldiers out of the Leontin country: unto whom, no doubt, if you would promise a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall be Lord of it. This perillous unhappy counsel of a woman *Andronodorus* neither despised and rejected together, nor yet presently accepted and embraced: supposing it a better and safer course, if he meant to aspire unto high dignity and great puissance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the necessity of the time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senat this answer from him, That he submitted himself, and would be ordered & let down by the Senat and the people. The morrow after, so soon as it was day-light, he opened the gates of the Island to be set open, & shewed himself C in the market-place of *Acradina*, where he ascended up unto the altar of *Concordia* from which the day before, *Polynus* had made a speech unto the people. He began his Oration with an exhort of his late coming and long stay behind, and craved pardon the more, alledging, That he had kept the gates shut, not because he meant to separate his own affairs from the State, and not to take (such) part as the City took: but when swords were once drawn he feared what would be the end, and issue of murders and massacres, and whether men would flay their hands, when there was assurance of liberty effected (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant, yet whether, as many as either blood and kindred or in affinity and alliance, or in other offices of service, were toward the King, and his Court, should be counted culpable in the fault of another & so likewise have their throats cut. For after that (quoth he) I understood once that they who had delivered and set free their country were minded and willing to save & preserve, these enfranchised: and that there was consulting on all hands indifferently for the good of the State, I made no longer doubt of the matter, but to yield both mine own person and all that ever was under my hand (as committed unto me upon trust and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he, who put all into my hands, through his own folly & outrage overthrown and brought to confusion, Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling unto *Theodorus* and *Sofis*, a noble and memorable piece of service ye have already done, quoth he (but trust me truly, your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not thoroughly finished and performed) nay, a great danger is yet behind, unless ye see to the generall concord and unity of all parts, that the common liberty of the City, turn not into pride and inolency beyond all measure.

E After this speech ended, he laid down the keys of the gates, and of the Kings treasure, at their feet. And so for that day, when the people were dismissed from the assembly, with joy and mirth they went in procession and supplication with their wives and children, round about all the Churches & Chappels of their gods. The day following, the solemn decision was held for the creation of Prators. And first, before all others, *Andronodorus* was chosen, and the rest for the most part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected also two that were abent to wit, *Sepater* and *Deomenes*. Who being advertized of all matters that passed at *Syracuse*, delivered up the Kings treasure which lay in the Leontin country, and was now brought unto *Syracuse*, into the hands of the Treasurers: who for the same purpose were created. Likewise that which was in the Island, and in *Acradina*, was committed over unto their custody. That part also of the wall, which divided the Island from the rest of the City, and was supposed too strong a bar between was by common consent cast down and raised, and was supposed too strong a bar between was by common consent cast down and raised, and as their minds were thus affected and inclined to procure and maintain liberty, so all other matters forced fitable and followed after accordingly.

Hippocrates and *Epicles*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would faine have had concealed, and therefore slew the messenger that brought news thereof) being forsaken of the souldiers, returned to *Syracuse*: supposing for the present, that to be the safest course they could take. Where, because they would grow into no suspicion nor to be noted to seek for some opportunity and occasion of change and alteration in the State, first they presented themselves before the Prators and Governors of the City, and so by their mediation, they had access to the Senat. They gave out, That they had been sent from *Amibal* unto *Hieronymus* G as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by their own Generall and Commander. Now their desire was, to return again unto *Amibal*. But (so much as they might not travell in safety, for the Roman forces, that ranged all over *Stetly*, they craved a convoy and sufficient guard to conduct them, as far as to *Lecry* in *Stetly*: assuring them, that by this small curtesie and desert of theirs, they should rep-reat thanks of *Amibal*, and come into high favour with him. The suit was soon obtained. For desirous they were, that those Cavaliers that used to lead the King, and were expert and skillfull besides in war, and therewith needy and audacious should be sent away: but they made not so good speed to

The Oration of *Andronodorus*.

put this their desire in execution as they should have done. For in the mean season, these young H and lefty marial men, and such as ever had convened with the fouldiers, went up and down one while to them, another while to the fugitive strangers that were revolved, (who for the most part were failers and sea men that came from the Romans) yea, and lotted themselves with the baseliest and most abject persons of the Commoners, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears sundry suspicious matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, saying, that they plotted and practised cloely under hand nothing else, but that *Syracuse*, a uenena colour of reconciliation and accord should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans; and then, the side and faction, and some few with them that are of counsell to renew the associating might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes every day more than other to *Syracuse*, whose ears were tickled, and itched still to hear such rumours, and were apt enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, but *Andronodorus* also good hope of an alteration, and a new world. For he being at length overcome with the importunate suggestions of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to usurp and take upon him the rule of the State, whiles all things were troubled, and in a confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty; whiles the fouldiers were presented in their way, to be dealt withal, and daily maintained and fed out of the Kings Exchequer; and whiles those captains sent from *Antibal*, by reason of their acquaintance with the fouldiers, were present to let loose word, and further his designments) first therefore acquainted *Themistius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter, with his complot: and after a few daies (still undividedly) imparted his mippd alle, K unto one *Arifto*, an Actor of Tragedies, whom he used aforesaid to make privy unto his other secrets. This *Arifto* was well born, and descended of a worshipful house, a man in good place, and of honest reputation: and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of shame to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, bewrayed and disclosed all the treason unto the Prætors. Who finding by good proofs and certain evidences that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council by their warrant and direction, let a guard of armed men about the door of the Senat House, and so loon as *Themistius* and *Andronodorus* were entered in place, flew them outright. And when there began some upore upon this fact, which in few seemed very horrible and hainous; especially to all the rest that knew not the cause: at length they appeased the tumult, and caused silence, and brought the informer into the Council House, that had detected the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular; namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung first from the marriage of *Harmonia* the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wedded unto *Themistius*: that divers auxiliary fouldiers of Africans and Spaniards were appointed and provided to massacre the Prætors, and other principal Citizens: that their goods were promised unto the murderers to be ranfacked and rifled: that besides, there was a band of mercenary fouldiers (such as were wont to be at a beck, and ready to execute the commandment of *Andronodorus*) set in a readines to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practices were and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and shewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy: & namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senat were likewise every perswaded that they had devised such an end, and were as justly murdered as *Hieronymus*. But without the Council House door the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people who were doubtful of the matter, and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatened before the entry and porch of the Senat, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and in loon hufht to as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the public place of assembly. Unto whom, *Sopater*, by order from the Senat, and his fellow Prætors, was commanded to make an Oration.

Sopater his speech to the people of Syracuse.

He began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men N at the bar) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*: "For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus*, nay, what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and stripling, and scarcely come all the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled all, and mismanaged the kingdom at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heavy load lay upon him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at least wile together with him, they had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the gallows had already groned, ceased not still after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new tricks, one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodorus* O was by shutting the gates of the Island, entered by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and sought to vie in his own right, and immediat heir apparent, upon those things that he held under the Prince, only during his nonage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the Island, & besieged round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the *Acradina*) "seeing that in vain he had attempted to be King by open and open force: he sought means now to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning feignings. Neither could he be so much as reclaimed and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the free- dom

A dom of the State, was notwithstanding advanced to be Prætor, among other redeemers of the liberty of their country. But no marvel it was (quoth he) that these men were of this harghy spirit, and longed to be Kings: for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters, "one of King *Hiero*, and the other of his son *Gelo*.

At these words, the people from all parts of the assembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one besides of the Kings stock and lineage ought to remain upon the face of the earth. See the nature and disposition of the multitude: Either they serve basely, or rule proudly. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the skill to despise with reason, or the grace to entertain in measure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be sure as at all times else) ready instruments and firebrands, to help forward, and kindle more angry, such as seeing the Commons distempered already, and bloodily minded of themselves, put them forward to murder and massacre. As it appeared then; For immediatly as the Prætors put up a bill, that all the Kings stock should be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguished: before in manner that it was all read out and published, it passed clear, and was granted. And presently there were sent out certain persons from the Prætors, that murdered *Demarat* and *Harmonia* the daughters of King *Hiero* and *Gelo*, the two wives of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*. Now there was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, wife to *Sopistius*, who having been sent as Embassador from *Hieronymus* to King *Ptolomeus*, chose a life in voluntary exile, and lived not with his wife. She having an inkling given her aforehand, and knowing that the murderers were coming also toward her, took her two daughters, virgins: and together, with their hair loose hanging down their shoulders, and in other most poor array and ruint habit, able to have moved pity and compassion, they were fled into a privat Oratory or Chappell unto their houte gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murderers fell to entreating them most pitiouly, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father *Hiero*, and her brother *Gelo*: "Bekech- ing them not to suffer her (an innocent and guiltles person) to fare the worle, and be punished upon hatred that was born unto her nephew *Hieronymus*. As for me (quoth she) I tread not as good by his Reign and Kingdom, unless it were the banishment and absence of my husband: and as by the life of *Hieronymus*, my fortune was not so good as my sisters: so after he was murdered and dead, my cause is not so bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and besides in case *Andronodorus* had effected his designments, my sister should have been a Queen, and reigned together with her husband: but as for me, I must have been a subject and servant with the rest. Again, if there were any messengers sent unto *Sopistius*, to report the death of *Hieronymus*, and the re- fustation of *Syracuse* to liberty: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embarked and take the seas, and return again into his country? But how much are men put besides their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have seen in a freed fate his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the common liberty, or the course of laws? What danger can come to any person from us, one do- solate lone woman, and in manner a widow, and two young maidens livings as Orphans fa- therles? And if it be said again that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us: E but only the Kings blood and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth she, let us be sent away far from *Syracuse* and *Sicily*, and confined over to *Alexandria*, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither give ear to her words, nor incline their hearts to pity and compassion: then because she would not spend longer time in vain (for now she saw some of them drawing their swords forth) she gave over all entreating for her self, "and besought them instantly to be good yet, to the young filly girls, and spare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heat of anger, fore- bare to offer violence: and that seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants they would not play the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickedness, which they seemed to hate in others. A- midst these words the murderers (sent from the Prætors) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell, and utter throat: and when they had lo done, they smiled and fell upon the maidens, besprent with the blood of their mother: who for sorrow of heart and fear together, being past themselves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzy ran against them, and got out of the Chappell: minding, if they could have escaped forth, and recovered the street, to set the whole City on an upore. And so shifted for themselves, poor wench by running to and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that for a good while they escaped amongst the thickets of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yea, and when they had caught hold of them, notwithstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and those lo strong, yet they wound away from them all: untill at length after they had received many a wound, and filled every place with blood, they fainted and sunk down, and yielded up their innocent spirits. This murder, no doubt, was of it self pitious: but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after came a messenger with exprels commandment, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sudden the hearts of the people relented, and inclined to mercy. But when they heard there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethink themselves and repent, nor space to cool upon their heat, they fell pity and compassion into an extreme fit of anger and choler. The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmur, and called to have an election of Prætors in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius* (for they were both of them Prætors:) which new

The pitifull words of dame *Heraclea*.

The tragickall murder of *Lædy Heraclea* and her two daughters, young virgins.

new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other Prætors in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time, it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which the same voices came thick and threefold till, so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there assembled, were a confused sort intermingled, as well with a number of souldiers, as of a company of Citizens and Commoners: yea, and many of them were strangers fugitive, shuffled among, such as rather than their life desired a general change and alteration. The Prætors at first dissembled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcome at last with the common accord and consent of the people, and I fearing withall a mutiny and sedition pronounced and declared the men so named for Prætors. Neither would they at first hand so soon as they were created, set that abroad which was in their mind and desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much, both for that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten daies: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed to treat for the renewing of the ancient league with the Romans.

* Porto Lugo.
bards ex Cado
Passaro.

The Orator
of Apollonides,
to the people
of Syracuse.

At the same time *Ap. Claudius* the Roman General lay at *Murgantia* with an Armada of 100 galleies, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles, which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liberty. And much about those daies, when as the Syracusan Embassadors were sent from *Appius* unto *Marcellus* now coming into *Sicilia*, *Marcellus* himself after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other Embassadors to *Syracuse*, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prætors, concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in the same quiet tune and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after news came that the Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of ** Pachinus*, confidently, and without all fear, buzzed in the ears one while of the mercenary souldiers, another while of the fugitive traitors, many tallie speeches against their brethren in Office, and namely, that they went about to betray *Syracuse* to the Romans. But *Appius* began to keep his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, listening to know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had, to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those flanders and lewd suggestions: in much as at the first the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hurry and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this troublesome confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, whiles some drew one way, others hailed and pulled another way and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principal and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publike peace, and thus he said: "Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of assured safety, or to fear of utter destruction than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together, and with one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were *M* not a City under the cope of heaven, whose state were more happy and fortunate than ours. "But in case we be distracted, and the Common-weal go divers waies, there would not be more bitter and cruell war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, and each side have their forces, their armor, and their Captains of their own. And therefore we ought of all hands to endeavor our what we can that all may be of one mind and draw in the same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and alliance be the better and more commodious, the Roman or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far less moment and importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and allies, we are to be directed by the authority and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Hieronymus*: and *N* to prefer that amity which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for the present unknown, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, we need not presently go to war with them: but with the Romans we must out of hand make account either of peace, or else of hot wars. This speech of his the less that it favoured of faction, spirit, and affection, the more authority and sway it carried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Prætors and choice Senators, the advice also of the martial men were taken. And therefore the Captains of all their own ensigns and companies, yea, and the great Commanders of the auxiliary forces of their allies, were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last, because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be others also from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontins country there arrived certain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their marches. This Embassage seemed to come very fitly and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the unruly and disorderd multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders,

So

A So, *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenary souldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to four thousand. This expedition and journey contented greatly, as well the senders and setters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For these of the one side had a good occasion and opportunity now offered them, to continue a change in State (the only thing that so long they had desired) and those of the other, were right glad, that the sink (as it were) of the City was now well sourced and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a sore, and a lightning for the present of a sick body: whereby it might soon after by relapse fall back, as it were, into a recidive, and a worse disease and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at first to make rodes by stealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and thence to waile & spoil: afterwards when *Appius* had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederats, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof when *Marcellus* was advertised, he dispatched Embassadors incontinently to *Syracuse*, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never be wanting some occasion or other of quarrell and war, unless *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and sent far enough out of the way, nor only from *Syracuse*, but also quite out of *Sicily*. *Epicides* for as much as he remained present in the City he might be charged and brought in question, for the fault and trespass of his brother absent, or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new war: went himself also in person into the Leontins country: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romans, began also to alienate and turn their hearts from *Syracuse*. For in these terms he suggested and informed against the Syracusians: namely, "how they had capitulated with the Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, should be subject unto them and within their jurisdiction: so as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their liberty, unless they rule also like Lords and Kings. I would avise and counsel you therefore, to send word unto them and give them to understand, that the Leontins likewise deem it good reason, that they should themselves be free in regard to other that the tyrant was killed within the ground of their City, or because the first alarm for liberty began there. For their leaving and abandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to *Syracuse*. And therefore they are (saith he) to raise that aforesaid article out of the instrument of the covenants, or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude perswaded hereunto. And therefore when the Embassadors of the Syracusians came to the Leontins both to make complaint for killing of the Roman *Cors de guard*, and also to command peremptorily that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* should depart either to *Locri*, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their waies and voided clean out of *Sicily*: they returned unto them this stout answer again: that neither the Syracusians had any commission and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any concordancy made by others than their own selves. This answer the Syracusians made report of to the Romans, and said plainly, "That the Leontins were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and censured by them: and therefore, any thing comprised in the league with them notwithstanding, the Romans might war against them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they would not for their parts fail them, but do their best upon condition that when they were once subdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience: according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth against the Leontins, and sent for *Appius* also, to assail them on the other side: and so hot were his souldiers in this service, and bare themselves so resolute, for anger that the guard was slain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between that at the very first assaile they won the City, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they saw the walls felled and the gates of the City broken open, betook themselves for their safety, with some few into the Castle, from whence by night they made a secret escape, and fled to *Herbesia*.

As the Syracusians marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward as far as to the river *Ayle*, they met with a messenger who told them that the City Leontins was forced. They reported other news besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townsmen and souldiers indifferently without respect were put to the sword: that he thought verily there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upward: that the City was put to the sack and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this so fearful and horrible news, the army staid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders *Sofis* and *Diomenes*, consulted what to do. This loud lie arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistaking of a matter. For there were scourged and beheaded of fugitive traitors, to the number of two thousand. But of Leontins and other souldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was lost. And every man had all his own goods restored unto him again: saving that only which in the first hurlyburly of a City newly won hapned to miscarry and perish. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the Leontins, complaining and grieving that their fellow souldiers were betrayed and murdered, nor yet to abide there still for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Prætors perceiving their minds disposed to revoke, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to *Megara* and went

them.

themselves in person with a few horiemen toward *Herbessus*, hoping to gain the City by reason, & whilst they all there were affrighted, But seeing that enterprise would not prevail, they minded to use forcible means. The morrow after they dislodged and raised their Camp from *Megara*, purposing with all their forces to assail *Herbessus*, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* supposing this to be the only way for them, although at the first light not the safest, (considering all hopes besides were cut off) namely, to put themselves into the hands of the souldiers, who were for the most part acquainted with them, and besides, upon the bruit of the execution and massacre of their fellow souldiers, thoroughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The foremost ensigns in the forefront, hapned to consist of those six hundred Cretenians, who in the wars of *Hieronymus* had served under them, and received a favour and benefit at *Annibal* his hands. For being taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus*, I among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were set at large and sent away without ransom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habit, and fashion of their armour, they held out branches of olives and other vails and tokens of suppliants, beseeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchsafe to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the Syracusians: by whom they should soon be yielded unto the people of *Rome*, for to be murdered and cut in peeces. At this they all cried aloud with one voice, and willed them to be of good cheer, for they should fare no worse than their own selves. Upon this communication the ensigns staid, and the army stood still and marched not forward: but the general Captains wist not as yet what the cause might be of this stay. After the rumour was spread that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the host throughout by a general applausse K seemed to like well of their coming: the Prætors incontinently set spurs to horses, and rode forward apace to the forefront of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretenians, what manner and fashion this was of theirs? and how they durst be so bold, as to parl and talk with enemies? and without licence of their Prætors to entertain them within their companies? And herewith they gave commandment, that *Hippocrates* should be apprehended and bound sure with chains. At which word the Cretenians set up such a cry, and the rest so answered it again with the like, that it was well seen, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred themselves to small danger. And thus in great perplexity and fear of their own lives, they commanded to turn ensigns, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came; and dispatched messengers precisely to *Syracuse* to signify in what terms they stood. *Hippocrates* seeing the souldiers pI even to be suspicious and ready to believe every thing, devised a cunning shift besides in this manner. After he had sent out certain of the Cretenians to belie the waies between them and *Syracuse*, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which he read unto the souldiers, and were indeed framed and indited by himself. The tenor of the letters ran in this form: "The Prætors of *Syracuse* to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting. After these salutations and commendations premised, as the manner is it followed written thus: you have done well and orderly in sparing none at all of the Leontins. But all other mercenary souldiers besides are in the same predicament: neither will *Syracuse* be ever in quiet, so long as any forrain aid be either in the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counsell is, that you would endeavour to get them into your hands, who with our Prætors are encamped before *Megara*, and by exM cution of them to deliver and let *Syracuse* free in the end.

The contents of these letters were not so soon read, but with such an outcry and alarm they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Prætors amidst this garboil were faine to ride away as fast as they could gallop toward *Syracuse*. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheless continued and was not appeased: for the souldiers fell upon the Syracusians that were in the camp amongst them. And they had all drank of the same cup, and not one escaped, but that *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* came between, and opposed themselves against the multitude in this their furious rage: not upon any pitifull compassion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but because they would not cut themselves from all hope of return: and besides, they were not only desirous to have the souldiers themselves affectionate unto them and faithful, and withall instead of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great desert, first to gain and win unto them the kind-folk and friends of those souldiers, and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast by good a pawn and pay remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puff and gale of wind the common people turneth every way, they informed a souldier, one of them who was besieged within the City of *Leontinus*, to carry news to *Syracuse*, fusing with his own knowledge, and tell things that were doubtful, as if they were most certain, and by himself knew of known: thereby to stir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credited of the common multitude, but also being brought into the Council-House, he greatly moved the Senat: inasmuch as some of them, more light of beliefe than others, gave it out openly and said, O "That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus discovered among the "Leontins. And god blefs us from them here. For if they set foot once within *Syracuse*, they "would commit the like outrages, yea, and worse too a great deal, and more horrible: as they "should find there greater matter to work upon, and to satisfy their covetous and greedy appetite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in general, to shut the gates, and to stand upon their guard and defend the City. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the martial men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the

Romans;

A Romans: the Prætors, and some few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the huff, and possessed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a mischief that was more imminent and near, and ready presently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come before *Hexapylus*. Within the City the kindfolk and friends of those Citizens which were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themselves to let the gates open, and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended against the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicket of *Hexapylus* was opened, and they ready to enter in thereat, the Prætors came upon them in the manner. And first they commanded by word of mouth and threatened them: after that by vertue of their place and authority they seemed to fright and terrifie them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevail, forgetting their own dignity and majesty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to betray their country to those, who aforesome were the instruments and puppets of the Tyrant, and now the oppressors of the army. But to deaf ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fit unto the Prætors, that they within as well as without, set their hands to, by all forcible means, to butt down the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the army was let in safe, and received within the *Hexapylus*. The Prætors fled for refuge with the youth and strength of the Citizens into *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the souldiers that were left in *Syracuse* (of them who served the King) joyntly to the army, and augmented their forces. And to *Acradina* also, was upon the first assault won. All the Prætors, but those that escaped by flight, and saved themselves in the midst of this hurry, were slain: and the night coming upon them, said the massacre. The day following, all bondslaves were called to receive the cap and made freethe prisoners were set open, and the prisoners let go at large. And this confused rabble and multitude of all sorts created *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Prætors. And thus *Syracuse*, having for a short time liberty shining favourably upon it, fell again into her old servitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans incontinently they dislodged and removed the camp from *Leontinus*, and marched directly towards *Syracuse*. It hapned the same time that the Embassadors sent from *Appius* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galee, one of five banks of oars: but another galee of four banks which was sent before, was not so soon carried into the mouth of the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embassadors hardly and with much ado escaped in the other. And now the world there was grown to this pass, that no laws of peace, no nor to much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken clean: at what time as the Roman army lay in camp a mile and an half from the City, at *Olympium*, the temple of *Jupiter*. For when it was thought meet to send Embassadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their followers encountered them without the gate, and charged them upon their perill not to enter the City. The Roman Orator alledged, and said, "That he came not to proclaim war against the Syracusians, but to bring aid and help, as well unto those, who having escaped out of the midst of the slaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as also unto them, who being kept under with fear, endured bondage and thralldom more miserable than banishment, yea, and death it self. Neither will the Romans (saith he) put up that shameful and cruel murder of their Allies without due revenge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for succour unto them, may return home safely into their country: if the authors of that massacre above said, be delivered into their hands: and if the Syracusians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, then shall not need any hostility or war. But in case these conditions be not performed, they would persecute with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whole or ever.

To this *Epicides* framed his words in this wise: "If (saith he) ye had any message and commission to parl with my brother and me, we would return you an answer accordingly. In the mean while ye were best be gone for this time, and return again when the City and state of *Syracuse* shall be under their governance, unto whom ye were sent. As for war, if the Romans think it good to deal that way, they shall find and know by experience, try when they would, that it is for one thing to assail *Syracuse*, and another to set upon *Leontinus*. And so leaving the Embassadors, he made the gates fast against them.

From this time forward the Romans laid siege unto *Syracuse*, and began to beleaguer it both by sea and land at once. On the land side at *Hexapylus*, by water at *Acradina*, upon the walls whereof the sea beateeth. And like as they won the City of the Leontins by terrifying them at the first assault, and therefore distrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also one side or other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built to scatter, one part far alunder from another, they approached with all their fabricks, engines, and ordnance of battery against the walls. Which enterprise of theirs, so resolutely begun and so shortly and torbly followed, had sped well and taken effect, if one man at that time had not been in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was he a singular Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation and beholding the sky with the Planets and other stars therein fixed: but a more wonderful engineer for devising and framing of artillery, ordnance, fabricks, and instruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at ease, check and frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with great difficulty had prepared for to give the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engines of all sorts upon the curtain of the wall, which stood on certain hills, and those not of even height: and having for the most part high places that yielded hard access, and some other low again, whereunto men might come on even & plain ground, he fitted and furnished every place accordingly. Now *Marcellus*

*Pinarus his
speech to his
soldiers.*

"a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul *Marcellus* is not far off ye may, if it please you, send your Embassadors unto him, of whom you may be certified, under whose power, commandment, and government I am. Tush, say they, we will never fend unto him. But if words and reason may not prevail, we will work some other means to recover our liberty again. Then quoth *Pinarus* to them, If ye think much to address your messengers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Council of the people for my sake, that I may know whether these demands proceed from some few, or from the whole body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a general assembly should be proclaimed against the morrow. Then *Pinarus* after that he was departed from this party, returned into the streets, and calling his soldiers together, spake unto them in this wise: "I suppose ye have heard already (my soldiers) in what sort the Romans have, these daies past, been betrayed & murdered by the Sicilians. That treachery hitherto ye have avoided and escaped; first & principally through the goodness of the gods: next and immediately by your own valour and prowess; & by continual watch & ward, standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice either to endure and suffer such horrible mischief: or to execute and commit a fearful example of cruelty. This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cautiously all this while & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surpris us, they would seem now openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their hands. Which we should not so soon part with & render unto them, but presently *Ænna* would turn to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and hewn in pieces, than the garrison was at *Murgantia*. Much ado I had to obtain of them respite of this one night to take further counsel: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I & you stand. To-morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the people. And to make a speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stir them up against you. And to-morrow is the day that the City *Ænna* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall lose all that you have, if they surpris you: so in case you prevent them and begin the fray, there shall no peril at all betide you. Look who first lieth hand on his sword and draweth it, he shall carry away the victory clear. Therefore ye must be there prest in your armor, and attentive to expect a signal from me. My self will be present in the assembly, and with parling and debating, temporise and draw out the time, until ye be all in readines and every thing in order. And to soon as I shall give you a sign with my gown, then let me hear you set up an outcry, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down with them and spare not and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them escape your hands and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or force. And now I beseech thee O Dame *Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*, and all other gods in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this City, these holy lakes and sacred groves, wherein ye are honoured and worshipped, to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us: in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against us, and not to offer mischief unto others: and not otherwise, I would use more words unto you my friends and soldiers, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal with men in arms: but since they are naked unarmed, & unwarned, you shall kill and slay them at your pleasure, and satisfy your selves with their blood. And to the end that you need not fear any harm from *Himilco* and the Carthaginians. Ioe the Consul himself lieth encamped near at hand. After this exhortation they were dismissed, to take their recreation and rest. The next day, they were bestowed in sundry parts of the City, to come to beset all the streets, others to stop the passages and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected as being used heretofore to behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain *Pinarus* was by the Magistrates brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleaded, That it lay not in his hands, but in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and he iterated for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began gently to move him by little and little: afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him to do so: and when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter, they menaced and threatened fiercely, yea, and seemed as if they would no longer forbear but proceed to extrem violence. Then the Captain made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the soldiers who had their eyes upon him waiting wittily for the signal and were ready for execution, let up a loud cry and ran some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them: others flood thick at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against them. Thus the men of *Ænna*, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay tumbled one upon other: not they only that were killed, but such also as fled one over another's head: the found fell upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps. Then there was running from thence sundry waies, and as if the City had been taken upon assault by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and furious were the soldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged worthily

A chily and justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or choler raised in their hearts had provoked them thereto. Thus *Ænna* was held still for the Romans by this means: were the dead simply ill, or by circumstance needfull and necessary: *Marcellus* mistook not of the fact & granted the pillage of the Citizens of *Ænna* to the soldiers: supposing that the Sicilians thoroughly-frighted by this fearful example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune of this City, (standing, as it did, in the very heart of Sicily) was in one day divulged and noised throughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous and renowned town it was, either for the natural situation for exceeding strong: or because all places in it were accounted sacred and holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*, who in times past left her footings & traces there, at what time as she was stoln away & ravished by *Pluton*. Now it was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this cursed and detestable man, had defiled and polluted not only the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who flood but doubtful and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romans, and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then *Hippocrates* retired to *Murgantia* and *Himilco* to *Agri-genum*: who were sent for by the conspirators and traitors within *Ænna*, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. *Marcellus* returned to the Leontins country: and after he had brought into the Camp, Corn and other victuals, and left there a mean guard, he presented himself to the legs that lay before *Syracuse*. And when he had sent *Appius Claudius* to Rome to the for the Consulship, he committed the charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old leaguer unto *T. Quinctius Crispinus*. Himself crested and fortified his winning harbours five miles from *Exapolis*, at a place which men call *Leontia*. And these were the affairs of Sicily unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer the war began likewise with King *Philip*, which long before had been expected. For there came Embassadors from *Oricum* to *M. Valerius* the Praetor, Admiral of the fleet, for the defence of *Brundisium*, and the sea-coast thereof of *Calabria*, and made report that *Philip* first assailed to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty light galleys, or foists with two ranks of oars against the stream: and afterwards, seeing he could not effect his purpose so speedily as he hoped, privily he might be approached with his army to *Oricum*: and that the City, situate upon a plain, neither strongly fenced with walls, nor well manned with soldiers, nor yet furnished with armor and munition, was at the first almost surpris'd and won. And as they recounted these new news, they brought him to grant aid and succour: and to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romans, either by Land or for sea, and to chase him away from them: who for no other reason were by him assailed, but because they were near neighbors to Italy. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *Lucius* his Lieutenant General, with a fleet of ships well rigged, furnished & appointed: and having embarked these soldiers (which the galleys or war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden arrived at *Oricum* on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and slight garrison, which *Philip* when he departed from thence had left there, recovered it without much resistance. Thither repaired to him embassadors from *Apollonia*, who brought word that they were besieged, because they refused to revolt from the Romans: and were not able to hold out any longer against the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romans were sent unto them. He promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand elect and choicest soldiers in galleys and sent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies *Nectus Crispus*, an industrious man, and an expert soldier. He having landed his men, and sent the galleys back to *Oricum* (from whence he came) to the rest of the Armado, conducted his soldiers higher in the country, far from the river side, by a way that was not before held by the Kings forces: and in the night-season, unawares to all the enemies, entered the City. The day following they rested, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of *Apollonia* of the armor and the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and perused all thereupon he was well appaid and encouraged to fight, and withal, he had learned by the friends and spies, how the rebels, Fidle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without any noise, and entered the Camp of the enemies so carefully guarded as it was, and lying so open: that by credible reports, there were above one thousand men got within the trench and rampier, before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hands, and not fallen to killing, they might have passed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they saw the wardens next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon, they were all so frightened and terrified, that not only there was never a soldier took weapon in hand, and went about to resist the enemy out of the Camp: but even the King himself, naked as he was, and newly wakened out of his sleep, clad in simple apparell, scarce decent for a common soldier, with his sword, for a King, was fain to run toward the river side to his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled dispersed in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either slain or taken prisoners in the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the sifting of the camp the Apollonians met with *Catapulta* and *Balists*, and other engines provided for the assault of the City, which they conveyed all to *Apollonia*, to serve for defence of their walls against the like occasion of needfull service. All the booty besides of the camp was granted unto the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to *Oricum*, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armado as far as to the mouth of the river, that the King might not flee away and escape by sea with his ships: whereupon *Philip* distrusting his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match

the Romans, drew up some of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and so by land went into *Macedony*, with a great part of his souldiers disarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at *Oricum* with *M. Valerius*.

The same year in *Spain* the affairs went variably on both sides. For before that the Romans passed over the river *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* defeated a mighty host of Spaniards, so as, all the farther part of *Spain* had fallen from the Romans, but that *P. Cornelius* made haste to transport his army over *Iberus*, and came in good time to settle the wavering and doubtful minds of the allies. At the first, the Romans encamped at *Castrum Alimna*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The Castle was well fortified, and thither alone they had conveyed corn. But because all those quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and sundry times their Cavalry had charged the Roman footmen, and gone clear away without any harm, whereby there had been slain at times upon two thousand of them, which either made small hate away, and laid behind, or straggled loosely over the fields: the Romans departed from thence, nearer unto places of more security and peace, and fortified themselves in camp upon the mount of *Vitoria*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gilgo*, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a full army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romans above-said. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certain light armed souldiers, was gone out closely to discover and take view of the place thereabout: howbeit, not so covertly, but he was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a shrewd foil in the open plain champions, but that he took a little hill thereby for his vantage. Where he was environed and beset round about: but by the coming of his brother *Cneus*, he was delivered out of that danger.

Casula, a famous and strong City in *Spain*, and so near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that *Annibal* from thence married his wife, ranged to the Romans. The Carthaginians came against *Illiturgum*, and began to assault it, because a garrison of the Romans lay there: and like they were to be Masters of the town, by occasion especially of a great dearth and scarcity of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garrison, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies skirmished with them, slew many of them, and entered the City. The morrow after he sallied out, joyned in fight with the enemy, and sped as well: so as in both battels there were slain of them above twelve thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 36 military ensignes carried away. Thus the siege brake up at *Illiturgum*. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto *Bigerre* (a City also conederat with the Romans.) But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raised that siege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against *Munda*, and the Romans followed them thither straight after. There they encountered together and fought a set battel with banners displayed, for the space well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themselves bravely, and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was sounded, by occasion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt fore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the souldiers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that stay and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the souldiers, but the Elephants also were driven already so far as the trench, and even there upon the very bank, 39 of them were ticked with darts and pikes. In this battel likewise were killed (by report) twelve thousand men, almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 military ensignes won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City *Aurime*, and the Romans followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breath themselves after their flight. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battel the second time, and got the victory clear: but fewer of the enemies were slain by the one half than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to be ever fighting, and cannot give over) they soon repaired and made up their forces. For *Asdrubal* had sent his brother *Mago*, to levy and gather new souldiers: whereupon they took fresh heart again to try another field. There, being for the most part other souldiers (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few days (space had so often taken the foil, and demeaned themselves as courageously as they before, and sped as unworwardly. For there were slain of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with military ensignes 58. In rising of them there was found very much spoil of the Gauls, as rings of gold, car-knives, collars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Municapins* and *Croisfmarus*, were slain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affairs in *Spain* went thus fortunately with the Romans, they began at length for very shame to thinke of *Saguntum*, a town that was the cause of all these wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and possession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms they recovered it, drove out of the town the garrison of the Carthaginians, and restored it again to the ancient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had escaped these broils of war. As for the Turdetans, who were the occasion of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians, they subdued them, and brought them under their subjection, sold them in port sale, and destroyed their City utterly. These were the achievements in *Spain*, during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At *Rome*, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once entered into their office, presently

L. Atellus

A. *Atellus* one of the Tribunes afore-said, arrested the Censors *P. Furius* and *M. Attilius*, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer the year before, his horie of service allowed him by the City, casted and displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him *Avernus*, and all, for being a party with them at *Canna*, who comploted to abandon *Italy*. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not infer, that the Censors should come to their answer whilst they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the testing and numbring of the Citizens. And when *M. Attilius* surrendered up his Magistracy, *Q. Fabius M.* held the solemn Assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius M.*, the Consul his son, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time both able. For Prætors, there were elected *M. Attilius*, and with him, they who at that time were Adiles of the chair to wit, *P. Sempronius Tuditans*, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*.

This year, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-places first let out by the Adiles of the chair, and continued four daies. This Adile *Tuditans* above-named was he who at *Canna* (when all besides him for fear were attainted in that wofull calamity) brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consul had finished the Election then the new Consuls Elect were sent for to repair unto *Rome*, and they entered their Magistracy. Then they assembled the Senat for to consult and take order for the war, for the Provinces as well their own, as those that were under the Prætors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The war with *Annibal*, wheresoever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Consuls, with the charge of one army, which *Sempronius* himself had before under his conduct: and of another, commanded by *Fabius* the Consul. And those were two legions, *M. Aemilius* the Prætor, whole lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the foreigners, had committed his authority unto his Colleague *Attilius*, the Prætor of the Citizens of *Rome*, that he might govern the Province about *Lucania*, and those two legions, over which *Q. Fabius*, now Consul, had the command, whilst he was Prætor. To *Sempronius* the Prætor befell the Province of *Arianus*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Sueffula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fabius* should have the leading of the legions

D of Citizens, and *Tuditans* receive his from *M. Pomponius*. The government of the foreign Provinces continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled *Sicily*, so far as the dominion of King *Hiero* extended: and *Leulius* the Vice-Prætor had the charge of the old Province, *T. Octavius* was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in *Greece* and *Macedony*, with one legion, and the Armado which he had before. *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputy in *Sardinia*, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affairs in *Picennia*, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustered and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides levied of Allies and Allies. With these Captains and these forces above-said they provided for

E the defense and maintenance of the State and Empire of *Rome*, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out the rest, before that they set out of the City, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearful and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of *Rome* were blatted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Aricia*. Other vain objects and illusions also of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were believed for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tanais* certain resemblances and shews of Gallies, whereas indeed there were none fish. And in the Temple of *Jup. Victricius*, which standeth in the Territory of *Cassia*, there was heard forthwith rustling of armor: and the river of *Amicernus* seemed to run with blood. When satisfaction was

F made for these strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction set down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the Camp at *Sueffula*, as Lieutenant and assistant unto his son. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meet him, and his Sergeants or Ushers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the laid Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the Consul commanded the Sergeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Usher called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horie back, and at last, he set foot aground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Consul or no.

G "There came that night secretly to the Consul while the Camp lay there, one *Cassius Attilius*, an Arpinet, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his service, he would betray *Arpin* into his hands. *Fabius* then propoised this matter unto the Council, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that *Attilius* was to be whipped and put to death, fugitive runagate and false knave as he was a common enemy, and a dangerous to either part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the overthrow at *Canna* (as if he might turn with the wheel of fortune, and go from his word and faithful promise, and change ever as she changech) ranged himself unto *Annibal*: and by his exam-

"ple, drew with him *Arpi* to revolt and rebell: now after that he seeth the Roman estate to life H
again and hold up head (and that beyond his hope, & contrary to his desires) he would play the
"villain and turn-coat again, and come with a new practice of a more shamefull treason than be-
"fore: as if treachery and falshood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in Sep-
"tembril court: and as if he might be allowed to carry two laces under a hood, and alter every
"hour. Faithless friend, that he is, not to be trusted, and slippery enemy, not to be regarded. A
"good deed it were, that together with that lame traitor of *Faleris*, and the other of King *Pyr-
"rhus*, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to teach all rogues
"and runnagates hereafter how they run from their Lords and Masters. On the other side, old *Pa-
"bin* (the Consuls father) replied, and said, That men now adays had forgot how to make diffe-
"rence of seasons, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reasoned and gave their opinion and cen- I
"sure of every thing and person as in a free time of open peace: when as indeed, we are to think,
"consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of our allies re-
"volt from the people of *Rome*, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is star-
"red aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a reviling and rebu-
"king of him, and bitterly to say that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it
"may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawfull to return again unto the
"Romans, no man need doubt, but shortly the Roman Empire will be forsaken of all her conse-
"derats and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of *Italy* linked and confedered in
"false league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that
"thinketh *Altinus* worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean course K
"in middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore, that for the present he should
"be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a
"prisoner, and only kept forth-coming in some confederat and trusty City, not far from the
"Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it
"good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment
"than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of
"old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and both himself and his company
"delivered over and put in custody, and a good room full of gold, which he then had brought with
"him, was by commandment relieved for his use. At *Calis* he made his abode: where all the day
"time he used to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him L
"close prisoner. But at *Arpi*, where his home was, they of his own house began first to miss him,
"and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City, that he was out of
"the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the loss of a principall per-
"son as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of an alteration in the State, presently the
"news thereof was sent to *Annibal*. Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long afore
"he had the party himself in jealousy and suspicion, as one neither first nor last, a man of no cre-
"dit, and hardly to be trusted: and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to seize up-
"on the goods of so rich and substantiall a Citizen and to make sale thereof. But to the end that
"the world might think that he was more angry against his person, than greedy of his substance, he
"joyined with cruelty, a grave course also of judicall severity, that the one might serve as a file to M
"give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined
"them straightly, for to know whither he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left
"behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned enough of them touching every par-
"ticular, and as much as he desired he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from *Succisa*, purposed the first thing that he did to assail *Arpi*. Where
"he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after he had well viewed by near approach, the
"situation of the City, and considered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, and
"therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest
"assault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordnance and engines, requisite
"for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the
"whole army and let over them certain Tribunes and Marshals, valorous and doughty good men,
"and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred fouldiers (for so many he thought sufficient
"for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the
"relief of the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place aforesaid. Now there
"flood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason
"that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but flood void. That gate he gave them order first
"to scale and climb over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within forth to break down
"the bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Masters of that quarter of the City, then to
"wind the horn, and give signall to the rest of the forces forth to approach and come hard to the
"town, saying, That he would have all things in readines, and in good order. This direction was
"performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have
"been an hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them most,
"that they were not defiered. And that was a smoking shower of rain that began after midnight,
"which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their standings, for sake the Sentinels, and to
"slie into the houses for covert. The first noise of the storm pouring down with such a force, made
"that the rumbling of the fouldiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gate: and as

A as it grew after to rain more softly, and so kept still at one, it founded gently and sweetly in their
"ears, until it brought a good many of them fast asleep. Now after they had lized the gate, the
"Marshals gave order, That the Centuriers should be belowed in that void street at several dis-
"tance equally alinder, and to wind their horns, for to waken and raise the Conitil. Which being
"done, according as it was before agreed, the Consuls commanded the standards and engines to be
"brought forth and somewhat before day-light entered at the laid broken gate into the City. With
"that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves. In now the flower and tempest of the
"day approached. There was a garrison in the City at hand of five thousand of *Arpi*, and
"his fouldiers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpins of their kind laces were also strong. Thus
"B the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorne hope, and opposed them against the enemy,
"for fear of some treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First they began to
"arrange themselves to fight in the dark, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romans advanced
"and taken up not only all the streets, but also the houles that were next the gate to the end they might
"not be gauled with shot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at first to
"meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and to begin to commure and talk to-
"gether. The Romans asked what the Arpins meant to rebel: for what offence and hurt given
"to the Romans, and for what desert and meritt received from the Carthaginians should they (being
"natural Italians) maintain war for Alien strangers, and barbarous nations against the Romans
"their old friends and ancient Allies: and to robbing *Italy* in subjection to *Carthage*, to do ho-
"mage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay pension unto it? The Arpins excused
"and cleared themselves saying, that they (simple men and ignorant in all things) were bought and
"sold by their great rulers and principall Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under
"the command of some few persons that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of
"them grew to parling and conference. At length the Prator of *Arpinum* it was by his own peo-
"ple and Citizens brought and presented before the Consuls: where, after tumultuall promulgat
"between the engines and the batels: the Arpins immediately bent their forces on the Romans
"side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under all the
"men) after they had capitulated and agreed with the Roman Conitil, nothing but this one and he,
"That the garrison of the Carthaginians might be set forth and pass away the without harm:
"D came with their colours to the Conitil. Then all the gates were kept open for the Carthaginians
"to depart: and being sent away upon safe conduct without any harm or damage, they
"arrived at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* was restored again to the Romans without any detriment
"of any one man, but one yold traitor and new fugitive revolt, the Spaniards were appointed
"to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good fidelity and faithfulness many
"times after to the Common weal.

When one of the Consuls was in *Apulia*, and the other in *Lucania*, one hundred and twelve
"men of arms, Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Capua*, having licence granted by the Consuls
"to go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country, and to buy in baggage
"and prizes, came directly into the Romans Camp, lying about *Succisa*. And coming with the
"E Corps de guard, declared who they were, and that they would part with the said Prisoners. *Nu-
"mius*, *Fulvius* was the General and Commander of the army there: who being informed and con-
"firmed hereof gave order that ten only of all that number should be brought before him, and
"When he heard their suit and demand, which was nothing else but that when *Arpi* was recovered
"by the Romans, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into
"his protection. The other Prator also *Scamptius Thasiatus*, won by force the town of *Ugentum*
"where there were taken prisoners above seven thousand men: and a good deal of copper and
"silver coined besides. At *Rome* there chanced a terrible and pitifull fire, which continued two
"nights and one whole day. All between *S. line* and the gate *Comenalis*, together with the *Equi-
"melian* and the street *Jugurthum*, were burned down, and made even with the ground. Likewise
"F without the gate the fire spread far all about, and in the Temples of *Fornax* and *Diana*, *Curia*,
"and *Speus*, consumed much, as well hallowed as profane.

The same year, when all things prospered well and had good success in *Spain*, *P.* and *L.* both
"Scipios having recovered many allies, and thoe of an intestine gate that came in to the Roman
"and yielded themselves: and besides, gained some new confederats, conceived great hope and took
"heart to proceed farther, even into *Africa*.

Syllas King of the Numidians, on a sudden fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their
"professed enemy. Unto him the Scipios addressed three Centurions as Ambassadors to treat with
"him about a league and alliance: and to promise withal, that if he were content to trouble and
"molest the Carthaginians, by making war upon them, he should do an high favour to the Senate
"and people of *Rome*: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place,
"C he should be well requited for that kindness, and receive at their hands a double open-
"pen with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous King right well. And after he had conferred
"and reasoned with the Ambassadors, concerning military Affairs, and the knowledge of war, and
"heard thoe old & experienced fouldiers talk of war, he soon found his own wants, and how
"unskillful himself was in many points and parts of arms, in comparison of that methodical and
"orderly discipline, whereof they had discoursed. "The first thing then that he requested at their
"hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithful Allies, two of them would go
"back

"back with their Embassie unto their Generals; and that the third might remain with him, to H read unto him a lecture in the military science of warfare, saying, that the nation of the Numidians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmen service, and only nimble and practised in fight on horseback, So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors used to war: & so have we from our childhood been entred to fight, My, an enemy I have, trusting and preuming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all kind of service, Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? my Realm is populous and yieldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant we are, how to fit them with armor, how to marshall them, how to order and let them in battell array: in omuch as all my people in battell go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude huddled and thrumbed together at a venture without skill, without discretion and adviement, The Embassadors answered and said, That for the present they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withal, they had his faithful promise & word of a Prince that he should immediately send back their companion again, in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. Q. Statorius his name was: that staid behind with the King. So Syphax sent by the two Romans his answer to the forelaid Embassage into Spain: and besides, with them other Numidians, Embassadors of his own, to receive farther assurance and security from the Roman Generals: unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith they should sollicite, perswade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary footsouldiers unto the Carthaginians, and served in any Camp City, or garrison Town of theirs, for to abandon them and come to him. And Statorius for his part, having mustered a great multitude of serviceable young men, chose forth and enrolled a power of footmen, to serve in the Kings wars: and when he had sorted them into bands and companies, and ordered them in battell array, as near as possibly he could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours: he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he accustomed them to travel and do work: and so acquainted them with other military orders and exercises, that within short time, the King repoled as good confidence, and was as mighty in his new Infantry as in his old Cavalry: and in a let pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the Carthaginian with banner displayed, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the Kings Embassadors into Spain, was to the Romans also a matter of great consequence and importance: for upon the rumour and fame that went thereof the Numidians began to fall away apace, L and to come thick unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joyed in amity and friendship with King Syphax.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance, they addressed immediately their Embassadors to Gala, who reigned in another part of Numidia, over a nation called Masanissa. This Gala had a son named Masanissa, of seventeen years of age, but a youth of such towardsness, and so forward in vertue, that even then he made good and apparant shew, that he would another day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flourishing and mighty Kingdom than his father should leave it unto him. Their Embassadors declared unto Gala, "That forasmuch as Syphax had entred league, and was banded with the Romans; to the end that by their alliance and society, he might be more mighty and puissant against other Kings and nations of Affrick: it M "were also better for him and much more commodious to joyn with the Carthaginians in all convenient speed: before that either Syphax passed over into Spain, or the Romans into Affrick: "And Syphax (say they) may soon be defeated and overthrown now, while that he hath gained "naught yet: but the bare name of the Roman League, Gala was soon perswaded to send a power of men especially at the earnest instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and to have the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquished Syphax, and gave him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain, by report, in one day thirty thousand. Syphax himself in person, with some few Numidian horsemen fled back to the Maurians, that inhabit the furthest coasts, hard upon the Ocean over-against Gades. But the barbarous people at the fame of his coming forelorted in great numbers to him out of all parts, that in a short space N he was able to arm a mighty host. And before he could with them cross over into Spain, which was divided from Affrick with a narrow arm of the sea, Masanissa was come with his victorious Army: who in that place, of himself, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave Syphax battell to his great honour and singular glory. In Spain no memorable exploit was achieved, but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and serviceable manhood of the Celtiberians, for the same hire and stipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians: and sent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of the noblest parentage into Italy, to sollicite their countrymen, who served under Annibal as auxiliaries to follow them and take part with the Romans. This only touching the affairs of Spain that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and remembered. That the Romans never waged souldier to serve in their war before that time, when O the Celtiberians began to be their mercenaries, and first received pay.

The

The five and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and twentieth Book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, furnished afterwards Africanus, was made *Ædile*, before he was of *twofull years*. Annibal won the City Tarentum (all but the Castle, into which the Roman garrison was retired) by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went by night a hunting. The solemn plaies in the honour of Apollo, were now first instituted, upon occasion of certain propheticall verses of Martius, wherein the overthrow at Cannæ had been foretold. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius Consuls, fought fortunately against Hanno, a Duke or Captain of the Carthaginians. T. Sempronius Gracchus the Pro-Consul, was by a Lucan (his host that gave him entertainment) C trained into the danger of an ambush, and slain by Mago. Centenius Penula, who had served in the wars as a Centurion, having made suit unto the Senat, to have the leading of an army, and promised, if this petition were granted, to win the victory of Annibal, and to vanquish him, took the charge of eight thousand footmen, and gave battell to Annibal: but he was slain himself, and his whole army defeated and put to the sword. Cn. Fulvius the Praetor fought unfortunately against Annibal, and lost the field: in which fight there died sixteen thousand men. Himself, with two hundred horsemen fled and escaped. Capua was besieged by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius, the Consuls. Claudius Marcellus in the third year of the siege won Syracule, and bare himself in that service like a worthy and noble Knight. In that tumult and hurly-burly when the City was taken, Archimedes, whiles he was busily occupied D about certain Geometrical figures and forms that he had drawn in the dust, was killed. The two Scipios, Publius, and Cornelius, after so many and so worthy exploits performed fortunately in Spain, came to a wofull and heavy end, being themselves slain there, with the loss well-near of their whole Armies, in the eighth year after that they went into Spain. And the main possession of that Province had been quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industry of L. Martius, a Knight of Rome, who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, so encouraged them, that by their valiant service two several encamped holds of the enemies were won, seven and thirty thousand of the enemies slain, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich booty obtained. Whereupon he was called Captain Martius.

The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VV Hiles these affairs thus passed in Affrick and in Spain, Annibal employed the summer season in the territory of Tarentum, in hope by treason to be Master of the City of the Tarentins. In which mean while certain base Cities of the Salentins, and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those twelve States of the *Bruttii*, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthaginians, the Comontins and Thurins were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of Rome. And more of them had returned likewise, but for L. Pompeius Tarentinus Captain of the Allies: who after he had made certain rodes into the country of the *Bruttii*, and ped his hand F with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonel, and was no less reputed: and having gathered a power of men, suddenly in haste, without good adviement, fought with Hanno. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either slain or taken prisoners. But as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rabble of ruffical citizens and bond-slaves: and the least loss of all other, was the Captain himself, who amongst the rest was taken captive: a man as then, the author of a rash and fool-hardy fight, and had been aforetime a Publican or Farmer of the City revenues, and alwaies (through his naughty practices and cunning fetches and shifts wherein he was become skillful) a disloyal person and dangerous both to the publicke State, and also to those private companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and dealing. Sempronius the Consul, lying in the Lucans country made many light skirmishes, but not G any one worth remembrance, and won certain poor towns, and of small regard, belonging unto the Lucans.

The longer that this war continued lingering, whiles prosperous success and adverse mishap interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men: as in their outward state and fortune: such religious zeal and superstition (and the same for the most part in forreign ceremonies) had so seized & possessed the City, that either the men or gods thereof, were suddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. In omuch as now the Roman rites and holy observations were contemned, not only in secret, & within doors at home in their private

private houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea, and in the common place and Capitol: where they flocked alwaies a sort of women that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor said their prayers, and did their devotions according to the use and custome of their native country and City. Certain odd Priests and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whose number was the greater by reason first of the rural people and peasants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reason of the long wars, and many invasions and rodes that laid all waste, and so retired into the City: afterwards by the easie occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the error of others, whom they soon seduced and abused: which trade they used and practised openly, as if it had been a lawfull art and mystery. At the first, divers good and honest persons began secretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in process of time the matter was presented before the LL. of the Councill, and brake forth to open complaint in publick places. The *Ædiles* and *Triumvirs* Capital were blamed much, and sharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand to rid the common place of this multitude and to call down, over-turn, and fling away the preparation and provision for their sacrifices and oblations, they had life to have been misliked and mischieved by the people. When this malady and misorder seemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meaner and inferior Magistrate, *M. Æmilius*, Prætor of the City for the time being, received Commission by order from the Senate, to see that the people were eased and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only read unto them in a publick assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but also made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that whosoever had any books of prophecies or prayers, or treatises written of this art and science of sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Calends of *April* next ensuing, *Item*, that no person should sacrifice either in publick place, or sacred Church, after any new form or foreign rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publick Priests, to wit, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-Priest, or high Priest: and *C. Papyrius Masso*, the son of *Cæus* a Bishop, *Alf. P. Furius Philus* an Augur, and *C. Papyrius Masso* the son of *Lucius*, a Decemvir, deputed for holy mysteries. In place of *Lentulus* and of *Papyrius*, were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *C. Servilius Cæpion* substituted high-Priest and Bishop. For Augur there was created *L. Quintus Flaminius*: and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* was chosen Decemvir over sacred ceremonies and divine service.

Now the time drew near of the solemn election of new Consuls: but because it was not thought good to call the old away, (buted as they were in the wars) *T. Sempronius* one of the Consuls nominated for Dictator to hold that election afore said. *C. Claudius Cæno*, who named for his General of the Cavalry *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. This Dictator, the first consilial day following, created for Consuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* above named, his General of horsemen, and *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, who in his Prætorship had the jurisdiction and government of the Province of *Sicily*. Then were the Prætors elected, *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Silvanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. When the Election was ended the Dictator resigned up his place.

That year was *Ædile Cæsius*, together with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, one *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose surname afterwards was *Africæ*. When he stood and made suit for the *Ædileship*, and the Tribunes of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of that office for that he was not of lawfull age to be a competitor and to put in for it: it (quoth he) all the Quirites and Citizens of *Rome* will choose me *Ædile*. I have years enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suit, there was such running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices, that the Tribunes suddenly forcealed their purpose to hinder him. And this was the targets and donative that the *Ædiles* bestowed. The Roman Games were, according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and set out with great state and magnificence, and continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street throughout the City, was allowed a N

* About a wine gallon.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entered the Consulship, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot, to have the jurisdiction both of Citizens and strangers, which before was executed by *twain*. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero* was allotted *Suessula*: and *M. Junius Silvanus* his hap was to have the rule of the *Tulcans*. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war with *Annib. l.* and to have under their command two legions apiece: and that one of them should receive his legions of *Q. Fabius*, the Col. of the former year: and the other take his at the hands of *Fulvius Centimalus*. As for the Prætors, *Fulvius Flaccus* had Commission for the conduct of the legions at *Luceria*, which served under *Æmilius Prætor* there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of those that were under the hand of *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*: and that they should provide themselves of supply to make up the full number of the Companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of Citizens miltred the year before to serve in *Tuscany*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*,

A. Gracchus, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* continued still in the government of their Provinces: the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*, and kept their own forces. Likewise *P. Lentulus* governed the old Province in *Sicily*: *M. Marcellus* was Lord Deputy of *Syracuse*, and so far as the Realm and Dominion of King *Hiero* reached, *T. Octavius* Admirall of the Navy. Greece was governed still by *M. Valerius*, *Sardinia* by *Q. Marcius Scaevola*, *Spain* by *P. and Cornelius Scipio*. The old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the Coll. So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 32 Legions.

When the Consuls should miltred the soldiers they were hindered by occasion of a lewd prank played by one *M. Posthumus Pyrgensis*, to the great troubling and disquiet of the State and publick peace. This *Posthumus* was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for crafty and deceitfull dealing, for avarice and covetousness, had not his fellow in all the City, but it was *L. Pomponius Vicentinus* again: the same man, whom the year before as he tormented the territories of the *Lucans* rashly and unadvisedly, the *Carthaginians* by the conduct of *Hannibal* had taken prisoner. These two (forasmuch as it was so enanted and indicted before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea should be warranted by the City against all danger of tempest: and that all damage and loss of goods that way mis-carrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicans, who had undertaken by great to serve the armies, but be made good again out of the common Chest and Treasure: these publicans (I say) not only gave false information of certain shipwracks, but also if they brought word at any time truly of some ships that were perished, they were such only as were lost by their own fraud and deceit, and not call away by chance or violence of weather. For they would freight & charge certain old vessels and shaken bottoms, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sink for the nonce in the deep sea, and save the mariners and sailors with small pinaces and cockboats prepared aforehand for the purpose: and when they had done, lie humbly and say, that they had lost merchandise and commodities in those ships of sundry sorts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had been the year past revealed and notified to *M. Æmilius* the Prætor, and the Senate him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senat devised for the chastisement of the offenders: because the LL. of the Council in no case would offend the company and society of these publicans and farmers, in such a time especially, when there was some need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, for to proceed with more severity against these lewd and fraudulent practices. At length, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, *Sp. and Lælius*, both *Caroli* as both shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and infamous an indignity this was, and not to be suffered they brought *M. Posthumus* in question, and laid an action and set a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand *Ases*. When the day of trial was come, whether the fine afore said, should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted: and that the Commons were assembled in so great number, that the great Court-yard of the Capitol would scarcely hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himself and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he seemed to have was this, in case *C. Servilius Sulpicius* a Tribune of the Commons, a friend and near kinsman of *Posthumus*, would by virtue of his place come between and stop the course of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes and wards were called forth to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes above named, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, and their depositions being taken, commanded the people to void and make way: And the lottery casket or foller was brought forth to cast lots in what Tribes the Latines should give their voices. All this while the Publicans were earnest with *Cæcia* to dissolve the assembly by one means or other, and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other side called on hard and gainfully. And as it fell out, *Cæcia* fast forsook in one of the points and corners of the assembly. He wit not what to do his mind was so perplexed for shame of the one side if he did not help his friend and kinsman, and for fear on the other side, because he felt the people so eagerly bent. The Publicans seeing small hope of help in him, with full intent to make some stir, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes and the people, rushed in upon them, and fell to quarrell and brawl both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: inasmuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Consil, " See ye not (quoth he to the Tribunes) how basely ye are accounted of and made of no better reckoning among them, than private persons? See ye not a riot and mutiny toward, unless ye make haste and break up the assembly? So the Commons were dismissed, and a Senate called: Where the Consuls made relation unto the Lords of the Councill, and complained how the solemn Session and Court of the Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicans disturbed: That Court (I say) wherein *M. Furius Camillus*, upon whose exile ensued the destruction of the City, inflicted himself to be condemned by ungrateful Citizens: wherein the Decemvirs afore him by virtue of whole laws the City is governed, and we live at this day: and wherein my principal Citizens afterwards have been content to be set down and judged by the people. Moreover, how *Posthumus Pyrgensis* by force wrestled from the Commons, the liberty of their voices and suffrages: subverted and made void the judicial Session of the Commons: curbed the Tribunes and had no regard of them: came as it were in warlike manner against the people of *Rome* and got for their vantage the higher ground, to keep the Tribunes from coming unto the Commons: " and

The com-
plaints of the
Consuls to the
Romans.

"and to stop the tribes for being called to scrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing else it was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding blood, but the patience of the Magistrates themselves: in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and malepart fau-
 "ness of a few: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together
 "about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himself with force & arms was rea-
 "dy to stop and hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to
 "quarrel, which was the only thing that they fought for. When this matter with all the circum-
 "stances was thoroughly scanned of, and the best men there had spoken their minds, and given their
 "opinion according to the outrageousness and indignity of the thing: and thereupon the Senat de-
 "creed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (a
 "most dangerous precedent to be suffered) then without more ado, the two *Carvili* Tribunes of
 "the Com, laid aside clean all debating about the penalty fine aforesaid, and indicted *Pothumius* of
 "a capital crime: and commanded him to be attached by a principall Serjeant, and to be led to pri-
 "son, unless he put in good sureties for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound
 "for him body for body. *Pothumius* put in bail: and made default at his day. The then Tribunes
 "called the Commons together preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to pass as an act, in
 "this form: That if *M. Pothumius* came not forth & made appearance before the Calends of May,
 "and being cited and called that day, answered not to his name, and no lawful excuse alleged for
 "his absence, they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in
 "port-sale, and himself to be excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to K
 "lose the benefit of a Citizen for ever. This done, they began also to endite all those one after ano-
 "ther of a capital crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and stirrers of a fedition and com-
 "motion of the people, and to call for personal pledges. At the first they committed as many of them
 "as could find no such sureties: and afterwards, these also that were sufficient to put in bail. For the
 "avoiding of which danger, most of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the
 "Publicans fraudulent dealing: and this was the issue of their audacious enterprise, in defence and
 "maintenance of their guile and deceit.

* 1 of May.

After this, a solemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius*
Ceriberus newly elected Prelate, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were,
 "who stood for that Prelacy, and strived earnestly one against the other: namely, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, L
 "Consul for the time being, who also had before been twice Consul; and Censor besides: also *T.*
M. Manlius Torquatus, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewise dignified with a double
 "Consulship, and one Censorship: and last of all, *P. Licinius Crassus*, who as yet, was to live for
 "the Edileship: howbeit, this young man in that fate and contention was superiour, and carried
 "it away from those grave, ancient, and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hun-
 "dred and twenty years, there had not been created any one, the highest Priest, (save only *P. Cor-
 "nelius Calpurnius*) but had sit before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Consul had
 "much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of fouldiers, by reason that
 "the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnish out the new legi-
 "ons of Citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer M
 "them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be cho-
 "sen two Ternions of Triumvirs: the one fort of them to be sent out, within the compass of fifty
 "miles every way from *Rome*, the other to go further: with commission to take good view and sur-
 "vey, both within that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market towns: in boroughs
 "and places of frequent assemblies: of all persons of free condition that they could lay eye on: and
 "so many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the
 "lawfull age for service, to press them for fouldiers. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the
 "Commons, if they so pleased, should put up a bill, that all under seventeen years of age, who had
 "bound themselves by military oath, should have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled fouldi-
 "ers at seventeen years or upward. By virtue of this decree, the two Ternions aforesaid of the
 "Triumvirs being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the country over for free-born men
 "accordingly.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of *Sicily*, concerning the demands of
 "those fouldiers who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate House. That army
 "consisted of the residue which remained after the field lost at *Canna*, and was confined into *Italy*
 "(as hath been said afore) with this condition, not to return back into *Italy* before the Punick
 "war should be ended. These fouldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to send as Embassadors un-
 "to *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principall men of arms, such as served on foot
 "as allowed by the City, the chief Centurions also, and the bravest fouldiers and choice flower
 "of the Legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having liberty granted them for to speak, made
 "his oration in this wise. "We had come to you into *Italy*, O *M. Marcellus*, when you were Consul,
 "and immediately upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unreasonable,
 "yet surely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be sent into this Pro-
 "vince (so generally troubled and out of order by the death of the KK, there to be employed
 "in some dangerous and cruel war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once,
 "and to with our bloudshed and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our trespasses unto the
 "Magistrates and rulers of *Rome*. Like as in our fathers daies, they which were taken prisoners
 "by

The Orator
 of one of the
 Embassadors
 of the confid-
 fouldiers unto
 Marcellus.

A "by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the
 "same *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not see, [my LL, of the Senat] for what ill desert of our parts, ye
 "either have been displeased aforesaid, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks,
 "I see both Consuls, and the whole body of the Senat of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Mar-
 "cellus*: whom if we had had to our Consul at *Canna*, it would have gone better both with the
 "Common-weal, and with our selves, then it did. For I beleech you, infer us both now, before I
 "I make moan, and complain of our hard fate and condition, to purge our selves of that crime
 "for which we are blamed. Set aside, that neither the wrath of the Gods, nor destiny and fatal
 "necessity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible
 "course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated & over-
 "thrown at *Canna*, but our own selves, and our default was the occasion: let us see then, whose
 "fault it was, the fouldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a fouldier,
 "and of my Captain and General I will never speak but well: of him especially, unto whom I
 "know the Senat rendered thanks, for that he departed not of the common-wealth: and whose
 "government ever since his flight and running away, hath been prologue from year to year, and
 "who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise,
 "who escaped that unfortunate foil and defeat, I mean our military Tribunes and Colonels, who
 "(as we hear say) sue for dignities, bear honourable offices in City, yea, and rule whole Provin-
 "ces as LL, Presidents in foreign parts. It is so indeed my LL? do ye so easily pardon and forgive
 "your own felles and children? and deal ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us bala-
 "ject persons, and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonour imputed to the Consul and
 "other great personages of the City to flee, when there was no other hope? and were the poor
 "fouldiers sent by you into the field with this intention to be all killed up, and none to escape? At
 "the battail of *Allia*, the whole army in a manner fled away: Also at the straits of *Caudine*
 "(to lay nothing of other shameful foils of our armies) the host yielded up their armor to the
 "enemy, before they joyntly batted, and fought one stroke. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies
 "sustained any infamy and shameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered
 "again by the means of those Regiments which fled from *Allia* to *Veii*, and also the Caudine le-
 "gions which returned to *Rome* naked, were sent again into *Sannium* well armed: who subdued
 "D and brought under the yoke of subjection the very same enemies, who had taken such pride
 "joy in that dishonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Canna*, is any man
 "able to come forth and charge them justly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved
 "themselves unequally, and not like fouldiers? Where were slain in field above fifty thousand men:
 "from whence the Consul fled with fifty Horsemen, and no more: and of which company thereof
 "not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, weary with killing spared and left. I remember,
 "at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransom, then
 "every man commanded and praised us, for saving and reserving our selves against another day,
 "to be employed in the service of the Common-weal: for returning unto *Rome* to the Consul,
 "and for making a good shew of a compleat army. But now, in worse case are we, than in our
 "E fathers daies, captives have been that were taken prisoners. For they only had their armor and
 "weapons changed for worse, their rank in the battel shifted, their place in the camp where
 "they should quarter, altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered again all at once, by per-
 "forming their good devoir to their country, and winning a victory in one fortunate battel. Not
 "one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beside hope to be dis-
 "charged from fouldiery by serving out his full time: and to be brief, they were let to fight with
 "some enemy or other, where they might once for all, either lose their life, or end their dishonour.
 "And we, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unless it be this, that we were the cause,
 "and none but we, that some citizen of *Rome* might be said to remain alive of all those that were
 "at the battel of *Canna*: we I say, are sent far enough off, not only from our native country, and
 "P *Italy*, but also from all enemies: where we wax old in exile, to the end, that we should have no
 "hope, no occasion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our disgrace, to mitigate and paci-
 "fice the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of
 "shame, nor reward of virtue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be
 "permitted to make proof of our courage, and shew our prowess. Pains and perils we seek for,
 "and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave fouldiers. Two years
 "already there hath been sharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carthaginians won by
 "force, other some the Romans took likewise by assault. Whole Regiments of foot, many troops
 "and cornets of Horse encounter together, and assail one another. At *Syracuse* there are great
 "enterprises and worthy feats of arms, both by Sea and Land. The shouts of them that fight, the
 "G very clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and
 "we sit still like idle larks, and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with.
 "T. Sempronius the Consul, with legions of bond-slaves, hath bidden battel to the enemies,
 "and fought with them in plain field of oke, that they are well recompensed for their labour with
 "gaining their freedom first, and then the Burgeoisie of the City. Let us yet, in place and quali-
 "ty at leastwise, of bond-slaves taken up and bought for money against these wars, fight with
 "those enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight trie, whether we can regain our en-
 "largement and liberty. Will you your self, O *Marcellus*, make trial of us, and of our valour, by Sea,
 "Q q "by

"by Land, in pitched field, and battelranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled Towns? H
 "Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises,
 "are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that betimes, and at once, which we
 "should have come unto at *Canna*: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined
 "to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfy their request. Howbeit, write to the Senat he would: and according as the LL. should give advice and direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Consuls, and by them read in the Senat-house. And after deliberate consultation about their contents, the Senat passed this decree: That as concerning those souldiers, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before *Canna*, the Senat saw no reason, why they should be put to death. I
 more with the affairs of the Common-wealth: but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided always, that not one of them be dispensed with, and freed from service or charge of souldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimony and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into *Italy*, so long as the enemy made abode there.

After this, the Pretor for the City, by vertue of a decree from the Senat, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners K
 called *Quingeviri*, for the reedifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of Triumvirs, the one for taking an inventory of all sacred things, and to sign and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedifying the Temples of *Fortune* and dame *Minerva*, within the gate *Carnementalis*, and likewise of *Sper* without the gate, which the year past were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempests hapned this year. On the Alban mount it rained stones continually fortwo dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning from Heaven: and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and fort above *Subula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels stricken stark dead. The wall and certain turrets thereon at *Cumes*, not only smitten, but also shaken down and overthrowen with lightnings and thunder-boits. At *Reate* there was seen an huge stone to flie to and fro in the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to blood. In regard of these prodigious fights, there was a solemn Procession and supplication all one day: and the Consuls for certain dayes together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the Novendial Sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time already both *Annibal* hoped, and the Romans also suspected that the Tarentins would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastned it the rather. There was one *Phileca* a Tarentine, who having abode long at *Rome* under colour of an Ambassador leger, a busy headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all things: could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found means to have access unto the hostages of the Tarentins. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with the leas attendance and careful eye, because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostages he had oftentimes solicited and perswaded by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two sextons and wardens of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in safe custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, and directed them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noised throughout the City: Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having overtaken them at *Taracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to *Rome*: wherein the *Comitum*, they were, by the consent of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down headlong from the cliff *Tarpeia*.

The cruel rigor of this punishment, caused much anger: and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Grecian Cities in *Italy* to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in private particularly: according as any man was either in blood joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were about thirteen noble Gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together, and the chief of them were *Nico* and *Philonetes*. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought best to speak and confer with *Annibal* first: and so having gone forth of the City, under a pretence as if they went to the chase a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew near unto the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neer unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philonetes* only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were brought before *Annibal*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complot and upon what occasions they entered into that designment, they were highly commended, and promised great rewards: and willed and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their country-men in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them into the City, certain cattel of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding: and

A and herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any impeachment and resistance whensoever. Thus these yong Gentlemen were seen to bring in good fode of cattell: and as they were known to make this adventure the second time and oftner still, men marvelled the lesse at the matter, and suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Annibal*, they covenanted with him upon his faithful promise in the eternals, *Impiis*, for the Tarentins themselves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. Item, to pay no pension nor tribute unto *Annibal*, nor be forced to receive a garrison against their wills. And last of all, to betray the garrison souldiers of the Romans, and all their fortresses and places of strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When these conditions and capitulations

B were agreed upon, then *Philonetes* used much othner to go forth and come in again in the night: and as he was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds following him hard at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntmen: and lightly ever he took some wild beast or other with his hounds, or else got something from the enemy, that of purpose lay ready for his hands: and always as he brought home ought with him, he would bellow it either upon the Captain of the Roman garrison, or deli it among the wardens of gates. And they all, verily believed and were perswaded, that his going out and in thus, moit by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accustomably, that he had made it an ordinary practise, in so much, that at what time of the night to ever he had but once lured or whistled, the gate was straight set open for him: then *Annibal* thought it time, to put the

C plot above said in execution. Three dayes journey he was off: Where became he would have men the lesse marvel, why he kept a standing camp so long still in one place he feigned and made himself sick. The Romans also, that lay in garrison at *Tarentum* gave over to suspect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward *Tarentum*, he picked out ten thousand foot and horsemen together, whom he supposed for nimble bodies, swift footmanship, and lightness of armor, to be moit meet for expedition: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his ensigns. And having sent out afore-hand fourscore Numidian light Horles, he commanded them, to ride about and fowr all the wayes on every side, and to call their eye to eiepe and discoveir all the castles, that no country people a far off might descry and view the army on foot, but they should be seen: and withal, to

D bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountered: to the end that the Peasants there inhabiting, might think they were Theeves and Robbers, rather than the vancurriers and fore-riders of an army. Himself in person marching with great speed and celerity, pitched his camp almost 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there, be known unto his men of his purpose, nor tell them whether they should go: only he called his souldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not to suffer any one to turn aside, nor in the march go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and commandment from their Captains, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for himself, he would when he saw his time, let them know his mind, and what the service was that he would have done. And about the same very hour and instant, news came as far as *Tarentum*, that

E some few Numidian Horlemen forraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At that tidings, the Captain of the Roman garrison was no more moved, nor made any other halt, but only gave order, that some of the Horlemen the next morning by day light should ride forth, to keep the enemy from farther excursions. In the mean time, they that had this charge, bare themselves so carefully in providing themselves to execute that which they were commanded, that contrary-wise, they took those outdoes of the Numidians for a good argument, that *Annibal* with his army was not dislodged, but abode still in leaguer where he lay still. *Annibal* when it was once dark and dead night, began to set forward. *Philonetes* was there ready to be his guide, laden with his game hunted as his manner was. The rest of this conspiracy waited their time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordered between

F them more, that *Philonetes* coming in at the usual little wicket, with his venison that he had hunted, should bring in with him some armed men: and *Annibal* on another part, come to the gate called *Temenis*, which looked toward the East, and stood on the Land side of the City, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When *Annibal* approached the said gate, he made a fire, in token that he was come (as it was devised between them before) and it flamed forth and gave a shining light. The like did *Nico* again. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And *Annibal* in great and still silence, led his army close to the gate. *Nico* came suddenly at unawares upon the watchmen fast asleep killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. *Annibal* entred with his Regiment of footmen, and commanded the cavalry to lay behind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need, and as occasion required. Now by this time, *Philonetes* also was come neer to that little gate on the other side, where he used to make his egress and ingress to and fro. And when he had raised the watchman with his voyce so wel known and with his whistle wherewith now he was familiarly acquainted, & said withal, that he was troubled with tugging and lugging of a foul & heavy beast: therewith the wicket was set open. Two lusty fellows there were carrying in the wild bore between them, and he himself followed with one of the huntmen, lightly & nimbly appointed, and whilst the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beast, wondering at the signals of the bore, and took no heed to himself, *Nico*, thrust him through with his spear. Then

From Trojan line, O Romans once descended,
 Fly Cannæ River, near to Cannæ Town;
 Left strangers burn, who have thy death intended,
 Force thee to fight on Diomedes' down,
 But warning mine, thou wilt not rest upon,
 Until with blood thou fill'st do fill the plain;
 And then to Sea from fruitful Lands anon
 Thy men shall down the stream by thousand stain.
 Thy flesh must bait the fish in Ocean deep,
 And lure the fowls that sue from high to prey,
 And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keep,
 Mark well my words, Jove thus me taught to say.

And they who had been souldiers, and served in those wars, knew as perfectly *Diomedes* his plains, and the River *Canna*, as they did the very defeat it self, and loss at *Canna*. Then was the other Prophecy likewise read, which was the darker of the twain: not only because future things are more uncertain than those which are past already; but also by reason of the kind of writing, which was more obscure and intricate, in these terms:

If enemies ye would expel, if batch and plague sore
 * Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more
 To Phœbus (Roman) I advise, ye vow from year to year
 To sit forth plays in solemn wise, with mirth and merry cheer.
 From publick flock, the people must part of the charge disburse:
 The first shall ye, for you and yours, defray with price at purse.
 The sovereign Pretor must procure these games to be perform'd,
 Who sits in place, mens pleas to hear, and see all wrongs reform'd.
 Then shall the ten Decemvirs hit, the Greekish rites observe,
 In slaying beasts for sacrifice, and nothing from them swerve.
 If all be done accordingly, your joy shall eye thereafter,
 Your State shall daily grow in wealth, and fruit of blessed peace.
 For God Apollo will you save, he will your foes destroy,
 Who at their pleasure waste your fields, and work you much annoy.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this prophesie, they took one whole day. And the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and look into the books of *Sibylla* about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of *Apollo*, and celebrating likewise the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senate: the Lords made an Act, and set down an order: First, to vow and set forth solemn sacrifices accordingly, to the honour of *Apollo*. Item, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Pretor twelve thousand Ases, toward the expenses of the divine service, and two greater beasts for sacrifice. There passed also another Act of the Senat, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service and sacrifice after the observance and rites of the Grecians: and offer up on the Altar these beasts, to wit, an Ox with guided horns, and two white female Goats, with guided horns likewise; for *Dona Apollo*: and a Cow with horns, in like manner guided, for *Dame Latona*. The Pretor, when he was to represent the Games within the *Circus Maximus*, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to *Apollo*, every man according to his ability, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games and Plays exhibited for to obtain victory, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people stood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City went in procession, and made supplications, Every mans doore was set open, and they feasted and made good cheer generally through the City in the open street: and a high holiday this was, solemnized with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

But to return again to *Annibal*, who was about *Tarentum*: and both Consuls remaining in *Samnium*, but ready, as it seemed, to besiege *Capua*: it fell out, that the Campans already were distressed with hunger and famine, (a calamity that usually followeth long and continual siege) and the reason was, because the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindered their feedneesse. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to *Annibal*, beseeching him, that he would take order for grain to be brought into *Capua*, from all parts near adjoining, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the wayes betwixt, and passages stopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, *Annibal* gave direction to *Hanno*, that he should remove out of the country of the Bruttii, and passe over with his forces into *Campania*, and endeavour so, that the Campans might be provided of sufficient store of corn. Then

Hanno dislodged anon, and departed with all his power out of the Bruttians country, purposing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the Consuls, who lay in *Samnium*: and when he approached near to *Penventum*, he pitched his Tents three miles from the City it self, upon a high ground. After which, he commanded, that the corn should be brought to him into his camp, out of all the assailable and confederate Cities thereabout, into which it had been carried in the summer afore: and allowed a good guard for the safe convey thereof. After this, he sent a messenger to *Capua*, to give them notice, upon what day they should attend, and be in readinesse to receive their corn; and against the time, provide out of the country for the carriage, carts, wains, and draught-beasts, and pack-horses of all sorts. But the Campans, like as they carried themselves in all things else, idly and negligently, so in this they were very slack and retchless: for they lent little above forty carres, and some few beasts for carriage betwixt. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*: because that hunger, which causeth the very dumb beast to belitt it self and make hard shifts, was not able to prick them forward to be more careful about their own business. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corn, and to come more furnished and better provided for carriage. A little being reported to the men of *Penventum*, with the circumstances and particulars, as it was, they addressed with all speed ten Embassadors to the Roman Consuls, encamped then about *Formina*. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at *Capua*, they took order, and agreed betwixt themselves, that one of them should conduct an army into *Campania*, and *Fulvius*, who undertook that charge, marched by night to *Penventum*, and put himself within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertised by them that dwelt near hand, that *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corn: that there were 2000 carts come, with a rude and disorderly multitude besides of people, without armor: that all that they did was in hurry and haste, and great fear: and finally, that the camp was out of form and fashion, and all good military order clean gone, by reason of a rabble & multitude of country clownes came out of those quarters, and entangled amongst them. The Consul, being informed for certain by credible persons of these things, gave his souldiers warning to make ready against the next night coming, nothing but their engines and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the Carthaginians. And so they set forward at the relief of the fourth watch, leaving their packs and trunks with all their baggage behind them at *Penventum*: and presenting themselves before the camp, somewhat before day, they put them into such a bodily fear, and so terrified them, that it had been pitched upon a plain ground, no doubt, it had been won at the first assault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications besides, which stood upon a steep hill, without climbing upon the steep hill with much difficulty, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a lusty assault given, and a hot skirmish begun, but the Carthaginians not only defended and kept their rampier, but also (as having the vantage of the ground) they chased and thrall the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, resolute hardnesse overcame all hardnesse and difficulties whatsoever: For in diverse places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it cost bloody blows first, and the death of many a souldier. The Consul therefore calling the Coronels and Marshals together, said, it were not amiss to give over that rash and heady attempt, and as he thought, it were the safer course, for that day to retire the army to *Penventum*, and on the morrow to encamp themselves afresh against the enemy, to the end, that neither the Campans might get forth, nor *Hanno* return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the sooner effected, and with a great deal more ease, he would lend for his Colleague also with his army, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But these devices of the Capt in general were soon dashed. For as he was about to sound the retreat, the souldiers with a loud voice cried out, that they could not away with such faint Captains: they flocked to be commanded in so cold and slothful services: they would none of that: and so put the Consul out of his bent. It happened, that next unto the gate entering into the enemies camp, there served a cohort or company of the Peligni, led by Captain *Umbro*, who caught the hinder out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier and with that, fell to curing himself and his company both: wishing a plague light upon him and them too, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himself the way, and brake first through the trench, and over the palisado into their camp. Now by this time the Peligni fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Coronel of the third legion, from another side fell to upbraid the Romans, and hit them in the teeth with their heavily cowardice, for suffering their allies to have the honor of entering and taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedinnus* (a centurion of the Regiment called *Principes*, and serving in the first place thereof) took likewise an ensign from him that carried it, and withal, Now shall, quoth he, this ensign, and this Centurion (meaning himself) presently be within the rampier of the enemies: let me see you die follow, and save it from being taken by the enemy. At first, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he clambered to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewise. By this time, the Consul also seeing his souldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpose, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling and reclaiming his souldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, shewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens besides. They all therefore let out and every man did his best: and notwithstanding there was many a dart driven and javelin hurled, notwithstanding the enemies opposed

posed their armor and bodies full against them yet they never flinced to assay every place, as well high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried this mind and drove withal, to die yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning of an hand the camp was won, as easily as it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confusion of pell mell within the camp. Slain there were of enemies more than six thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, together with the Campan purveyors for corn, and all the provision of wains, carts, and laboring beasts. Besides another huge booty was taken, which *Hasdrubal* when he went a foraging all abroad, had raised out of the country of the associates of the people of *Rome*. Then the Consul after he had cast down all the fortifications of the camp, returned from thence to *Beneventum*. And there both the Consuls together (for *Sp. Claudius* also thither came after a few days) made sale of all the prizes and pillage, and divided the same. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principal centurion of the third legion, by whose forward and singular good service, the camp of the enemies was forced, were rewarded especially above the rest. *Hannibal* then together with some few foragers whom by chance he had with him returned from *Cominium Cevitum* (whither the news came of the loss of the camp) into the Brutians country, more like one that fled in rout, then marched in warlike order.

The Campanians also having heard, as well of their own losses as of their allies, sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*, to certify him: "That both the Consuls were at *Beneventum*, that the war was "within a dayes journey of *Capua*, and but a step from the very gates and walls of the City: and "unless he made good hatt to succour and rescue them, *Capua* would sooner come under the "obedience and subjection of the enemies than *Arpi* did. And he was not to make such a reck- "ning of all *Tarentum* much less then of the *Castile* alone, as in regard thereof to leave *Capua* un- "defended, and yeeld it to the people of *Rome*, *Capua* I say, which he was wont to compare and "make equal with the City of *Rome*. *Annibal* promised that he would take care for the good estate of the Campanians: and for the present he sent two thousand Horsemen with the Embassadors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invasion a diabol.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected not the safety of the *Castile of Tarentum*, and the garrison there beleeved. For *C. Servilius* Lieutenant, by order and authority of the Senat, was sent by *P. Cornelius* the Prætor into *Hydruntum* to purvey for corn, and to buy flour: who with certain ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of *Tarentum* passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whole coming, they that before whiles they had but small hope, were oftentimes by way of partly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side now themselves began to periwade and solicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garrison forcibly was strong enough, considering that the souldiers which lay at *Metapontum*, were drawn from thence to the defence and keeping of the *Castile of Tarentum*. And therefore the *Metapontins*, so soon as they were delivered of the fear whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revolted unto *Annibal*. Semblably did the *Thurins* also, who inhabited the same tract by the Sea side. They were moved and periwaded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the *Tarentins* and *Metapontins*, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joyed near in blood (over and besides that they were defended as well as they out of *Achæia*) as with anger toward the Romans for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinsfolk dispatched letters and messengers unto *Hannibal* and *Mago* (who were in the country of the *Brutii* near at hand) offering to deliver the City into their hands if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, Captain there over a small garison whom they supposed might be easily drawn forth of the Town to make some rash and inconsiderate skirmish, preferring not so much upon his own souldiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and flour of the *Thurins*, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished with armor against the like occasions of service. The *Carthaginian* Captains afore named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entered into the territory of *Thurii*: and *Hannibal* with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners displayed before the City: *Mago* with the Horsemen, laid behind close among the Hills, over-against the Town, and there lay secretly in ambush. *Atinius* then, who by his epistols was enforced only of the squadrons of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falsehood of the treason of the Townsmen, and also of the covert treason and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whilst the Romans being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the *Thurins* looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any hatt to fight themselves and help: and withal, the squadrons of the *Carthaginians* gave ground for the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the side of the Hill, under which, on the other side their Horsemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so soon come, but the Horsemen made hatt to shew themselves, with a great outcry, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered company and multitude of the *Thurins*: who were not very fast and found in heart to them on whose side they fought. The Romans albeit they were environed round, whilst the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the Horsemen charged them a-fresh on the other side, yet they maintained fight, and held out a long while: but at last, they likewise turned their back

A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conspirators being gathered together on heaps, so soon as they had let in at the gates standing wide open, the companies of their own citizens: when they law once the Romans running apace in diarray toward the City, made a tale alarm, crying aloud that the *Carthaginians* were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the City, unless they made better hatt to shut the gates. So they excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hewn in peeces by their enemies. Howeverbeit, *Atinius* with some few, was received within the Town first. After this, there was tumult and dissension between the citizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to stand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yeeld unto fortune of the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in conclusion, fortune and bad counsel together, (as for the most part it falleth out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought *Atinius* and his souldiers to the haven side, unto their ships for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild and just government, and therefore were ready to save him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the *Carthaginians* into the City.

The Consuls then led the legions from *Beneventum* into the territory of *Capua*, not only to make spoil and marre the corn, that was laid up already in strong Towns against winter, but also to assail *Capua*: supposing they should make their Consulship renowned unto posterity, by the destruction of so rich and weakly a City: and besides, do away the great dishonour and shameful C blemish of the Empire of *Rome*, in suffering a City so near unto them to continue now three years in rebellion, without revenge and condign punishment. But to the end that *Beneventum* should not be without a guard, and that against all suddain accidents and occurrences of war, in case *Annibal* should come to *Capua*, for to rescue and aid his allies: (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be Horsemen to withstand his violence: they commanded *G. Gracchus* to come out of *Lucania*, with the cavalry and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave some there to govern the legions and the standing camp, for the guard and defence of those parts there.

Gracchus before he dislodged out of the *Lucans* country, hapned to have a careful and prodigious token, as he offered sacrifice. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two D Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the very tails of the beasts, and fell to eat the Liver: and so soon as they were eiped, suddainly they set offight and way to the river seen. Now, when as the bowel-priyers had given advice to kill a new sacrifice and so on, the inwards were opened and laid forth, to tend and look unto them, more brashly, the Snakes came again, as it is reported, the second and third time: and when they had on, given as it were an assay, and tasted the Liver, they went clear away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothsayers aforesaid, had given an *Item*, and foretold, that this prodigious sight pertained properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of some close persons and secret practices: yet his fatal destiny of death that hung over his head, could by no force, and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a *Lucane*, the principal head of E that bend and side of the *Lucans*, which when the other faction revolted unto *Annibal*, took the Romans parts: and having been by them chosen the Prætor, had continued in that place of Magistracy a year already: this man all on a suddain changed his mind and affection, and seeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Annibal*, could not be content to revolt himself, and to draw with him the *Lucans* to rebellion: unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies, and sealed it with the murder and blood of his General: of him I say, who being entertained and lodged in his house, he purposed villanously to betray. He entered therefore into secret speech and conference with *Mago*, Governour over the *Brutii*, and having capitulated with him, under his faithful word and promise. That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands, the *Lucans* might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the *Carthaginians*: F he told him of a place into which he would bring *Gracchus*, with a small company and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horse in arms, and in such a place aforesaid where in he might bestow closely and secretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practice. This done, *Flavius* cometh to the Roman General *Gracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterprise of great consequence, for the accomplishment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Gracchus* himself: "Namely, he had perswaded with all the Prætors and Governors, who in that universal and general trouble of all *Italy*, had revolted unto *Annibal*, for "to return again into the league and friendship of the Romans: seeing that the Roman state and "their Dominion, which by the overthrow at *Canus* was come in a manner to the lowest ebb, "and fallen into extrem despair, flowed now again, and grew every day more than other, greater "and mightier: whereas contrary-wise, the puissance of *Annibal* decayed much, and was well "nearer come to nothing: besides, the Romans were men that might be appeased and reconciled "again, especially the trespasses being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation under the sun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have "they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and "ancestors? These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words. Mary "they had rather hear *Gracchus* himself speak, and hear the same from out of his own mouth: "they

"they would more gladly talk with him in person, and take hold of his right hand, which as the H
affured pawn of his faithful promise, he carliest always with him wheresoever he goeth, and
they desire no more, I have therefore (saith he) appointed a convenient place of interview, and
conference: lying out of the way and forth out right; but yet not far from the Romans camp.
There the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the reparation of the Lucans,
reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. Gracchus suspecting no fraud
nor harm, neither in his words nor deeds, founding all to a great likelihood of implicitly and truth
in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only
with a corner of Horsemen: and so by the guidance of his own host, in whose house he lodged,
was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambush of his enemies: Who suddenly arose: I
and Flaccus because he would put it out of doubt that he was a traitor, went to their side and
joyed with them. Then they let flye arrows, and shot darts against Gracchus and his Horsemen
on every side. "Whereupon Gracchus light from horseback, and commanded the rest to do the
same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would
"grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us, (a small handful unto them)
"invited as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and
"woods, but present death? This only we are to resolve upon. Whether in this present amazed-
"ness and heartless fear, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge again: or
"turning wholly our timorous expectation and suffering of death, into choler and courage, fight
"adventurously and manfully, and bathing our hands in the blood of our enemies, lose our lives
"and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gasping themselves under us.
"Ah! that Lucan, that fugitive rogue and rebel, that treacherous and false traitor, see ye all lay
"him. Whole hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Priest, to sacrifice and send him to the Devil,
"he shall win an honourable prize, and find no small solace and comfort in his own
"death.

Gracchus killed by his host,
a Lucan.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arme (for they had not
brought forth with them so much as their shields) and charged with exceeding force upon the
enemies. The fight was far greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men.
The bodies of the Romans lay open most unto the floor. And thus overcharged on all sides from
the higher place: as being in the valley subject to the volley of their darts, they were soon pier-
ced through. When Gracchus was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Cartha-
ginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having despised among the enemies his good
host and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickest press: where he was so fully bent to mischief
him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have lost
the lives of many other. He was not so soon dead, but Mago sent him straight wayes unto Annibal,
and commanded that his body together with the kniveths of rods (belonging to his Magi-
stracy) should be presented and shewed before the Tribunal seat of the General. And this is the
true report of the end of Gracchus: to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains
which are called *Veteres Campi*. There be some that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied
with his Sergeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the camp within the
territory of *Beneventum*, near unto the River *Calor, for to wash himself: where there chanced
his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and salows that grew by the bank side,
and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he
could with flinging at them pible stones such as the River afforded and carried down with the
stream, and so was slain. Others write, that by advice of the Bowel-priests, he went but of the
camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and clean place, those prodigious to-
kens above rehearsed: and there was beset and environed round about with two troops of Numi-
dian Horsemen, who hapned there to lie in ambush. See how variable and uncertain the same
goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person came by his
death. Nay, the very funeral and sepulture also of Gracchus, is diversly delivered. Some say he was
entered by his own souldiers within the Roman camp. Others give out and say (and that is the
more common report) that by the appointment of Annibal he was buried in the very entrance of
the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funeral fire made in solemn wise to burn his corps:
that the whole army justed and ran at tilt and torment in their compleat armor: that the Spani-
ards leaped and danced Morrice; and each nation according to their guise and manner performed
sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that Annibal
himself in proper person, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be devised, both in word
and deed, solemnized the obsequies in the best manner. This say they that affirm the thing to
have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man should believe them, who record how he was
slain at the River Calor, then the enemies had got nothing of him but only his head. Which being
presented unto Annibal, he sent Caribalo immediately with it into the Roman camp, unto Cn.
Cornelius the Treasurer or Quæstor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of
the General, and both army and citizens of *Beneventum* together solemnized the same right hon-
ourably.

The Consuls being entred into the territory of *Campana*, as they foraged all abroad, stragling
one from another, were by the Townsmen of *Capua* which sallied out, and by the Horsemen of
Mago, put in fear: whereupon in great fright and hast, they rallied the souldiers to their colours,
that

A that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embarrail them, and set them in
array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which
good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very lusty and ex-
ceeding audacious, inasmuch, as they offered to skirmish sundry times with the Romans, and
ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately achieved,
made the Consuls more circumspect and wary afterward. However, one small occurrence hap-
pened, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the heats, and damped the
boldness of the other. For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other,
it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the same one T.
B Quintus Crispinus, linked in special friendship and familiarity with *Pubius*, a Citizen of *Capua*.
Their acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This *Pubius* upon a time, before the
revolt of *Capua*, fell sick at Rome, and lying in Crispinus his house, was liberally and kindly used,
yea, and tenderly seen unto by him, during his sickness. This *Pubius* having put himself forward
before the standing guards, that watched at the gate of the Roman camp, wished, that Crispinus
should be called out unto him. Which being told unto Crispinus, he happened no otherwise of
it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally
were at enmity, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and bond of hospitality, re-
mained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the
rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come to light and interview one of the other, I
challenge thee, O Crispine (quoth *Pubius*) to combat: let us mount on horseback, and trye it out
between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To
this Crispinus made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom
we may make proof of our manhood: as for me, if I meet and encounter you in the very battail,
yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you lest I should defile and stain my hand in the murder
and bloodshed of my guest and friend. And with this he turned from him, and went his way.
But the Campanians contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and
raving at him for his effeminate cowardice and dastardiness, letting flye at the battails and imo-
cent man all spitefull terms and reproachfull language: which himself I wot (if he had his due)
was well worthy of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him,
D that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to
match in manhood and valour. But if (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick
league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in
sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I *Pubius* a Campanian,
renounce all hospitality with thee T. Quintus Crispinus a Roman, and to farewell all friendship for
ever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance,
no hospitality will the guest have with that host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his na-
tive country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And
therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. Crispinus drew back a long time, and was loth
to enter into the action, but at last his fellow Horsemen, serving in the same troop and comit with
him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campanian, thus to insult over him
without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whilst he went
unto the L. Generals to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of
his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And
having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him, took his weapon, mounted on horseback,
and calling upon *Pubius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to singe fight. The Campanian
made no stay, and so with spear in rest, set spurs to, and they ran their horses till carrier one at the
other. Crispinus with his lance pierced *Pubius* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and
therewith unhorsed him, and when he was faine to the earth with the pulsh, he alight himself
from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him out-
right. But *Pubius*, before his enemy scited upon him, left his target behind and his horse, and by
good footmanlike recovered his own fellows. Crispinus then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils
of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the
bloody point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the souldiers, brought
honourably to the Consuls, and presented before them. At whole hands he was both highly
commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Annibal having dislodged out of the territory of *Beneventum*, and removed into *Capua*,
within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no
doubt at all; but that, considering the Campanians in his absence, had but few dayes before fought
fortunately, the Romans now would be so much lesse able to abide his royal army so often used
to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun, the Roman battalions of the In-
fantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemen,
who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and Javelins, until the signal was
given to their own Cavalry also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horie. Now
whilst the men of arms were busily in fight on both sides, it hapned that the Regiment of *Sempronius*
(Gracchus lately slain) were desired marching a far off, under the conduct of Cn. Cornelius
the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, lest they were some new and fresh enemies that
advanced against them. So they founded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed to

to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horsemen. From thence, the Consuls intending to draw *Annibal* away from *Capua*, departed sundry ways, *Fulvius* into the territory of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into the Lucans Country. The next day, when *Annibal* was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies; being at first uncertain whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to *Capua*. And *Annibal* hapned also upon a new occasion presented, to have a good hand of his enemies in thole parts.

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chief Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good Captain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his bravemind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senat-house, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Council, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in coasting thole quarters, he would do some great deed, and achieve a piece of notable service: and look, by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vain and unadvised in making this offer, but they were as forthwith and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy souldier were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederates: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good Company of Voluntaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucans Country, where *Annibal* abode, after that he had followed *Claudius* in vain, and to no effect. But a man that had but half an eye, might see what the issue and event would be of the conflict between General *Annibal*, and Centenere *Centenius*: between both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiers used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and yong beginners, yea, many of them taken up suddenly in halt, and slenderly armed by the halves. For so soon as both halves had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it & fight: soon were they on both parts arranged in order of battail, And albeit the Romans had many disadvantages, yet they maintained skirmish more than two hours: and that so holily and courageously, that they thrunk not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foot. But after that he once was stricken down and slain, who not only in regard of remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowess: but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashness, presented himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinently the Roman battail was discomfited and put to flight. And so hard beset they were, in seeking ways and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the Horsemen) that of so great a multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean time, *Capua* was straightly beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to assault it in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needful unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveyed to *Castellum*, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River *Vulturnus* (where now the City *Handely*) was the sconce and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea so neer, and the whole River also might be at their command. Into these two fortresses standing on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of *Sardinia*, as also that which *Mutius* the Pretor had bought out of *Hetruria*, was transported from the Port of *Ofiss*, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Over and besides that loffe received in the Lucans country, the army likewise of the *Voluntaries*, i. Voluntary souldiers (which during the life of *Craffus*, had served truly and faithfully) now abandoned their colours: as if by the death of their Captain they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

Annibal made no small account of *Capua*: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there, should not be forsaken and left in so great peril wherein they stood: and yet upon that fortunate success which hapned unto him through the rashness of one Roman Captain, his fingers itched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advantage to surprise and overthrow both Captain and army. Whereas therefore certain *Apulian* Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor, (who at the first in assaulting of certain Cities in *Apulia*, which had revolted unto *Annibal*, bare himself like a wife and prudent Captain: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happy speed in thole affairs, whereby himself and his souldiers had made up their mouths and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himself and his men were grown so idle and so dissolute, that no good government nor military

discipline remained among them: hereupon *Annibal* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few dayes past) in how small stead an army serveth, when it is directed by an unskilful Leader, removed his forces into *Apulia*. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretor, encamped about *Herdonia*. And when the news came thither that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the souldiers be reclaimed and stayed, but they would in all hast pick up standards and ensigns, and straightways go into the field and bid them battail, without commission and commandement of their Pretour. And no one thing more held them back, than the assured hope they had, to do it at their pleasure whenever they would. *Annibal* the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tumult in the camp, and that most of the souldiers mightily importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battail, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given them, should all at once upon a suddain, start up and leap forth to their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to *Mago*, with two thousand Horsemen or thereabout, to keep all the wayes whereas he supposed they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordered all things beforehand in the night time: at the break of day he entered the field with his army, and embattailed himself in warlike manner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind: nor induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed, as drawn and halted thereto through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiers. And therefore as they came forth to battail upon a head and heat, inconsiderately, so they were set in array as disorderly: even at the pleasure of the souldiers, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again, as the toy took them in the head left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or cornet of Horsemen were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawn and stretched out in a great length: not withstanding the Knight-Masters and Coronels cried out, that within, there was no strength nor power at all: and that the enemies whereforever they should hap to charge, would break in upon them and go through. But no wholesome counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay, they would not so much as bend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time *Annibal* was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and arranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onset. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution far short of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his souldiers in fear and great perplexity: recovered his horse in great hast, and with some two hundred horsemen fled away and escaped: all the army besides, beaten back affront, beset behind flanked on the sides, and environed round, were so killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were masters of the camp.

When these losses one in the neck of another were reported at *Rome*, the City was set in a great fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the main chance, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the less troubled at these by-blows and cross misfortunes. Whereupon they addressed *C. Lellorius* and *M. Mutius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, thole dispersed reliques and remainders of the two armies: also to have an eye and heedful regard unto them, that upon fear and desperation they yielded not themselves to the enemy (as it hapned after the Cnarian overthrow): and last of all, to make diligent search and seek out thole *Voluntaries*, or voluntary servitors, that had abandoned their ensigns and called themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levy more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, fairs, and places offrequent resort, That thole *Voluntaries* should be found out and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforetime. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Appius (La diu the Consul, after he had made *D. Junius* Captain of the sconce erected upon the mouth of the River *Vulturnus*, and *M. Aurelius* Cotta Governor of *Puesoli*, with commission, that as any ships [with corn] from out of *Hetruria* or *Sardinia* arrived there, they should immediately send the corn to the camp: went back himself to *Capua*: where he found *Q. Fulvius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Castellum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Coll, jointly together besieged the City: and sent unto *Claudius* Nro the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suffida* out of the old camp of *Claudius*. Who likewise leaving a small garrison there to defend the peace, with all his power and forces, descended into the plains before *Capua*. So there were three royal pavilions pitched for three LL. Generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie, erecting bastions and forts in places not far distant: yea and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua* whenever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at last to keep within their gates and walls. But before that thole rampiers and trenches above said were fully finished and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto *Annibal*, to complain in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grieved.

* 15. of March.

ved, that he had forlaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands: and with all, to beseech him earnestly, that now or never, he would rescue and succor them, being not only besieged, but also shut up and almost trench'd about, as within a prison. *P. Cornelius* likewise the Pretor of the City of *Rome*, sent his letters unto the Consuls, advising them before they had fully invetted *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this liberty. That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whosoever went forth before the Ides of *March*, should enjoy their freedom and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there still behind, should be reckoned no better than very enemies. These intimations were made known unto the Campans, but so light they set by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romans, with most reproachful taunts and spiteful terms. *Anibal* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by force or fraud to gain the Castle. And seeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence, and took his way to *Brundisium*, supposing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there also, and lost his time in doing nothing, the Embassadors of the Campans arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requests both at once, Unto whom *Anibal* made this glorious and lordlike answer with a Majesty: Once already have I raised the siege, and never will the Consuls, I trow, abide my second coming. The Embassadors having received their dispatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themselves within *Capua*, so enclosed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

It fortuned at the very same instant, when *Capua* was thus slightly beleaguere'd, that the siege also and assault of *Syracuse* came to an end: helped forward and hastned by intestine treachery and treason withal, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the spring, doubtful in himself and hanging in suspense, whether to bend his whole forces toward *Agrirentum*, against *Himilo* and *Hippocrates*, or still proceed to besiege *Syracuse*: albeit he saw the City might not possibly be won either by forcible assault, (considering it was by situation both by Sea and Land invincible) or pining famine, by reason the passage in manner lay open to and fro between it and *Carthage*, for safe transporting of all sort of victuals: yet because he would leave no stone unrolled, but try all ways that could be devised: he commanded certain revols from the Syracusans (for there sided with the Romans some of the noblest persons of the City, who at the time of the first backsliding from the Romans, because they misliked and abhorred all rebellion and change in the state, were driven out and banished the City) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to found the hearts (I say) of such as were their followers, and to solicit them to their part: and withal to assure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means *Syracuse* were betrayed, they should live in freedom, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themselves. But no opportunity could they espie for to parly and talk with them. For by reason that there were many suspected to encline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practised, but soon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-servant toward one of the banished persons aforesaid, hapned to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverse part unto them: who hapning to meet with some few, began to move and broach such a matter, After which certain others lying close hidden under the nets in a fisher boat, came about by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with those former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practised in the same manner, by divers and sundry persons, until at length they were a crew of fourscore in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, neer upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *Atalus* (a false brother among them, who took snuff that he was not specially trusted in the matter) disclosed the conspiracy unto *Epicides*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extremest torture, and suffered death every one. When this plot would speed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occasion and occurrence that presently offered itself. There chanced one *Damasippus* a Lacedemonian, sent from *Syracuse*, as a messenger to King *Philip* for to be taken prisoner by the Roman armada. Now both *Epicides* was very desirous and exceeding careful how to ransom him, and also *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to grant the same. For even then, the Romans began to affect the friendship of the *Ætolians*, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederate, and in league. So, when there should be commissioners and delegates sent on both sides, to parley and treat about his redemption, the most indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of *Trogilus*, fast by a turret which they call *Galegræa*, as being just in the midst between, and most convenient for both parties. It hapned now, that as they had recourse oftentimes thither about this business, one of the Romans well viewed the wall neer by, he counted the stones, that appeared in the forefront of the wall, and made estimate to himself of their quadrature and proportion: and withal, giving a guess as near as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and measure, the wall might be: and supposing it was a good deal lower than either he himself or others had always before taken it to be, and easily to be scaled with ladders, even of a mean size and middle sort, he relatesth the matter, and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But forasmuch as there was no access unto that place by reason, that for the lowliness thereof, it was the more care fully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for some opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it self presently unto them by means

* Sun-dino.
* Scala Græca.

A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a solemn feast of *Dionysus* at that time within the City, and the same continued three dayes together: also he said that for want of other things, during this siege to make good cheer withal, they spared for no wine, but made merry therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why? not only *Epicides* had bountifully bestowed wine upon the whole Commons, but also the great men of the City had in every ward and parish where they dwelt, allowed a proportion besides, of their own charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him some few of his Colonels and knight Marthals, and conferred with them: and when they had sorted out certain choice and elect Centurions and souldiers, fit and sufficient men to adventure and execute to great a peece of service, and withal provided ladders secretly: to all the rest he commanded a watchword and warning to begin, That they should betimes take their refection of meat and repose of sleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of service. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feasted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat and their heads with wine) were gone to rest, and newly fallen found asleep, he commanded one ensign or company of souldiers, to carry ladders: and besides them, there were upon a thousand well armed and appointed, marching with silence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place. When the tumult without any stir or noise at all had scaled the top of the wall, others followed in their course. For the forward and resolute boldness of the former, was able to animate and encourage the rest, if they had been faine-hearted. By this time now the thousand armed souldiers had seized the wall: when the rest of the ladders were set to: and upon more ladders still they got up to the wall in diverse places, upon a signal given them from the gate *Hexapyle*, thuto which places the Romans were now come, and found no stirring at all, but exceeding silence and desolation, (forasmuch as a great sort of them had made good cheer within the turrets, and either were fast asleep with drinking wine already, or else were bibbing still, notwithstanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts asleep. And yet, some few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto *Hexapyle* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave signal by sound of trumpet: and also from all parts they went not to work any more by stealth, but plainly and openly without dissimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epicides*, a place full of watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and stricken into fear, and no longer to be dealt withal by craft and guile. And it fell out so indeed, that they were mightily scared. For they heard not so soon the sounding of the trumpets, and the shouting and outcry of them that were possessed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, some ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or else were born down headlong, with the press of others that were affrighted. And yet many there were who were not ware at all of this misery and extremity, both because generally they were all dead asleep, and also by reason that the City was so wide and large, that a thing felt and seen in some remote parts, reached not straightwayes throughout, to all the rest. The gate *Hexapyle* was broken down somewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entered the City. He awakened them all, and set them to their business: he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly surpris'd and taken. *Epicides* mid half from the Island (which they themselves call *Naxos*) with a company of souldiers about him, making full account to drive them out again: as supposing that they were but some few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were scared and in fear, he laid unto them discourses, that they themselves made more ado and every thing worse than there was cause, reporting all in greater measure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he saw all pass about *Epipolæ* full of armed men after some small volley of shot, and little skirmish with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them, rather than did any good effect) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into *Acradina* not leaving so much as the violence and multitude of the enemies, as left some intestine mischief by this occasion might arise, and that he should find in this tumult and hurlyburly the gates of *Acradina* and the Island shut again to him. *Marcellus* being entered within the walls, took his prospect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the most goodly and beautiful City of all others in those dayes, (by report) he wept and shed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpose to good a pass, and partly in compassion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them sunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puissant armies, together with the loss of two most noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory so many wars fought against the Carthaginians, with so great peril and hazard: to many and so mighty Tyrants and Kings that reigned and kept their seat and royal court there and amongst the rest, he could not chuse but think of King *Hiero*, of fresh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gifts which his own virtue and fortune had graced and endued him withal was recommended especially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*. When all these things presented themselves to his remembrance, with this cogitation besides how all that beauty and glory within one hours space was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be consumed into ashes: he, one that he advanced his ensigns against *Acradina*, he sent before, those Syracusians who had converted (as is aforesaid) amongst the guards and garrison of the Romans to persuade the enemies with mild and gentle

* Some make it the fifth part of *Syracuse*.

tle speech, yet, to yield the City. It so fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and walls both, of *Acradina*, were certain fugitive revolts fled from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be pardoned. These would infer none, either to approach the walls, or to parle and speak with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after he saw that enterprise frustrate and disappointed, commanded to retire with the ensignes unto *Enryalus*. This *Enryalus* is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the City, remote far from Sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and very heart of the whole Island: a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Unto whom there was sent from *Marcellus*, *Sofis*, one of them that murdered the tyrant: and after long communication, *Sofis* with crafty words abused him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of treispare and deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trifling out the time of purpose, until *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his fortres, the whole army of the Romans being now enclosed within the walls, should be overthrowen, and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* seeing that *Enryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced possibly it could not be) encamped himself between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (so are two parts of the City named; and may for their bigness go well enough for two entire cities of themselves;) for fear lest if he were once entered into the populous and most inhabited places of the City, his souldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run loosely up and down to rife. Thither came unto him from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embassadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with sacred veils and insules, humbly beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of blood, and saving the City. *Marcellus* calling his Council about these their petitions, rather than demands after mature deliberation, by general consent of all, gave express and freight commandment to the souldiers, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the body of any free-born person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should be their booty. Now was the camp of *Marcellus* defended on both sides with housing in stead of a wall, and he bestowed a good *corps de guard* at the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: left when the souldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be assailed. Then upon the found of Trumpet the souldiers fell to their business, ran into all parts, brake open dores, set all on a fearful hurry, but spilled no blood; and they never gave over ransacking and rifling, until they had cast out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been a gathering a long time, during their wealthy and prosperous estate. Amid these sirs, *Philodemus* also seeing no hope of succours and reliefe, after he had covenanted for his security, to returne safe and without harm to *Epicides*, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendered it up to the Romans.

Now whilst every man was turned another way, and busied in that part of the City which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, gat forth of the haven of *Syracuse* with 35 ships, and having Sea-room, hoisted up sails, and away he went with a merry gale of wind, leaving 4th behind for *Epicides* and the Syracusians: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the state of *Syracuse* stood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred sail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treasure of King *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* possessed now of the fortres *Enryalus*, and having planted there a garrison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, lest if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, enclosed now as they were, and encumbered within the walls.

After this he besieged *Acradina*, and invested it round about, and fortified three several camps (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up into such streights, that they should be driven to extreame scarcity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes, the guards of the one side and the other had rested quiet, suddenly upon the arrival of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himself fast by the great Key, and given a signal to them that kept *Acradina*) assaulted the old camp of the Romans, where *Crispinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* also laid forth, and brake upon the *Corps de guard* of *Marcellus*: and withal, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the strand that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that *Crispinus* might have no aid sent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater fit and tumultuous alarm, than any skitmiñh to speak of: for *Crispinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulse, and drove him from the defences of his own camp, but also followed him in chase, as he fled fearfully in had away: and *Marcellus* forced *Epicides* to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their sudden fallies and irruptions.

Over and besides all these troubles, there hapned a common calamity unto both, the plague and pestilence: in such manner, as it might soon have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For besides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harvest season of the year, the place it self by nature unwholesome, stinking and corrupt (but much more without the City than within) the extreame and intolerable heat of the weather

A weather mightily dis tempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the first, by occasion of the dis temperature of the season, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spread and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were fallen sick perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance: or if any came about them, to keep them and minister unto them, they were infected, and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go no where, but either death, or corpses carried forth to their graves, were presented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their hearts were so hardened and made savage again, by continual usage to this misery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them unto their sepulchres with due mourning and doleful plaints, but also to carry them forth and to inter them: so that the breathlesse bodies lay scattered all abroad on the ground in the sight of them, that looked every hour for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the sick: the sick infected the sound, partly with fear, and partly with the corruption and pestiferous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would die rather upon the words point, than of this maladic, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their misery. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans, by reason of corrupt water, and much laughter committed there, and so long siege about *Syracuse*. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the first, so soon as they saw the sickness to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and stole every man home to the Cities near adjoining. But the Carthaginians were faine to stick by it still, as having no place to retire themselves unto, and so, they together with their Generals themselves *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one escaped. *Marcellus* when he saw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the City, where the houses and shadowy places yielded some good refreshing to the sick and weak bodies: howbeit, many also of the Roman army went of it, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-souldiers of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had served under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themselves into certain Towns, which were not greiv, yet sure and strong, both by natural situation, and also by strength of walls and other defences: the one of them three miles from *Syracuse*, the other fifteen miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveyed from out of their own Cities adjoining, all manner of victuals, and sent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while *Bomilcar* set sail once again with his fleet for *Carthage*, where he made relation of the state of their confederats in such terms, that still he fed them with some hope. That not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some sort forced and taken the City) might be surprized and taken there themselves: and in conclusion perswaded and prevailed so with them, that they granted not only to send with him a great number of hulks and caricks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with E more ships of war, to increase his Armado. Whereupon he departed from *Carthage* with 130 Gallies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to let him over into *Sicily*. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape *Pachynus*.

The fame and rumor first of *Bomilcar*'s coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romans and Syracusians, ministering one while fear, another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicides* learning lest if the same Easterly winds which then held, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again into *Affrick*, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the Captains of the waged and mercenary souldiers, sailed to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward *Affrick*, and fearing a conflict at Sea, not so much because he was inferior to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had many more than the Romans) but for that the winds stood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he perswaded him to try the fortune of a battail at Sea. And *Methanhis* for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the Island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great force of victuals: for fear lest at any time whilst he was shut up within the enemies City he should be assailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at *Syracuse*. Thus rid two armades of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, ready to joyn battail, so soon as the calmness of the weather would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the East wind began to lie, which for certain dayes had bliftred and raged first *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado seemed to gather still into the deep, only because he might more easily gain the Cape and promontory aforesaid. But so soon as he saw the Romans ships make way toward him, (I wot not what sudden accident it was that astonished him) he set up all his sails and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had sent certain messengers to *Heraclides*, willing them to go to fetch again their hulks home into *Affrick*, himself coasted all along *Sicily*, and shaped his course for *Tarentum*. *Epicides* disappointed thus on a sudden, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not return again to the siege of a City, whereof a great part was lost already, faithlesly

Aggrigennum, there to abide and expect the event and small issue, rather than to stir himself and trye any more, how to help them with any succour from thence.

These things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quit *Syracuse*; that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Island of *Sicily*, and in manner yielded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had founded first their minds who were besieged, by talk and conference with them, they sent Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of surrendering the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all, that the Romans should have the signory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws: the Embassadors aforesaid called forth to a parley, those unto whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that as they were addressed Orators unto *Marcellus*, so they were from him sent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the besieged, as those who were without the danger of the siege, should be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the same fortune: and that neither the one side nor the other should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speak unto their kinsfolk and friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and composition between *Marcellus* and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safety, they perswaded with them so far forth, as to joyne with them, and all together, for to set upon and assault the bodies of the Captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely, *Polycletus*, *Philisio*, and one *Epicides* furnished *Sydrus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a general assembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things (for which they were wont to murmur secretly among themselves): "And albeit we are distressed (say they) with so many miseries and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for- tunc therefore, so long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not harred, but meer love and charity, that moved them to come against *Syracuse* for to assault it. For when they heard that the government of the state was usurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the ministers first belonging to *Annibal*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay siege unto it, intending not the overthrow and destruction of the City it self, but to put down and depose the cruel tyrant that ruled the state. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded from *Syracuse*, his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their hold and possession of *Sicily*, both by Land and Sea, what reason have the Romans, but to be willing and well content, that *Syracuse* should continue in safety now, as well as if *Hiero* himself were living, the only maintainer and observant upholder of the Roman amity? And therefore, if ought but well should happen, either to the City, or to the Citizens, ye may thank your selves, and none else, for letting slip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and atonement with the Romans. Never look to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this instant is presented: if ye had the grace to see what a door is opened for you, to be delivered from the yoke of most insolent and proud tyrants. This speech they gave ear unto with exceeding accord and general applause. But before that any Embassadors were nominated to M
sent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addressed unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, spake in this wise, "Neither we Syracusians (quoth he) O *Marcellus*, at the first re- volved from you Romans, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was: yet nothing so much hurtful to you as to us: nor afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder of the tyrant, was it any citizen of *Syracuse*, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the Kings right hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, and with de- ceivable sleights on another side) that made the brack, and were the troublers and disturbers of this peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and say truly, that ever we were at our own liberty, N
and entertained not peace and amity with you. And now all I assure you, so soon as by the massacre of these, that held *Syracuse* in such oppression and bondage, we began again to be our own men, and to have the law in our own hands: the first thing you see that we do, is this, to come and present our selves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yield our bodies, our City, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that it shall please you Romans to impose upon us. As to your self, O noble *Marcellus*, the Gods have given you the honour of conquest, over the most noble and beautiful city of all other in *Greece*. Behold, now, what memorable as is forever that we have at any time achieved, either by Land or Sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-say and the trump of fame, how great and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remain for all posterity, for a mark and worthy spectacle to behold: to the end, that whoever hereafter, shall resort thither by Land, whoever shall arrive there by Sea, it may present unto them, both our Tro- pices and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians: and also this of yours over us, the bravest conquest of all the rest. See (I say) that you leave for your house and family, the City of *Syracuse* whole and sound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and lineage of the *Marcelli*, and to hold of them as of their sovereign LL, in chief and in villenage. That

A "That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater stroke with the Romans, than the ancient name of King *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memory. Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye have tasted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madnels of *Hieronymus*, hurt none of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might have obtained at the Romans hands: all was clear there, and no danger from thence. But among their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief. For the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over into their hands, and not comprized within the terms of the composition and protection, drove B the auxiliaries also that were waged soldiers into the same trouble and fear, they hastily there- fore took arms, and so killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Syracusians. Look whom they hapned to meet, whom they murdered in this furious fit of choler. Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handsome for them, they rifled. And because forsooth, they would not be without their leaders, they created six Provosts or Captains, that three should govern *Acradina*, and other three *Nafos*. At the last, alter the upore was appeared, the mercenary soldiers aforesaid, followed the matter thoroughly by search and diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans: and then began the very truth to appear, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far C different.

These Embassadors in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were carried away with a wrong surmise and false suspicion, and the Romans had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of *Acradina*, a Spaniard named *Mericius*. Unto him there was sent for the nonce among those of the retinue and train of the Embassadors aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary soldiers, serving under the Romans: who finding *Mericius* alone without other company, gave him to understand especially above all things, in what terms he had left *Spain* (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the Romans there were grown mighty, and held a great hand over them with their force. And that himself, in case he had a mind to do some worthy deed, might soon rise, and be a great man in his country: chuse whether he list to serve under the Romans, or return again into his own D home. Contrary-wise, if he went on still in this course he had begun, and minded still to be besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from Sea and Land? *Mericius* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should be addressed new Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, sent his own brother with them, who by the self same Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protection granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to *Acradina*. Then *Mericius* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspicion of treason, and that he intended nothing lesse, than to betray *Acradina*, gave it out, That he liked not, and would no more of this recourse, ever and anon, of Embassadors between: and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that E all the guards should be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the City, and assign to every one his ward by himself, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himself belet the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or well *Arethuse*, unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans. Whereupon *Marcellus* caused a great Hulk, laden with armed soldiers, to be battened by an haling rope unto a Gally of four couple of oars, and so in the night by strength of oars to be towed and drawn up after it into *Acradina*, and linceth the soldiers over against the gate, that is near to the fountain *Arethuse*. This being done about the relief of the fourth watch, *Mericius* received the soldiers that were set ashore at F the gate, according as before it was agreed. And *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camifado upon the walls of *Acradina*, in such manner, that not only he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept *Acradina*, but also from *Nafos* there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put back the violence and assault of the Romans. In this turmoil and trouble, certain Barges appointed and furnished thereto aforehand, were brought about to *Nafos*: there (for other soldiers aland) who coming at unwares upon the *corps de guard*, that were left half naked and very weak, by reason of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which while the soldiers ran out, with small ado were Masters of *Nafos*, left, as it was, forlorn of warders, who in fear made haft to run away and escape. And none of them al had lesse means to defend themselves, or smaller mind to tarry till, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their own fellows, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape. *Marcellus* so soon as he understood, that *Nafos* was won, and likewise that one quarter of *Acradina* was held and kept for him, and that *Mericius* with his guard had joynd to his soldiers, founded the retreat: for fear, that the Kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the soldiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in *Acradina*, had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians de- livered

livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent Orators unto *Marcellus*, H craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his Council together, and those *Syracusans* likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quoth he) more benefits and good turns for the space of fifty years received at King *Hiero* his hands by the people of *Rome*, than detriments and mischiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have seized and possessed the City of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lighted upon their heads right justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of *Rome* I would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before *Syracusa*: not, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be referred safe and sound for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and to hold it in captivity and oppression. How much the *Syracusans* might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example either of those *Syracusans* who converted among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish Captain *Marcus*, who yielded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the end taken (although it were with the latest) by the *Syracusans* themselves, may sufficiently testify the same. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pain which I have undergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Syracusa*, both by Land and Water, thus long: I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer *Syracusa*.

Syracusa won
and ransacked

Archimedes
killed.

Then the Quæstor was sent, attended with a guard, unto *Nasos*, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the same in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the soldiers: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to save the same. Amidst many cruel, spiteful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetousness, which happened to be committed during the time of this sackage, it is reported. That in so great hubbub as possibly might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry soldiers run to ridding, *Archimedes* was busily occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and happened to be slain by a soldier, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especial order, that he should be honourably entred: yea, and caused his kinsfolks to be sought out: and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name sake, were not only saved, but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what fort, and by what means especially *Syracusa* was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in *Carthage*, if it had been forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with *Rome*, and maintain war with equal force and power.

Some few dayes before the winning of *Syracusa*, *T. Otacilius* with fourscore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from *Lilybaeum* to *Utica*, and being entred the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caricks charged with corn. After he was disbarbed and let a Land, he wasted grievously part of the territory about *Utica*, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from *Lilybaeum* he returned thither again with 130 caricks full of corn and other booty: and that com he sent forthwith to *Syracusa*: which with it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extrem and grievous famine.

In the same summer, the Roman Generals in *Spain* (who almost for two years had done no memorable act there, but warred by policy and stratagems, more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forts and winter harbors, and joynd their armies together. Then they called a Council, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion, That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to encompass and itay *Asdrubal* from all means of passing over into *Italy*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the war in *Spain*. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain* then no fewer than three armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gilgo*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five dayes journey: *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in *Spain*, was somewhat neerer with his whole power, before a City named *Antorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first, and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: many, this was their only doubt and fear, lest upon the discomfiture of him, the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago* would for fear retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so maintain a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of *Spain*. And thus they agreed to part their forces: namely, That *P. Cornelius* should leave 10 third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdrubal*: and that *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war against *Asdrubal* the Barchine [i. son of *Amilcar* abovejoyn] Both these Captains with their hosts set out together in their journey, putting the Celti-

berians

A berians before in the vanguard, and encamped neer the City *Antorgis* in the sight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And then *Cn. Scipio* laid behind, and made his abode with the power aforesaid: but *P. Scipio* went onward to perform that part of the war which he purposed and intended. *Asdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romans, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians: as one that could well skill of the falshood and treachery of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a soldier: by reason that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he used by the means of reciprocal commerce of their language for to have secret speech and conference with the principal heads of the Celtiberians, and so treated with them, that in consideration of a great sum of money, they were persuaded and yielded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the slip. And this they supposed was not so heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their swords upon the Romans, and to war against them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to sit still, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to bear arms and fight: and last of all, rest it self, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captains themselves were no sooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude, Over and besides, to dislike it dead fire, they stood in no fear of the Romans (being so few as they were) that they could possibly keep them perforce. And surely, this might well serve, to be a caveat for Roman Captains ever hereafter, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in stead of good lessons indeed, to teach them how they trust again the aids of foreigners: and never to rely themselves so much upon them, but that they always have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural soldiers. All on a sudden therefore the Celtiberians dislodged, plucked up standards, and departed from them and never had them farewell. And when the Romans demanded the cause of this change, yea, and besought and importuned them to tarry, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home by occasion of wars in their own country. *Scipio* seeing that these Allies of his were so slippery, and could neither be intreated nor enforced to stay: and that himself alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyn again with his brother, was a thing impossible: for want of all other good means, for the present, when he saw no remedy else, determined to retire himself as far backward as he could: having this especial care above all things, not to encounter and joyn battail with the enemy in plain field, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his dimarch.

About the same time *P. Scipio* stood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy, and that was *Masaniassa*: the young Prince who then was a friend and pensionary soldier of the *Carthaginians*: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans. He with his Numidian Horsemen first encountered *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very shrewdly: in such sort, that not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and stragling far before the camp, a felling or foraging, and send them short of home: but also ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea, and enter upon the thicket of the standing corps de guard, and make foul work and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many starts upon a sudden, and assail the gates of the camp and the rampier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no place could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of some shrewd turn or other by him: so as they were driven to keep within their rampier cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more frightly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in case *Indibilis*, who was coming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Suffletrians, were once joyned with the *Carthaginians*. Whereupon *Scipio* a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwise driven to the hardest extremities, and forced to make shifts, entred into a rash and inconsiderate designment, even to go on and meet (forsooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place soever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battail, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a mean guard to keep the camp, and *T. Ponticus* his Lieutenant, as Provost and Captain, he set out at midnight and meeting with his enemies, joynd battail with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and pight field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a confused and disorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom *Scipio* thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a sudden flanked the sides of the Romans, and mightily terrified them. Against these Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head again afresh, beheld a third sort of enemies also charged upon his back, even the *Carthaginian* Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to maintain battail on all hands and were at a stand and in doubt with themselves against which enemy to turn first or what way with a close couched squadron to give the venture for to break through. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his soldiers, presenting and opposing himself forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to run through the right side of his body with a Lance: and that massive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thick

P. Scipio slain;
battalion,

from thence by that means he sleeth straightwaies directly toward the other camp. Where they H were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the cornet of horsemen, which rose up suddenly out of their Ambuscado: and being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yer, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so wisely, and with lo great expedition) the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were slept away a forraging, fuelling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their *corpi de guard*, the soldiers themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates, and under the rampier. With these soldiers so secure, so retchless, so difarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blood, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And so within the Camp there was a hot and cruell fight: for, from all turps thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and scuffling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen all bloody were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of a former execution: and thereupon drove them into a mighty fear. This fearful sight caused them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps wherefoever they could make shift to find way, and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the K camps of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Martius*, there were two encamped holds forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, 1830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty. In which pillage, there was found a shield of *Antiver* weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. *Valerius Antiver* recordeth, that the camp only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slain: and that in another battell with *Asdrubal*, upon a fally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth, that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hot and disorderly chace (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambush. But all writers do blaz on the great honour and fame of *Duke Martius*. And L besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely, that as he made the Oration unto his soldiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head, without any sente and feeling of his to the great wonder and fear of the soldiers that stood about him: and that in the memoriall of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Jup.* untill the Capitoll was burned, that foresaid field, with the Image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Martius* his field. After this, *Spain* was quiet for a long time, whiles both sides after so many overthrowes given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in *Spain*, *Marcellus* upon the winning of *Syracuse*, having set all other things in order throughout *Sicily*, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that M not only he greatly augmented his own glory, but also enlarged the majesty of the people of *Rome*, brought over to *Rome* all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in *Syracuse*. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artificians: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which staid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit N the Temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate *Capena*, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well-near of *Sicily*, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike, so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of *Syracuse*, had either not rebelled at all, or became reconciled and in favour again, they were accepted in the quality of faithfull Allies, and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of *Syracuse*, yielded, were reputed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small reliques of war about *Aggrigentum* for the Romans to dispatch, namely, *Epicides* and *Hanno*, the Captains of the former war: and a third, sent new from *Annibal* in the room of *Hippocrates*, a Citizen of *Hippo*, his countrein name him *Mutines*: descended from the *Libyphoenices*, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had been brought up and taught all feats of arms, and skill of warfare. Unto his charge were committed by *Epicides* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over-ran all the countries be- longing to the enemies: he went unto all the Confederates, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within

A within short time he got himself a great name throughout all *Sicily* so as the favors and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicides* the Syracusan, who for a time had been pent up within the walls of *Aggrigentum*, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of *Mutines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of *Aggrigentum*, and upon the river *Himer*, encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and fate him down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they did or went about. But *Mutines* gave him neither opportunity of place to ret him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terror, and tumultu- Bous noise assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yea, and the morrow after gave them bat- tle as it were in a pitch field, and drove them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to *Heracles Mino*) he went to appeale their moods, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and expers warning, not to fight with the enemy, howsoever they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended therat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already mile-con- tent, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinker *Mutines*, a base African, and not of the right stamp neither, to gage and rule me a Carthaginian General, sent with Commission from the Senat and people? He periwaded therefore *Epicides* effectually to pass over the river, and to strike C a battell-for-quoeth he, if we should stay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, all the honour no doubt shall redound to *Mutines*.

Bye sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignity, that he who had repulsed at *Nola Annibal*, even when he bare himself so bravely upon his fresh victory at *Cannae*, should give one foot to these petty enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his soldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigns. But as he was ar- ranging his men in battell array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse neck, ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligence, assuring them, "That their countrein, who first were offended and discontented by occa- D sion of that mutiny aforeaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away to *Heracles*: and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practice of those other Captains, who malignd and envied his glory, sent far enough out of the way, e- ven against the very day when the battell should be fought: were not disposed at all to fight, but would sit still and not stir. A kind of people they were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promise: howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them, (for there was a speedy purfivant, or contrient throughout the battalions from company to company, for to signify unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other) so the enemies were mightily dismayed and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deeper left their own horsemen would E be set upon. By which occasion the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shock given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battell, seeing their own fellows turn back and flie, bare them only company for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste forsoar to *Aggrigentum*: fearing also themselves there to be besieged among them, slipped away every one to their own Cities. Many thousand were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in *Sicily*: upon this victory he returned to *Syracuse*. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at *Rome* the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Praetor should lend letters to the Consuls, lying before *Capua*, pur- F porting this tenour: That forasmuch as *Annibal* was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at *Capua*: the one of them (if they thought fit) should repair to *Rome*, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed between themselves and took order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the solemne election of Magistrates: and *Fulvius* remain till at *Capua*. So *Claudi- us* created new Coss. *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the son of *Servius*: a man that had not born any curule office of state before. After these were Praetors chosen, *L. Cornelius Lenu- tinus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpitius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, unto *Piso* befell the jurisdiction with- in the City. *Sulpitius* had the government of the Province *Sicily*, *Cethegus* of *Apulia*: and *Lenu- tinus* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had the government of their Provinces prorogued for to continue G one year longer.

The answer of
Cn. Fulvius.

"full and ignominious soldiery. Lo; how unequally at Rome the freedom of the City is parted
"between the rich and the poor: between men of nobility and high calling, and those that are of
"mean parentage and low degree."

Thus much spake the plaintiff *C. Sempronius Blaesus*. The defendant on the other side, shifted all
the blame from himself, and laid the whole fault upon his soldiery, alleging and pleading
thus: "That when they called upon him hastily, and with great wilfulness to give battle, he
"brought them forth into the field, not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late
"in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet, and convenient for
"the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattled, yet were
"they not able to sustain, either the fame, or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether, And
"when they all fled away again, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout like as *Varro*
"the Consul, at the battell before *Cannæ*, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good
"could he have done to the Common weal, in case he had staid behind alone? unless perad-
"venture his death might have cured and remedied the publike foer and maladies: or made
"amends for the common losses. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he light at un-
"awares upon places of disadvantage and danger: nor yet, because he was entrapped within the
"trains of an ambush, marching on end for ward, without lending his elpials before, that he was
"overcome; but even by mere force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a plight battell. And it
"was not he could do withall, if his own men were fearful and timorous, and the enemies hardy
"and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts, It is long of every one his own nature to be
"either bold or heartless."

Two several days he was judicially accused, and at both times a fine of money only set upon
his head, in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produ-
ced forth, to be deposed and give evidence: and after that he had been shamefully reviled, and
charged with all manner of reproaches: there were very many upon their oath testified, That the
first beginning of the fright and flight both, was occasioned by the Prætor himself: and that the
soldiery, seeing themselves forsaken by him, and supposing verily that their Captain and Leader
was not afraid of his own shadow, but had great reason to fear, they likewise turned their backs
and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that
they cried all with one voice, to commence a capital action, for that he was worthy to die.
Whereupon arose a new debate and controversy: for whereas the Tribune had twice before laid
a penal action upon him of money, and now at the third time said that he would have a jury of
life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to
mitigate this rigour of the Tribune. But when those his Collegues made answer again and said, that
they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his course, but that he might proceed in the suit
at his own good pleasure, *more majorem*, &c. [according to the ancient manner used by their fore-
fathers,] either by order of law, or rule of custom, and bring him being but a private person to
the trial either of a capital crime, or penal trespass: then *Sempronius* spake and said flatly, that
he laid upon him a criminal action of treason against the State: and requested of *C. Calpurnius*
the L. chief Justice of the City, for to have a day of hearing and judicial trial by the people. Then
the defendant cast about to help himself by another remedy, namely, in case he could compass that *M*
Q. Fulvius his brother might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at
that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on
him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to
be Master of *Capua*. But when this said *Q. Fulvius* had requested so much by letters, ended to
that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commiseration and pity in behalf of
the life of his brother, the L. of the Senat returned this answer unto him again, That it was not for
the good of the State that he should depart from *Capua*: thereupon, before the Sessions day
was come, *Cn. Fulvius* departed of his own accord into exile to *Tarquinius*, and the Commons
made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for
his offence.

During these businesses at Rome, the whole strength and force of war was bent against *Capua*,
and yet the City was rather straightly beleghered than forcibly assaulted: inasmuch as neither
the servants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer:
and send unto *Annibal* any messengers, they possibly could not by reason of the straight watch and
ward that the Romans kept, so near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numidi-
an offered to go and to escape clear away, who having taken letters unto *Annibal* to put him in
mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the midst of the
Roman camp, and put the Campains in very good hope, to issue forth at all the gates, and to
make a rally upon the enemy, whilst their power and strength served them. And verily in many
scufflings and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in horse-fight,
but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much
pleased when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were disconcerted and ill apaid, to re-
ceive a toll in any kind of service of them, who were not only besieged, but in manner overcome
already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industry
and policy the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certain
lusty young men, such as for clean strength of body, and lightness withall, were most nimble and
swift.

A swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or target, shorter than commonly horsemen
have, and seven javelins or darts apiece, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those
Javelins have, which they use to lance that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every
horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and used them, both to fit the horse
and ride; and also to leap down on foot, with great activity and agility, at the signal and token
given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it nimble e-
nough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, lying between their camp, and
the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Campains, as they stood arranged in bat-
tall array: and so soon as they were come within darts cast, the light javelottiers aforesaid,
dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, out of the Ca-
valry there was a battalion of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the ene-
mies, and let flie their thor with great force, dart after dart, which they lanced so thick, that they
galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their fear was much greater, by
reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their ene-
mies thus affrighted, set too hard, and charged them upon lustily, chased them and beat them down
even to the City gates. After this the Romans were the better in horse-service also. And here-
upon began the manner from henceforth, to entertain such light armed javelottiers, called *Falces*,
even among the Legions. The first devil of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen
they say was one *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the General for
his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at *Capua*, *Annibal* was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with
two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Cattle of *Tarentum*, or to rescue and
save the City of *Capua*. At last the regard of *Capua* prevailed with him: for he saw that as well
friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way: as
being a City like to give the very trial and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the re-
volt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in
the Brutians country, and all his soldiery heavily armed, he made haste into *Campania*, with an
elect power of foot and horse, such as he supposed most meet and best appointed for expedition
and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirty Ele-
phants, and so he late him down closely in a secret valley behind the mountain *Tifflus*, which
overlooketh the City *Capua*. At the first coming he forced the fort called *Gatula*, and compelled
the garrison there to quit the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies
who besieged *Capua*. But he dispatched certain couriers afore unto *Capua* to signify unto them
at what time he minded to let upon the camp of the Romans: that they also at the very instant
might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no
fore-knowledge by their elpials of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for *Annibal* himself
assailed them one way, and all the Campains as well foot as horsemen (together with the garri-
son soldiery of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Doflar* and *Hanno* their captains) sallied
out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so
sudden and fearful a case, had an eye to this, not to make head altogether one way, and so to
leave the rest quite without defence: therefore they divided their forces in this manner among
themselves: *Appius Claudius* opposed himself against the Campains: and *Fulvius* against *Annibal*,
Claudius Nero the Vice-Prætor, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon
the way that leadeth to *Suesfula*: and *C. Fulvius Placcus* the Lieutenant with the horsemen of
Allies, took up his standing and planted himself over against the river *Vulturinus*. The battell be-
gan not after the usual manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of
men neighing of horses, and rattling of armour, there was a multitude of Campains good for no
other service of war, placed upon the walls, who together with ringing and sounding of basons
and vessels of brass (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the
je. liple) made such an hideous noise, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amuted
thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campains from the
trench and rampier. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deal with *Annibal*
and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave
ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants
passed forwards as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell
of the Romans: but they were in suspence between doubtful hope and present danger, think-
ing one while to break through and pass into the Camp; and doubtful another while to be ex-
cluded from the rest of their companies. *F. Hann* seeing this fear of the Legion and pe. ill where-
in the Camp stood, encourageth and exhorteth *Q. Navius* and other principal Centurions,
to assail valiantly, to kill and hew in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fight-
ing under the counter-carp. "For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extreme hazard:
"for either you must give the enemies way, and then will they more easily enter into the camp, then
"they had already pierced through the thick fignons of the battell: or else ye must defeat and
"slay them in the place even under the trench. And that quoth he were no difficult piece of ser-
"vice, considering they are but few in number, severed and shut out clean from the succour of
"their fellows: and the same Roman battalion which seemeth now disbanded and open, whilst
"it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turn both sides upon the enemy, were able to
"com-

The singular
valour of
N. Annibal.

"compass round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yea, and cut them in pie-
ces within the midst. *Navinus* had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught
the ensign of the second band of *Hastati* from the ensign-bearer, and displayed it in the faces of the
enemies, threatening to fling it among the midst of them, unless his souldiers made the better haste
to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body,
his brave armor besides set him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his
ensign on high, drew every mans eye upon him, as well enemies as friends. But when he was ap-
proached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but can-
celed at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him. But
neither the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to repress and rebut the
violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Attilius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first
band of the *Principes*, belonging to the same Legion, to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and
troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the
guarding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Ele-
phants upon the very counterescarp, as they were passing over and entering the camp. And by occasion
that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as
it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very car-
casses of the Elephants, there was a cruell slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp,
the Campains and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very
gate of *Capua* which openeth upon the river *Vulturinus*, there was another skirmish, where the
Romans striving to enter the town, were not so much put back and withstood by force of armed
men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engines of ordnance, which being mounted and planted
upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drove the enemies farther off. Over and
besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romans was danted and suppressed, by reason that
their General himself, *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the
very forefront of the vanguard, happened to be wounded with a dart above in his breast under the left
shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate, and the
rest were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. *Annibal* also perceiving
the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended,
even to the death: gave over farther assault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward
all his footmen, interposing his horsemen behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them
on the tail. The legions were exceeding eager to pursue after the enemies: but *Flaccus* com-
manded to sound the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things,
to wit, that both the Campains law in how little stead *Annibal* served them: and also *Annibal*
himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down that
of *Annibal* his Army there were slain that day eight thousand men, and of Campains three thou-
sand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campains eighteen. But in others,
I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fight was much more than the skirmish:
for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unawares into
the Roman Camp, those Elephants as they passed through the midst thereof, overthrew and
laid along many of the tents and pavilions: and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there
for carriage, with great noise brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down all
afore them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, *Annibal* dealt
fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latine tongue (for some
such he had about him) who in the Confils name gave commandment (since that the Camp
was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himself, and flee to the next mountains.
But this deceit was soon elipted and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of
enemies: and the Elephants were coured out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell
was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that *Capua* was yielded up and
surrendered.

The Mediftruticus (for so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of *Capua*)
for that year, was one *Seppius Lelius*, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth,
that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and
under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious domestic portent, that happened in her house,
was told by the Soothsayer out of his learning, that one day the chief government of *Capua*
should befall to that child: whereat, the seeing no likelihood nor hope at all of any such matter,
said thus again, You talk of a poor City of *Capua*, when that day comes: and God save all, when
my son shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words (spoken at
random and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens
were driven to great straits, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recovery: in
such sort, as they that were of quality and born for honour, refused to be in place of authority,
this *Lelius* complaining that *Capua* was forlorn, betrayed, and abandoned by her own nobility, took
upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the last of all the Campains that bare sovereignty rule
in that City.

Annibal perceiving, that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor pos-
sibly he could break through their camp for to come unto *Capua*: for fear lest that the new Con-
suls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveyance of victuals, determined to dislodge
without

A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from *Capua*. And as he call and toiled to and fro in
his mind what course to take, and whither to go: it came into his head to make no more ado, but
to march directly to *Rome*, the very head and seat-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of
all, and the empire that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed
him, that he had over-slipt the opportunity when it was, even presently upon the battell at *Canna*:
to himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overseen. And yet the thing was not so far
past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon some sudden fright and unexpected tumult, he
might seize of some quarter of the City or other. And if *Rome* were one in that hazard, neither
both the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediately leave the siege of *Capua*.
B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister el-
ther unto him, or to the Campains some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled
his mind was this, for fear lest that as soon as his back were turned, the Campains would yield
themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberal rewards induceth a certain
Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook)
to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, countreiting him-
self to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when hee had his time to slip secret-
ly from the other side of the camp to *Capua*. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto
them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he
meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from *Capua* to the defence of their
own City of *Rome*: willing them not to let fall their hearts and be discouraged: for by this
abiding some few daies they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made
stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river *Vulturinus*, and commended
them to be brought to *Castellum*, which he had fortified aforesaid with a pile or Castle to guard
and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges
and bottoms upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made
provision of victuals for ten daies, brought down his army by night to the river side, and, rolled
the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly but be-
fore that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certain runagate fugitives: where-
upon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of *Rome*, and gave notice thereof. At
D which tidings men according to their sundry fancies and humours were diversly affected: and as
to fearful an occurrence required incontinently the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius, surnamed *Africus*, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever
should be called home out of all parts of *Italy*, without regard of *Capua* or any other exploit be-
sides, save only the defence of the City. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was dishonest, lewd, and a
shamefull part, to depart from the siege of *Capua*, and to be scared to turn here and there, and to be
carried away with every copy of *Annibal* his countenance, and with his vain threats and mena-
ces. He that won a victory at *Canna*, and durst not then go forward to the City, hath he con-
ceived any hope now to win *Rome*, being already repulled from *Capua*? No, he marcheth to-
ward *Rome*, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from *Capua*. And however it
E be, I am assured (quoth he) that *Jupiter* (the witness of covenants broken by *Annibal*) and o-
ther gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the
City. Between these two opinions *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the mean, and prevailed: for he having
a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other: thought good to write unto the
Colonels that lay before *Capua*, and to certify them what strength they had of able men to de-
fend the City: as for the forces of *Annibal*; and what power was needfull to maintain the siege
at *Capua*, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Consuls there, and
part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to *Rome*, and nevertheless, the siege conti-
nue with the conduct of the other Pro-Consul, and the rest of the army: then *Claudius* and *Ful-
vius* should to order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain till be-
fore *Capua* at siege, and the other repair to *Rome*, for to defend and keep their native country from
the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto *Ca-
pua*, *Q. Fulvius* the vice-Consul who was to go to *Rome*, by reason that his Colleague was sick of
his hurt, chose out of the three armies certain companies of souldiers, and so with fifteen thousand
footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river *Vulturinus*. Then having certain intel-
ligence, that *Annibal* minded to march along the Latine (tree way: he took his journey through
the towns and burroughs situate upon the way *Appia*, and sent his couriers before unto *Seria*, *Se-
ra*, and *Lavinium*, which are seated near unto it, not only for lay provision of victuals ready for
him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring
their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their towns for their own de-
fence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their state, as well publicke
G as private.

Annibal the same day that he had crossed *Vulturinus* encamped not far from the river. And the
morrow after entered into the territory of the Sidicins, and led his host near unto *Caler*. There,
after he had laid one day, foraging and spoiling the country, he marched by *Suofula*, into the
territories of *Alifus* and *Casertum*, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town *Casertum* he
abode in camp two daies, and raised booties here and there in every place. From thence leaving
Interapina and *Aquinum*, he came into the country about *Fregelle*, as far as to the river *Liris*,
where

where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans, for to impeach and let his journey. *Fulvius* likewise was slain at the river *Fulturnus*, by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by *Annibal*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcity of timber and wood, to make pines and boats for to set over his army. But *Fulvius*, after he had once transported his men in such boats and plankas was made shift withall, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey: but found not only force of victuals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right courteously. Then the souldiers as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they went to the defence of their natural country. Now there was a post sent from *Fregella*, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in exceeding fear. The running together besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent something of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself, and let the City in an upore. And not only the women were heard to weep and wail in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the Altars with the tresses of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground, and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods, pouring out their prayers and supplications. That they would vouchsafe to preserve the City of *Rome* out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abuse. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magistrates in the common place, ready to give them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the Magistrates, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundry guards were bestowed in the Castle, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alban mountain also and the Castle of *Tusculum* were furnished with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul, was departed from *Capua*, and onward on his journey to *Rome* with an army. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree granted out of the Senat-House, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commission of rule and command as the Consuls themselves. *Annibal*, after he had made souldier work and havoc in the territory of *Fregella*, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges against his coming, led his army through the *Frusinæ*, *Ferentinat*, and *Anagnine* countries, and came forwards into the territory *Lavicos*: and so by *Algidum* he marched toward *Tusculum*. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he defended beneath *Tusculum*, on the right hand to *Gabii*: from whence he conducted his army into *Pupinia*, and eight miles from *Rome* encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater laughter was made of the peasants that fled from him, by his vancuerris, the Numidian light-horsemen whom he sent afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his army entered *Rome* at the gate *Capena*: from whence he went through the midst of the City, along the street *Carina* into the *Exquilie*, and from thence he went forth, and between the gates *Exquilina* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the *Ædiles* of the Commons brought victuals: the Consul and the Senat resorted to him into the camp, where they sat in Council about the State of the Common-weal. And agreed it was, That the Consuls should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Exquilina*: that *C. Calpurnius*, Prætor of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Castle, with a guard, and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compass of the *Forum*, what need soever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time *Annibal* was come forward as far as to the river *Anio*, and within three miles of the City lay encamped, where he kept a standing League. But himself in person with 2000 horsemen advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as far as to *Horculæ* in the Temple, and rode all about as near as he wold could, to view the walls, and the situation of the City. *Flaccus* took foul disdain thereof, and thought it a shamefull indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure to scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certain of his own Cavalry, and gave commandment, That they should fight the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them back into their Camp. While they were in skirmish together, the Consuls gave order, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Romans (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the *Aventine* hill) should pass through the midst of the City to the *Exquilie*: supposing, that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Castle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the descent of the hill, called *Civitas Pupina*, they ran crying about the City, The *Aventine* is taken, The *Aventine* is taken, Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the Camp of *Annibal* had not been without the walls, the fearful multitude doubtless would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their honies, and got every man up to the terraces and leadsthereof: from whence they pelied with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appear, by reason that the waies were so pestered with

A with a number of the country peasants, and of cattell besides, whom sudden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay all disorders, and upores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or born the office of Censors, should have their full power and authority until such time as the enemy was clean departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundry garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same killed and appeared by that means.

The next day *Annibal* passed over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. Neither were *Flaccus* and the Consuls behind hand for their parts, but ready for battell. When both armies stood arranged in order on both sides, amited upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of *Rome*: there fell such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and it troubled both hoils, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their several Camps, fearing nothing less than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the liketempel parted them alunder. And they were not so soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful fair, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this for an ominous preface to them of ill luck. And *Annibal* was cheard (by report) to say, That one while his mind, another while his fortune, would not give him leave to win the City of *Rome*. There were other occurrences besides, as well small as great that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whies helly with his host in arms before the walls of *Rome*, he understood, there were certain companies with banners displayed sent into *Spain* for to supply the armies there. Of less reckoning was this: that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he took to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornfull indignity, namely, that there should be a chapman found at *Rome*, to make purchase of that piece of land, which he was possessed of, and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the publicke crier and tumpet, and gave commandment unto him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankes and money changers at that time about the *Forum* in *Rome*. Nevertheless, hereupon he was moved to dislodge and retired his camp backwards from the City to the river *Tiberis*, six miles from *Rome*. From whence he took his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereof were certain Capenats, who used to bring thither the fift fruits of their corn and revenues yea, and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by means whereof they had adorned and garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Annibal* from thence, there were found great heaps of brasse, by reason that the souldiers upon touch and remorie of conscience, had cast in many brazen pieces. The sacking and pillage of this Temple, *Æall* writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Cælius* saith, That *Annibal* as he went toward *Rome* from *Erutium*, turned thither, and he leteth down the beginning of his journey from *Riate* *Cutia*, and from *Amitemnum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Sannium*, and from thence into the country of *Peligni*, and so passed beside the City *Sulmo* to the *Marcians*, and then by the territory of the *Albenes* into the *Marsians* land, and from thence he marched to *Amitemnum*, and so forward to the town *Fordi*. Neither is there any error or doubt in all this, because the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could not within the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether he came to the City of *Rome*, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way afore said.

F Now was not *Annibal* so resolute to defend *Capua*, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof. For he sped himself so fast another way in his voyage back, first out of the *Lucans* country to the *Brutians*, and so on still to the streight of *Sicily*, and to *Rhegium*, that with his sudden coming thither, he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrivall. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence it was no less straightly beleagured, yet it felt the coming again of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvel there, why *Annibal* returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forsook of *Annibal*, and that the Carthaginians were past all hope to keep and hold *Capua* still to their own use. There was an Edict moreover of the Pro-Consul, passed by order from the Senat, and the same published and divulged among the enemies, That what Citizen soever of *Capua* would turn to the Romans before such a certain day he should have a generall pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as no one man at all privately on his own head came over to the camp of the Romans, so there was no good order taken by publicke council for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state-matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the Senat.

And

And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bore. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall of assemblies but shutting themselves within doors in their private houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon *Postum* and *Manius* Captains of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and more careful were they of their own welfare, than fearful for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two wrote letters unto *Annibal*, entreated not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betrayed *Capua* into the hands of the enemies, but also I delivered and exposed them and the garrison to the cruel clutches of the Romans to be massacred and executed. That he was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the *Bruttias* one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his own eyes the loss of *Capua*." But I wote the Romans contrarywise could not be withdrawn from the siege of *Capua*, no, not by the assaulting of the City of *Rome*: so much more were the Romans resolute enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to *Capua*, and bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of *Capua* would be ready to fall forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alps with intent to war with the *Rheginis* and *Tarentis*: no, but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at *Canine*, thus at *Therapsimene* were the victories at *K*chieved, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joining camp to camp, and by hazarding the fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Placcus* in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives unto his side; hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in *Capua*, there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the adverse part. But behold, there happened a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughty pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeiter fugitives afore said kept.) She informed the General of the Romans, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin pretended to flee unto his part, and had letters about them unto *Annibal*. This would the stand to, and be ready to avert to the very face of one of them, who bewrayed & disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, & made it very strange & pretending roughly that he knew not the woman; but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and so in the end confessed that all was true; and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed; which before was kept close and secret to wit, that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp; of these there were apprehended not so few as three before and ten; and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to *Capua*. This pitious spectacle and sight of so fearful execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campains. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-House, and compelled *Levius* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatened the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from public consultations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the ears into the street. For fear hereof, the chief Magistrate had a frequent and full assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, *Vibius Pricus* (who had been the chief cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, spake to the point in this manner.

The Oration
of *Vibius Pricus*
in the Senat
of *Capua*.

"*Theythar* talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either N what they would have done, in case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or what themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present render of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the Samnites? And have we so soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we forsook and abandoned the people of *Rome*? Alas, after our revolve, how we most cruelly and shamefully killed their garrison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at siege, and how maliciously minded we were unto them, yea, and how we have sallied upon them in their camp? Over and besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Annibal* to surprize and defeat them? and (and that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from hence to give the assault to *Rome*? On the contrary side, mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have attempted and practised all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what account to make of them, and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and foreign enemy within *Italy*, nay, when they had *Annibal* their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all was on a light fire: they passed by all other affairs; yea, they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besiege and force *Capua*. This is the

"second

"second year that they keep us entangled round about, penting us up, and pining us with extreme famine and hunger: during which time they themselves as well as we, have endured the utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travels: of Attempts being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally his divers almost out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak no more of their ordinary matters, seeing it is an old and usual case for them to abide painful toil, and incur many perils, who besiege and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies: See a manifest sign of their boldness and less able harred against *Annibal*. With puissant power of foot and horse, *Annibal* both assailed their Camp, yea, and in some part was Master of it. Think ye that in so great danger of theirs they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Vulturnus* and burnt the territory of *Capua*: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies received, did not they one whit nor gave over their enterprise. He commanded to march forward with banners displayed against the very City of *Rome*: they made as little account of that dangerous respect toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched his tents within three miles of the City: nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a brave and valiant under the gates: to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced to make *Capua* hot for them unless they levied the siege before *Capua*: and yet they gave not oves but beleaguered as still. The very wild and savage beasts bethey never so fell, bethey made never so much with blind rage and madness against one, yet if another go to their dens, and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones: but the Romans, notwithstanding *Rome* was besieged, their wives and children in danger, whose pitious cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even thither: notwithstanding their altars, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchers of their Ancestors, were prosaied, abused, and polluted, could not be drawn away from *Capua*. So eager, so hungry are they to be revenged of us; so thirsty are they to drink our blood, And good reason, happily, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the fensible, if fortune had given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortal gods is otherwise: and considering that I owe nature a death: in my power it is, whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own master, and master of myself, to avoid torments, to shun shameful ignominies and reproaches (whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart) I end that by one kind of death, which as it is honest, so it is also easie and gentle? Never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fulvius* proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and haled bound with chains through the City of *Rome*, to make a show, and to serve for a spectacle and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prison, or tied openly to a stake, yield my back and side to be tewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloody axe of the Romans. Never will I behold my native country sacked, pillaged, and put to fire and sword, nor the chaste married dames of *Capua* to be forcibly ravished, the fair and beautiful maidens shamefully deflowered, and the well favoured young boys and freeborns unnaturally abused. They railed *Alba* in times past from the top to the very foundation, and left neither thick nor stone thereof, *Alba* I say, from whence they had their off-spring, and were first defended to the end that there might remain no memory at all of their stock and first original. And shall I ever belevee they will spare *Capua*, & receive into mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent than against *Carthage*? Therefore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see these so many miseries and wofull calamities, I have at home a flippet this night well furnished and provided for you all; and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally, the same wassell cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and that one draught shall deliver your bodies from torments, prelieve your spirits from anguish and contumelious disgrace, keep your eyes from beholding all cruel acts, your ears from hearing all shameful indignities which follow and attend upon conquered perious. There shall beal in readiness certain servitors of purple to make a mighty great fire within the bale court-yard of mine house, and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the only honest way to death; and beleeving us who are free born and gentlemen indeed, In which doing, our enemies will wonder at our vertue and valour: yea, and *Annibal* himself shall well know that he hath forsaken and betrayed his trust and magnanimous allies.

This Oration of *Vibius*, there were more men present that heard with applause and good liking than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they to well allowed & approved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemency of the people of *Rome*, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them; concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield *Capua* into the Romans hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied *Vibius Pricus* home to his house, and supped with him: and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking in their wine, (thereby to withdraw their minds from the sense and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drank all the poysoned cup above said. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, took one another by the hand embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a small adieu and farewell, and bewailing together with piteous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable state

Vibius Pricus
and divers Senators
of *Capua*
poyson themselves.

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of their country, some said behind to be burned in one and the same fire for fellowship, others brake company and departed to their own houses. Now, by reason that their sails were filled with milliciding and drinking wine so liberally, the voyen was not so quick of operations; nor so effectual as to hasten their death. And therefore most of them lengthened almost longevy, and continued drawing on a piece of the next day, before they let their last breath; but yet they all had yielded up their ghost before that the gales were over against the enemies.

The day following, the gate of *Jupiter* which stood next over against the Roman Camp, was by the commandment of the Pro-consul opened. Thence entered one legion and two cohorts of horsemen, under the leading of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant, who after he had left above allover things given aprelis order, that all armor of defence, and weapons of offence (which was to be found in *Capua*) should be brought forth and presented unto him: placed and disposed as all the gales, warders sufficient to see that no person might possibly go forth, or be let out: thus he laid hold upon the garison of the Carthaginians, and commanded the Senators of *Capua* in repairs in to the Camp, before the Roman Captain General himself. So soon as they were thither come straight waies they had irons clapped upon them, and were commanded to make tender unto the treasures of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounted to a pound weight: and the silver to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twenty of the Senators were sent to *Cales*, eight and twenty to *Theruntum*, to be kept life in ward. Even those who were known for certain to have principally moved and persuaded the revolt from the Romans. Considering the punishment of the Senators of *Capua*, *Fulvius* and *Cladius* could not agree: *Cladius* was more irascible and exorable, and might have been long extracted for a pardon. *Fulvius* was more rigorous, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon *Appian* put over the whole deciding and determination thereof unto the Senate of *Rome*. Alleging, that it was meet and requisite, that the L^d of the Council should have the examination of the cause: and namely upon these points, *Imprimis*, whether they had completed and combined in this action, with any of the free burroughs and Cities belonging to the state of the *Litines*, *Jens*, whether they had any help and relief from thence in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever: But *Fulvius* in no case would condescend thereto, nor suffer that the minds of faithfull and loyal allies should be disquieted with doubtfull surmises and suspitions of any crimes: and called in question upon the apprehension and delatory informations of those that never yet made reckoning or conscience, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he proscribed to suppress that manner of proceeding, and crush that Inquisition for ever after this communication they departed afunder: and *Appian* made no doubt but that howsoever his Solleges fared and took on, giving out for shew and bitter words, he would yet take paine and stay for the letters from *Rome*, concerning to weighly a business as this was. But *Fulvius*, because of his discontent, brake up his keeping of fate in his royall pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinary train out of the way, because he would not be hindered and empeached by them, in the course of his designment: and commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies to give warning unto two thousand chosen men of arms, for to be in readiness and present themselves at a third sound of the trumpet. With this power of horsemen he set forward by night, and marched to *Theruntum*: and by break of day entered the gate, and kept his way on into the market-place. At the first entrance of the horsemen, the people ran together from all parts: then he caused the chief Magistrate (a *Sidicin*) to be called, and charged him to produce his prisoners the *Capuans*, whom he had in custody. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence he rode upon the spur to *Cales*: where so soon as he was set on the Tribunal seat, in place of judgement, and the *Capuan* prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake; there came a horseman in post from *Rome*, and when he had delivered letters from *C. Calphurnius* the Consul, and the people of *Rome* unto *Fulvius*: there ran a rumour from the Tribunal through all the assembly, that the whole process against the *Capuans* was to be put off and reserved until the censure and doom of the Lords of the Senate. And *Fulvius* supposing it to be no less indeed, after he took the letters, never brakethem up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commandment to the Crier, to charge the Lictor or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at *Cales* were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order set down by the Senate: but it was roole late now, to say that which was done already and past, and which indeed was hastened with all speed that might be, for fear it might have been crossed and prevented.

Now as *Fulvius* was arising from the bench, *Taurus Jubellius*, a *Capuan*, passing amidst the throng, called by name aloud upon *Fulvius*. Whereat *Flaccus* wondering what the man meant, fathim down again upon his seat, and demanded what he would: *Mary* (quoth he) command me also to be killed, that thou maist boast and glory another day, that thou hast done to death, a better man by far, and much more valiant than thy self. Surely (quoth *Flaccus*) this fellow is lunatick and goes well in his wits: and again, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by virtue of the act of the Senate. "Then (quoth *Jubellius*) since that my country is forced and lost, my kinsfolk and friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand murdered my wife and children, because they should suffer no villanous indignity: and may not my self so much as die this death which my countrymen here have suffered before my face, I will seek by virtue and manhood to ease my self of this life, so tedious, so irksome, and odious unto me: and

with

with that, he drew forth the skein which he had hid under his garment, and stabbed himself in the breast quite through his body, and there at the feet of the L^d General fell down ready to dye in the place. Forasmuch as both the execution of the *Capuans*, and also the most part of other matters were performed according to the will of *Flaccus* alone: some there be that write how *Appian* *Cladius* died about the time that *Capua* was yielded. And that this very time *Taurus* neither came to *Alis* of his own accord, nor killed himself: but that as he was a binding to the stake, because the words which he uttered could not be heard for the confused noise of the people, therefore *Flaccus* commanded silence, and then *Taurus* spake those words before rehearsed, namely, That himself a slight valiant and hardy man was put to death by a meaner person than himself, and much inferior to him in valour and virtue. Whereat by the commandment of the Pro-Consul the crier pronounced and said: Go to Sergeant, let this brave and valiant man have the more store of rods bestowed upon him; let him have good flourishing, lay on load, and let the lathes surely on, and let him be the first that you proceed against; let him have the law so the full, some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beheading: but because there was this branch or clause within the act, That if he thought to good, he should relieve the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senat: he confirmed it thus, that it was put to his discretion for to weigh and consider what was more profitable to the Common-weal. This done, he returned from *Cales* to *Capua*. *Atella* and *Caluvia* were both surrendered into his hands: where they also who were the chief heads of those states suffered the like punishment. Thus there were about four score of the Senators put to death: and to the number well-near of three hundred *Capuans* (born of noble blood): committed to prison. Others of them were bestowed in sale custody within divers Cities of the Latines, and came to sundry unhappy ends. The multitude besides of the *Capitan* Citizens were sold outright.

It remained now to put to question and debate, what was to be done with the City and the Territory thereof belonging. And some were of mind, that a City so exceeding mighty, so near a neighbour, and so dangerous to *Rome*, should be utterly ravished and destroyed. But the consideration of a present commodity and gain took place and prevailed. For in regard of the territory and land lying about it (which was well known to be the most fertile soil in all *Italy*), and yielded all manner of fruit: the City was saved: wherinto those husbandmen that tilled the grounds might retire themselves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof, there was a multitude referred of the Inhabitants which were there already, namely of Libertines and enfran himself bondslaves, Merchants factors, retailers, artisans, and craftsmen who kept there still and remained. But the whole territory and all publick edifices were seized to the use of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, order was taken, that *Capua* should be inhabited only and replenished with people like a City: but no form of Common-weal, no Corporation, no Senat, no assembly of Commons, nor Magistrate of their own should be allowed there. For without a common Council of State, without magistracy and government, without intelligences and reciprocal commerce, as in the body of a Commonalty, they supposed, that they would never agree together in any complot, but be far unmeet to contrive a conspiracy and compass alteration. As for a Provost or Governor to minister law, and execute justice among them, they purposed to send them one yearly from *Rome*. Thus were the affairs ordered and composed at *Capua*, by a good policy and commendable course every way. For those that were most in fault and guilty were punished with rigour, and that speedily. The number of Citizens were scattered and dispersed sundry waies, without all hope to return again. The bare houses and walls that had not offended they were spared, and neither burned nor pulled down. And besides, the commodity and gain that accrued unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding, they won some name of clemency and mercy among their Confederates and Allies: in that they saved a most noble and wealthy City, at the ruins whereof all *Campania* and as many States as bordered about *Campania*, would have grieved much, and groaned again. By this means also the enemy was constrained now to come in, and could not otherwise chuse, how powerful and mighty the Romans were to be chafte and punish their faithless associates, yea, and how feeble *Annibal* was, and not able to defend and maintain those whom he had received into his protection.

The Roman Pro-Consuls after they had finished and performed their charge at *Capua* assigned unto *Cladius Nero* six thousand footmen out of those two Legions which he had before *Capua*, and three hundred horsemen which he had chosen himself: all of Latine Allies as many foot in number, and 800 horse besides. This army *Nero* embarked at *Puteoli*, and transported into *Spain*. When he was arrived at *Tarazona*, after he had there landed his soldiers, and laid up his ships in dock, and stowed with all his mariners (to make the greater number) he marched to the river *Turdania*, where he received the forces of *T. Fomtinus*, and *L. Martinius*, and from thence advanced toward the enemies.

Asdrubal the son of *Amilcar* lay encamped at a place called the *Black Stones*, in the *Ausetans* country: it lieth between the towns *Iliturgis* and *Medissa*. Now *Nero* kept the narrow straits of the forest there. *Asdrubal*, because he would not be pent up in so strait a room, sent an herald or messenger of peace to him, who should make promise in his name, that if *Nero* would permit him to pass peaceably from thence, he would withdraw all his forces out of *Spain*. The Roman Captain took this message joyfully: and *Asdrubal* requested, That they might empair the best day, and devise together how the Romans would set down conditions and articles in writing,

ting, as touching the rendry and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prefixing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthaginians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and coyn. *Asdrubal* having obtained his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and all night, long the heaviest and most cumbersome part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the gullet of the fortress. But he gave especial direction, that they should not over any of them that night go forth, because their small number was not only fitter to deceive the enemy, and not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and difficult passages. So the morrow they came to an interview and part: where the time was spent of purpose in much needless talk, and drawing of books, more than came was: whereupon the day being foregone, the business was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing between himself and *Asdrubal* more time to send others away. And yet could not they make an end that day neither. Thus there passed certain daies, employed in open show about dispute and reasoning of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his host was gone away, clear, then he began to wrangle and jar, yea, and to go from some others that he had voluntarily made, and ever they were further and further off from agreement. For *Asdrubal* the less that he feared, the less also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his loyalty were gone out of the fortress, and the next morning, not only the fortress, but all the plains about were overcast, and covered with a thick and foggy mist. Which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he sent a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to defer their farther conference and communication to the morrow: pretending, that the present day was a festival holy-day among the Carthaginians, and therefore they made scruple upon it to follow any other business but serve God. All this while there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdrubal* had no sooner obtained respite for that day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with some part of his host, without any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature left therein. Then at length, *Claudius* perceiving that *Asdrubal* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length thus over-raught by his falshood and cunning practice, began to make out after him, minding to bid him battell. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit there passed some small skirmishes between the reward of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and vancouriers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of Spain) neither they who revolted after the overthrow of the Romans returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than before.

At Rome, the Senate and people after the recovery of *Cephus*, took as great care for Spain now, as for Italy it self. And agreed they were in general, that the army there should be strengthened with new forces, and a General chither sent: but who should be the man was not yet concluded. Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sent thither, where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compass of thirty daies, and to succeed in the room of either slain. Whiles one nominated one, and some another, at length they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assembly (as it were, purchased) for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into Spain. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed a set day for the said assembly. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves, and prefer their own names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to nothing, every man began afresh to reticcate and renew the former grief, and mourn again for the losses received, and to find the want and miss of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being sad and pensive, and in manner destitute of all good counsell, and not relying what to do in this hard case, came yet down into *Mars* field upon the day appointed for the election. Every mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the countenances of these great men and Rulers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling, that the State was at so low an ebb, and the Common-weal grown to so desperate a case, that no man durst be seen to take upon him the government and Province of Spain. Then all of a sudden, *P. Cornelius* (his son that was slain in Spain, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed himself, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him: and therewith stepped up into an higher place from whence he might be seen, and there he stood. Upon whom when all men had cast their eyes, and viewed him well, in a general accord and favourable affection unto the man, they wished unto him straightwaies a happy and fortunate government. And when the assembly was willing to give their suffrages, and go to a scrutiny, there was not one Century from the first to the last, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Scipio* for to take a voyage into Spain. But after the thing was passed, and their passionate heat of affection once allayed, they were on a sudden, driven into a still silence and deep dump, to think what a strange and new deed they had done. And that which they thought themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried them away in this action more than the due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in deed and honest and ominous fortune also of that family, and the name of him that was of two mournfull bowles was fo-

A go into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle. When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in so hasty a fit, the peopleness to be happy and pensive: he called them to an open audience, and there before them all discoursed of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he was to manage: and that with so noble courage and haughty spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled again the former zeal and heat that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured hope than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents partly, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderful man, not only in regard of those true virtues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed himself even from his young and tender years, by artificial means, to the better setting out of those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making shew and semblant before the multitude, that the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and apparitions, or else suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above: were it that he was superstitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his policy he might effect his designments, and have his commandments performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his mans gown, there was no day went over his head; but before he began his own private business, or entered any publick affairs, he would go into the Capitoll: and so soon as he was entered into the Temple, there sit him down, and alone by himself bestow a good time in some secret Ile and corner thereof. This ordinary manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerately, or by chance unadvisedly) made divers men beleieve verily, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly supposed and reported. That the man had a god to his father, which deep and secret imagination of the people, resembled and renewed again the like fame (in all the world) to that which were before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of folk, was the very fame and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigious and wonderful thing; and ever as any body came in, it would wind away of a sudden, and vanish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himself elevate and discredit as toies and vanities, but rather cherish and encrease the opinion thereof, by a certain cunning cast of his own, in that he would neither deny and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirm plainly and verifie the same. Many other devices he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly feigned and counterfeit, which caused men beyond all measure to have this young man in wonderful admiration. Upon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the City at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his unripe years) so great a government, and a world, with all of weighty and important affairs.

Besides the forces which remained in Spain of the old army, and those which were transported over from *Puteoli* with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horsemen: and to assist in the conduct of his wars, he had as coadjutor appointed unto him *M. Junius Syllanus* the Pro-Prator. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Gallies there were all of five banks of oars) he took the seas, and set sail from the mouth of *Lybie*, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the Alps, and through the gulph of *Gallia*, he doubled at length the point and cape of *Pyrene*, and disembarked at *Emporia* a City of Greeks: (for defended they are also from *Phocæa*) and there he set his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to *Taraco*, which he appointed for the Rendezvous, where all his allies and confederates (for at the wonder and fame of his landings, there flocked Embassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a general Diet. There he commanded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, save only three Gallies (of three ranks) which came from *Majissa*, and upon cruetie and kindness accompanied him from home, and those were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hung in doubtfull suspense by reason of the variety and of sundry changes and chances that lately had happened, and to them he began to return answer, and give them their several dispatches: but with such a spirit and boldness (upon confidence that he had in his own rare virtues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favoured of rigour, and yet whatsoever he spake, it carried an exceeding majesty with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from *Taraco*, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintering camps of the army: where he highly commended the soldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two shrewd blows, upon two so great defeats one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province still and kept the field; and not suffering the enemies to reap and taste the fruit of their fortunate victories, and kept them out of all the countries lying within *Iberus*, and defended faithfully all their confederates according to the trust reposed in them. *Marius* he had in his train alwaies about him: whom he so highly honoured, that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any other man should eclipse or shadow his glory. Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the new soldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the Cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himself to *Taraco*.

The same of *Scipio* was no less prized among the enemies, than it was with his own Citizens and loving allies: and a certain preface was without of the future event; which carried (as good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was less reason that could be rendered and given thereof. They had broken themselves; but their writings harboured far distant and remote wonder. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgon* sent as far as to the Ocean sea side unto *Adaga* into the midland parts, and especially above the forest and chafe of *Castilla*; And *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilior* wintered nearest unto *Iberia* about *Saguntum*.

In the very end of that summer, when *Cepio* was won, and *Scipio* come into Spain, the Carthaginian Armado, which was sent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, for to intercept the Romans and encompass the same for coming to the Roman garrison that held the Castle of *Tarentum* had newly stopped all the passages from the sea to the said Castles: but by their long abode in those parts, and keeping the seas so tightly, they had caused a greater dearth and scarcity of victuals among their own friends than their enemies; for stores could not by the help of those Carthaginian ships so much come as along the river that was possessed by friends not from the open ports, for to furnish the townmead of *Tarentum*. At this time it felt comforted and spent in maintenance of that gable of sea-men, sailors, and mariners, mingled of all sorts of people, so as the garrison of the Castle being but few in number there was hardly to be sustained by the provision they had beforehand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the Tarentines and the Navy could not have sufficient conveyed unto them by reason whereof, at length the Armado had leave to depart thence with more thanks of the City, than they had for their first bringing thither. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, because when the help by sea was gone, there could no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very same summer, when *Maximilian* was come to the City out of *Sicily* his own Province, *C. Calpurnius* the Pretor assembled the Senate for his sake in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had discoursed of the acts by him achieved, and complained after a mild and modest sort, laying open his griefs, not so much in the behalf of himself as of his soldiers: in that when he had performed and accomplished his charge and commission in his Province, he could not have licence to bring home his army with him: he demanded that he might be allowed to ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much abused and debated, pro & contra. Whether it were less meet and convenient to deny him, implying he was now present in whole name while he was absent for the fortune of such and good speed of all. If he fails under his conduct and government, there was a solemn procession decreed; and sacrifices done to the honour of the immortal gods: or to graue him triumph (as if he was wonderfully finished) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his successor which surely they would never have decreed, but that the war remained still within the Province, and especially seeing the army it self was away, the best witness simply, whether he had deserved a triumph or no. At length a middle and indifferent course between both was agreed upon, namely that he should enter the City on a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Common, by the approbation first of the Senate, proposed unto the people, that *M. Minucius* should the same day that he came into the City retain still his full authority and government: The day before he entered the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount *Albanus*, and from thence, in a ovine wife he felt a rich booty before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeits of the City *Syracuse* won, crosbrows, brakes, standing lions, and all other warlike instruments besides, the ornaments testifying long and consequential peace, and the great wealth and treasure of the Kings: and divers vessels of silver and brass curiously wrought: other household furniture also, rich hangings of taplry, and garments of great price: many goodly images and right noble statues, wherewith *Syracuse* was adorned and beautified, even with the best and principal Cities of Greece. In token also of victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a show. And that which was not the least sight and spectacle to behold, *Sophis* the Syracusan, and *Marius* the Spaniard went afore with crowns of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when *Syracuse* was entered in the night season and the other betrayed *Nafus* and the garrison there. Both these were enfranchised Citizens of Rome, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto them for ever. *Sophis* had his land laid out in the territory of *Syracuse*, which either belonged to the Kings, or to the enemies of the people of Rome; and a dwelling house (chafe where he would in *Syracuse* of all those that were seized upon by right of conquest). As for *Marius* and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, and fled unto the Romans, they had assigned unto them a City to inhabit, and land to occupy in *Sicily*, which sometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of Rome. And order was given to *M. C. C. C.* to appoint them the said City and land: wherefore he thought good, within the same territory there were allotted and set out four hundred acres of land unto *Deligatus*, by whose means *Marius* was allured and induced to leave the adverse part and turn to the Romans.

After that *Maximilian* was departed out of *Sicily* the Navy of the Carthaginians disbarked eight thousand footmen, and seven thousand Numidian horsemen, unto them they yielded the Murgantine land, and *Hybla*, together with *Adagella* and other small parts of bare account, took example by them and followed after. The Numidians with him, *Clupian* *Amirius* ranged over all *Sicily* and fired the towns and villages belonging to the associates of the people of Rome. Over and besides all this the Roman army there, being discontented and angry, partly for that together with their General,

nerall, they were not licensed to go out of the Province: and partly for that they were forbidden and debarr'd, for wintering in any good towns: demeaned themselves slackly and lazily in their military service: in such sort, as if there had been a head to lead them, as they had a heart to move them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, *M. Cornelius* the Pretor, both appeased and mitigated the stomachs of the soldiers, as well by comfortable words, as by rebukes and checks: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted *Murgantia* to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order afore said due. Both the Consuls who had the government of the Province *Apulia*, seeing there was less cause of fear and terror now from the Carthaginians and *Amiboli*, were commanded to cast lots between them for the Provinces of *Apulia* and *Macedonia*, so *Macedonia* befell unto *Sulpicius*, and he succeeded there instead of *Levinus*. *Ennius* was sent for home to Rome, about the election of the Consuls: And when he held the solemn assembly of the people, for the choice and creation of the Consuls, The Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, declared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius* for Consuls, *Manlius* being there present in place, when the multitude came about him to congratulate with God give you joy, &c. (for that there was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the first Century) came with a great company about him to the tribunal seat of estate where the Consul sat: and made request unto him, that he would give him the hearing of some few words, and command

C that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new hearing. And when every man was attentive, and expected what he should demand, he alleged for his excuse a pair of ill eyes. "For a shameless Pilot of a ship he is, and as impudent a General or an Ar" (quoth he) who having to do all by other mens eyes, would require to have the goods and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour to command this Century of the younger sort to give their voices anew, and in creating Consuls, to remember the war that is in Italy, to consider of the troublesome state of the Commonwealth, and to think of this, That scarcely yet mens ears have had any rest, since they rejoyced and rung again with the noises and alarms, that the enemies raised within their few months, when they lay in siege near unto the walls of Rome. But after those words, when the said Century cried D with one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Consuls again, and none other: then *Torquatus*, "Neither (quoth he) shall I be able, if I were Consul to bear with your fashions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment: To the scrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within Italy, and what is the General of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and reverence of the mans person, as by the applause and admiration of the people, who would at his vertue, besought the Consul to call forth and cite a Century of the elder bands: for that they would willingly conl with more ancient men than themselves, and by their sage advice and good direction nominate the Consuls. When those elders were called to this Century, there was some time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place called in, called *Coile*.

E These ancients said unto them, that they were to consult of three persons, whereof two already were full of honourable dignities, which they had born to wit, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But verily (say they) in case ye would have some Coi, to be chosen, for to be opposed against the Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Maximus*, a notable man, one who hath performed singular good service, and achieved many noble deeds, both by sea and land against King *Philip*. So when they had three propounded unto them, the elder were dismissed, and the younger entered into a second scrutiny: and declared for Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his glory, for the late subduing and conquest of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent. This freedom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the rest followed after, and by their suffrages confirmed. "Let them mock on now and scoff hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but antiquity and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any such City and Commonwealth at all, consisting of wife men and Philosophers, as some great Clerks have imagined in their fantasies, than found in effects: I dare be bold to think & say, that in it there could not possibly be either rulers and Magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignity and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it should be thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible, that a Century of younger persons were willing to consult with the elder, and be advised by them to whom they should give their voices, for to becrated the chief Magistrates: it is the corruption of this our age that is the cause: wherein we see how little reverence and authority even parents themselves have, and of how slender and bare account they be amongst their own natural children.

After this followed the Election of Pretors, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volfo*, and *L. G. Manlius Acidinus*, *C. Lelivius*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finished it fortuned that news came, how *T. Otacilius* (whom the people, as it seemed, would have chosen in his absence to march *T. Manlius* in the Consulship, but that the ordinary course of the election was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in *Sicily*. The Apolliniae games in the former year had been exhibited: and when *Calpurnius* the Pretor put up a bill, and moved the Senate that they might be celebrated again that year also, there passed a decree, That they should be vowed to continue from time to time for ever.

"many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City, backbiters and slanderers of him: H
 "the for his own part he was so far off from hating; but that they might freely for all him
 "divulgate and publish abroad in *Rome* all those crimes which were devised and spoken against
 "him by his adversaries, that were ignorant that they pretended some fair pretence, to charge the
 "Consul with any matters, in the absence of his Collegue, he would straightwaies give them au-
 "dience in the Senate; but so soon verily as my brother Consul is come home, I will not, quoth he,
 "I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians be sent for into
 "the Senate house. And I understand that *M. Cornelius* hath taken general search like a murther
 "over all *Sicily*, to the end there might come a chamber to *Rome* with complaints of some: he also
 "with letters full of untruths hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand, I
 "that the war continueth still in *Sicily*, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consul
 "having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his
 "affairs, dismissed the Senate: and it seemed that that would be a general vacation out of law
 "matters only; but of all other things as it was his holiday still, until the other Consul came unto
 "the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) let the Commons having nothing else
 "to do, talking: and now their tongues walked apart, ceasing not to spread rumours, That by
 "this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of *Rome* (especially
 "where *Ardea* had marched with his rebel army) were wasted, but also *Italy* was in a manner
 "despoiled and laid desolate, by reason of so many murtherers and levies complaining, that whole
 "armies were defeated and put to the sword at *Canus* in defence of the Common wealth: and
 "that there were two Consuls created, both martial men, and warlike, over-fierce and eager of
 "fight, such a time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: so little was it to
 "be looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to
 "have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people
 "were interrupted and staid by occasion of a late-fire that began in sundry places together about
 "the *Forum* in the night of that day, which was immediately before the festival daies of *Minerva*,
 "called *Quinquagesima*. At one and the self-same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses,
 "which afterwards were turned into five; and the shops of the Bankers and money-changers which
 "now are called *Nova*, (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire
 "caught for, as then there were no stately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the
 "fire took hold of the common prison, called *Latinia*, the Fifth market hall likewise, and the roy-
 "all gallery or walking-place, hardly could the Chapel of *Vesta* be saved, and that by the good help
 "and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondslaves: whose bondage was bought out at the Cities
 "charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made
 "doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some lewd persons: for that the fires
 "began in many places at once, and those far distant asunder. Whereupon the Consul by the advice
 "and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whoe-
 "ever would come forth and give notice by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well
 "rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of money; if Bond, with freedom. In hope of
 "which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the *Calpurnii* the Campans, (his name was *Man-
 "lius*) was induced to bewray the matters whom he served, and five other young Gentlemen of *Ca-
 "pua* whose fathers had lost their heads by the commandment of *Q. Fulvius*: Those he appeached
 "to have made the said fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more
 "mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended; so they were attached, and
 "their household servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and
 "the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alleging, that the day
 "before the party himself being chastised and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an
 "anger and giddy fit, deviled: (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casual) to frame
 "an accusation against his masters. But when the matter was averred to their teeth in open place,
 "and that they, by whose ministry the feat was done, were in the midst of the *Forum* put to N
 "the rack for to utter a truth; then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the Masters that
 "were the fathers thereof, as the servants that were privy and accessory thereto, had their desires,
 "and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had 20000 sasses
 "for his labour.

*62. li. 10th.
 Recl.

"As the Consul *Latinus* passed by *Capua* in his journey [homewards,] there flocked about
 "him a number of Campans, and besought him with tears, that they might have leave to go
 "to *Rome*, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suit (it haply there was any
 "pity and commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Flaccus* to consume the
 "name and generation of the Campans off the face of the earth. "Now *Flaccus* for his part
 "declared flatly that he bore them any private grudge by malice; but only hated the Campans as
 "the common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever so long as he knew them to live.
 "As they were to the people of *Rome* for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people un-
 "der heaven more spitefully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that
 "was the cause (saith he) that he penned them up within their walls, for whatsoever of them than-
 "ked any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, pen-
 "ning, tearing, and killing whosoever came in their way. Some of them were fled to the adjacent Ade
 "unto *Ardea* but others are gone to *Rome* to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) that the Con-
 "sul

"A still fired the market place half burned, and the very prints and tokens remaining fresh of the
 "the Campans mischievous practices. There should he see that they minded to have done violence
 "upon the Chapel of *Vesta*, and to have put out those eternal fires, and utterly defaced the fatal
 "place of the Roman Empire, bestowed and laid up fire in the most secret place of the Chap-
 "pel. Neither thought he it was safer for the City to permit the Campans to come within the
 "walls thereof. Then *Ardea* having caused the Captains to take a corporal oath, and swear un-
 "der pain of death, that they would make return to *Capua* before five daies were expired, after they had
 "their answer and dispatch from the Senate, commanded them to come after him to *Rome*,
 "attended thus as he was with his company, he encountered the Sicilians also, who came forth to
 "meet him; and with this multitude he entered the City, accompanied (I say) with the Campans
 "and Sicilians, both vanquished and subdued by war; as accusers of two most famous persons,
 "*Marcellus* and *Fulvius*, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, *Syracuse*, and
 "*Capua*."

"But both the Consul treated and consulted first with the Senate, about the state of the Common-
 "wealth, and the government of the Provinces. There *Levinus* related in what terms stood *Ma-
 "cedonia* and *Greece*: the *Ætolians* also, with the *Acarnanians* and *Locrians*: likewise what acts
 "he had uttered in those parts both by sea and land: and how he had repulsed *Philip* back into
 "*Macedonia*, when he began to make war upon the *Ætolians*, who now was retired and gone
 "into the utmost parts of his Kingdom: so as the legion might be withdrawn from thence, for
 "C that the Armado was sufficient to keep the King forth of *Italy*. Thus much spake he of himself,
 "and of the Province whereof he had been governor. Then both Consuls in common, propo-
 "sed unto the Senat, concerning the Province, And the L. decreed that one of the Consuls should
 "take the charge of *Italy*, and of the war with *Ardea*: and the other should have under his
 "hand the Armado, whereof *T. Octavius* was the Admiral: and together with *L. Cincius* the Praetor
 "govern the Province of *Sicily*. They were allowed the two armies which were in *Tuscan* and
 "in *France*, consisting of four legions: whereof two of the former year, that were of Citizens
 "should be sent into *Tuscan*, and those two which the Consul *Sulpicius* had conducted, should be
 "led into *France*. Moreover that he should have the government of *France*, and the leading of the
 "Legions thereto, whom that Consul would appoint, whosolet it was to have *Italy* for his Province.
 "D Into *Tuscan* was *C. Calpurnius* sent, with Commission after the term of the Pratorship expired,
 "to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a year. Likewise to *Q. Fulvius* was signified the
 "keeping of *Capua*, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of
 "Allies, were by commandment of the Senat abridged and made less: so that for two legions there
 "should be but one, and that consisting of five thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen:
 "that they should be discharged of soldiery who had served longest: that of Allies there should
 "be less seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse: with the same respect and consideration
 "of service in dismissing the old soldiers. As for *Cn. Fulvius* the Consul of the former year, he
 "ruled the same Province of *Apulia* still, without any alteration of his forces: only his govern-
 "ment was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpicius* his Collegue, was commanded
 "E to send away all his army, only the mariners and sailors excepted. Likewise order was given that
 "so soon as the new Consul was arrived and landed in the Province of *Sicily*, the army there,
 "which was commanded by *M. Cornelius*, should be sent out of *Sicily*. Unto *L. Cincius* the Praetor
 "were assigned the soldiers that remained after the defeat at *Canus*, for to keep *Sicily* in order,
 "and those arose to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Manlius Volsus* the
 "Praetor, for to go into *Sardinia*, even those whereof *L. Cornelius* had the leading in the same Pro-
 "vince the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Consuls were enjoined to levy and
 "enroll them so, as they entertained no soldier of all those who had served in the army, either of
 "*M. Claudius*, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*: nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty leg-
 "ions of the Romans. When these Acts were passed in the Senate-house, the Consuls cast lots for
 "their several Provinces, *Sicily* and the Armado fell to *Marcellus*: *Italy* and the war against *Ar-
 "dea*, to *Levinus*.

"This lot that fell to *Marcellus* so struck the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the
 "Consuls, looking for the event of the lottery) as if *Syracuse* had been lost again: in such sort, as
 "their pitiful lamentations, and their wofull plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes up-
 "on them, and none after minifred cause of much speech and talk. For they went about to
 "all the Senators from one to another, in poor and vile array, protesting, "That if *Marcellus* came
 "amongst them again as L. Deputy, they would not only forsake every man his own country
 "where he was born, but also abandon the whole Island of *Sicily*: complaining that without any
 "desert of their parts, heretofore he had been cruelly bent against them, and his hatred was irre-
 "concilable: and what would he now do in his choler, and knowing that his Sicilians came to
 "G Rome of purpose to make complaints of him? The Island were better (say they) to be on a light
 "fire to burn with *Etna*: or to be all a very sea, than thus to be exposed as a prey unto a mor-
 "tall enemy, for to be devoured. These grievous moans and pious complaints of the Sicilians
 "first carried to the houses of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much
 "talked of by many, whiles some pitied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, spread abroad at
 "length so far, until they came to the Council-Table. And the Consuls were dealt withal, to
 "propose unto the Senate, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then *Mar-
 "cellus*

called them up and said, "That in case audience had been given to the Sicilians already in these assemblies, peradventure he would deliver his opinion to another purpose; but now, lest any man might say, that they were bribed for fear, and did not speak what he said, he com-
 plains of their would of him, at whose command, and approbation, he should have been
 within a while he was for his party ready to make change of his Province in this College, were
 as well content, and made no greater trouble of the matter. Only he sought about the Senate
 would not prejudice his cause. For it was the first (though he had been heard, and in just, extor-
 directly, and without calling lots to give my College to the other side, as it was known, and
 much greater wrong than I could have done. So for that time, the State having made an
 should be taken from me and transferred upon him. So for that time, the State having made an
 overture unto Marcellus, what they would have done, rather than by any decree prejudiced the
 matter, brake up. And the Consuls, having seen them, they privately made exchange one with the
 other. See the fortune and fatal destiny of Marcellus, that healed him, as it were, to be matched with
 Annibal, and to fall into his hands; so that the same man, who of all the Romans, was
 the first that vanquished Annibal in fight, and won the honour from him, should now in the midst
 of prosperity and happy success of war, be the last Roman General, that was slain by Annibal;
 and yielded the glory of giving him the overthrow. After the Province was thus inexchangeably
 joined, the Sicilians were brought into the Senate, where they made a long speech as touching the
 perpetual and continuing faithfulness unto the end of K. Hieron, towards the people of Rome, and all
 to carry favour and gain thanks unto the whole nation of Sicily, Remains, that Hieronymus
 fight, and after him, Hippocrates and Epicles, as for other things, so especially for their revolt-
 from the Romans, and turning to Annibal, were odious and hateful unto them. For which cause
 and nothing else, Hieronymus was by the hands of the chiefs of their young gallantry, as it
 were, by a public decree of the State made away and killed, and the nobles of their young gen-
 tlemen, to the number of seventy, conspired to murder Hippocrates and Epicles, who being dis-
 appointed and put by the effecting of their design, through the delay of Marcellus, who at
 the time before appointed, came not with his power to Syracuse, were appeached, their inten-
 ded plot revealed, and they all by those tyrants put to death. And yet to speak a truth, Marcellus
 did not reveal, and he that gave the first occasion of the tyrannizing of Hippocrates and Epicles,
 in that most cruelly he sacked and rifled the Leontines. But from that time forward, the Nobles of
 Syracuse never ceased to come in unto Marcellus, and promised to deliver the City into his hands,
 whenever he pleased. But he, forsooth, at first, stood upon these terms, that he would rather
 force it by assault; but afterwards, seeing he could not effect that his purpose, nor without his
 help, he wrought all the devices he could, both by sea and land, he made those of one Sopho a copper-
 smith, & Marius a Spaniard to have them to work and contrive the betraying of the City, rather
 than of the principal of the Syracusan Nobility, who had so often offered that service, and never
 yet would it be accepted: so altho' not, because he might pretend some colourable cause of justice,
 to proceed in all rigor against the most ancient allies of the people of Rome, for to massacre them,
 and make spoil of all that they had. Set safe that Hieronymus had not revolted and gone to An-
 nibal, but the whole people and Senate of Syracuse. Suppose, that the Syracusians in general, by
 public consent had shut the gates against Marcellus, & not their Tyrants Hippocrates and Epi-
 cides, when they had the Syracusians sure enough under their own hands? Say they had watted
 against the people Rome with as spiteful and cankered malice as the Carthaginians do, and ever
 did: what greater hostility could Marcellus possibly have exercised against them more than he
 hath, unless he would destroy and raze the City to the very ground? Surely he hath left nothing
 in Syracuse, but the bare walls, the naked and empty houses of the City, the temples and chapels
 of the gods defaced & broke open for the gods themselves, with all their rich & gorgeous orna-
 ments are carried away. Many a man is spoiled and robbed of his goods, in such sort, as having
 nothing left him but the bare soil, they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to main-
 tain themselves, and sustain their wives and children. They were humble petitioners, therefore, to
 and suppliant suiters unto the LL. of the Senate, to take order, that restitution might be made
 unto their rightful owners, if not of all (for that is impossible) yet of so much at least, as was to be
 found, and might be truly owned again.

After these and such like complaints, Livius the Consul commanded them to go forth of the
 Council-house, to the end that the LL. might be consulted with, and deliver their opinions con-
 cerning their demands. Nay, many (quoth Marcellus) let them stay still rather, that I may answer
 to their very faces: seeing my LL. our cause and condition is so hard, who war and fight for you,
 that we must have those to inform against us, and be our accusers, whom we have conquered
 and subdued by martial arms: Let it even be so, that two Cities, to wit, Capua and Syracuse,
 won this year, may convert judicially both their conquerors, the one Fulvius, the other Mar-
 cellus. When the Embassadors were brought back again into the Senate-house, then began Mar-
 cellus the Consul, and spake in this wise.

"I am not so far overleken, and forgetful, my Lords, either of the majesty of the people of
 Rome, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cause,
 as Consul as I am, against the Grecians, my accusers, in case the question were of any crime or
 fault of mine own. But all the controversy to be discussed, standeth not upon these terms, to
 examine what I have done, whom the right of war will justify and bear out, howsoever I have
 proceeded

"I proceeded against enemies: but what these men have deserved to suffer. If they were not ene-
 mies, nor so to be reputed, then it mattered not, and it had been all one, either now or in the
 life time of King Hiero, to have forced Syracuse. But if it appear, that they have revolted, that
 they have evil intreated our Embassadors, threatened to use violent hands, and to run upon us
 with sword and force of arms, that they have manned their walls, and shut their gates upon us,
 that they have maintained the army of the Carthaginians against us: who can be grieved and
 offended, if they have suffered as enemies, who suck not first to offer all hostility whatsoever?
 Rejected I the Nobles of Syracuse when they would have delivered the City into my hands?
 And made I more account of Sopho, and Marius the Spaniard, and thought them worthy to be
 trusted in so important a matter? Ye are not, I am sure, the meanest of the Syracusians, that thus
 reproach others with benefices of state? Who was it of all you here, that promised to open me
 the gates? that undertook to receive my armed soldiers into the City? Nay, my ye here and
 scurle them in your heart, who have so done; and even in this place cannot forbear to give them
 hard-terms, and revile them: so unlike it is, that you your-selves ever meant to have done any
 such things. Even this abject condition and base calling of theirs, my LL. which these men twit
 them with, is a manifest token, and a most evident argument, that I refused none, that was wil-
 ling to do good service unto our State and Common-wealth. At the very first, before I laid siege
 unto Syracuse, I assailed by all means to have peace: or while sending Embassadors unto them,
 afterwards going in person to parley with them. Afterwards, seeing that without all reverence
 of Embassadors, they thamed not to offer them abuse: without regard of my self, they deigned
 to me no answer when I came to the gates, and conferred with their chief Nobility: after much
 travail, toil, and infinite pains, sustained both by Land and Sea, at length by mere force and hot
 assault, I became Master and Lord of Syracuse. Now as touching that which hath befallen unto
 them, since they were overcome, and lost their City, I would suppose they had more reason, and
 juster cause to make their moan, and complain unto Annibal and the Carthaginians, those that
 ate likewise conquered, than before the Senate of the people of Rome their Conqueror. For mine
 own part, my LL. if I had ever meant to deny and disavow the spoiling and seeking of Syracuse,
 and not to stand to it when I had done, I would never have been so ill advised, as to beauty and
 adorn the City of Rome with the spoils thereof. And what I have given or forgiven unto any
 particular person, I am assured that I may well justly and lawfully the same, both by the law of
 war, and also by the desert of every one. Now, my LL. whether ye will approve and ratify my
 doings or no, it concerneth and toucheth the Common-wealth rather than my self. My part I have
 done, and discharged my duty faithfully. It much importeth now the State, that by revelling (as
 it were) and dismissing mine actions, ye make not your other Generals from henceforth, to be
 more slack and backward in the like employment. To conclude my LL. since that ye have heard
 both my self and the Sicilians (speak our minds face to face) we will all together go out of this
 Temple, that in my absence the Senate may more frankly speak to the point, and deliver their
 opinions. Thus the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself went forth into the Capitol, for to
 take a levy of soldiers.

"The other Consul in the mean time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the LL.
 Much canvassing a long while, and discussing there was of the matter, and divers opinions pass-
 ed; Many of the Senators following T. Manlius Torquatus the head and principal man, that main-
 tained a side, were of this mind, "That they should have made war against the tyrants, the com-
 mon Enemies as well to the Syracusians, as to the State of Rome. And as for the City, it was to
 be recovered, rather recovered and received, than won by force: and being so received, it was to
 be re-established in her own ancient laws and freedom, and not after it was so wearied with
 miserable servitude, to be scourged and afflicted with war upon it. But between the Warring of
 the tyrants of the one side, and the Roman General of the other, a most beautiful and noble City,
 standing in the midst (as a prize and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that
 City which sometime had been the garnier (as it were) and the Treasure-house of the people of
 Rome: by the unlimitless liberality and bounty whereof, by whose rich presents and goodly gifts
 our City many a time and oft, yea, and but of late days in this Punic war, hath been relieved and
 adorned. If King Hiero should arise again from the dead and come among us, Hiero (I say) the
 most faithful maintainer of the Roman State, with what face could we sit upon him, either Sy-
 racuse or Rome? When he should see of one side, his own native country, half rased and wholly
 spoiled; and on the other side, coming to Rome, in the very entering of the City, and hard at the
 gate, should behold the spoils of his own City? Notwithstanding these and such like speeches
 cast out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consul, and to move pity and compas-
 sion to the Sicilians, yet the LL. of the Senate in favour of Marcellus, agreed upon a milder decree,
 and enacted, That whatsoever he had done, either during the war, or after conquest, should be
 ratified and allowed for good: for the time to come, the Senate would take order and pro-
 vide for the good of the Syracusians, and give the Consul Livius a special charge, to have re-
 gard of the welfare of that City, so far forth, as might not be prejudicial to the State of Rome.
 Then were two Senators sent into the Capitol to the Consul, to request him to repair again unto
 the assembly of the Senate: and after the Sicilians also were admitted into the place, their act
 and decree aforesaid was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were
 dismissed: whereupon they fell down prostrate at the feet of Marcellus the Consul, beseeching him

him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to show well, or to save their calamity; and yet to give both them in particular, and the City of *Capua* in general, unto his sacerdotal protection. After that, the Consul with gracious words besought them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campanians had likewise given them in the Senate; and as their speech was more lamentable, so the Senate was heavier, and harder to be dissuaded; so neither could they themselves deny, but that they deserved condign punishment: nor Tyrants had they any, upon whose they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffered enough for their sins already, in that so many of their Senators died by poison, and so many lost their heads. Some few of their nobility and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not touched in conscience, nor to fault, so to lay blame upon themselves, to the Conquerors in his furious wrath, adjudged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble suit for themselves, for their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy some part of their own goods, being as they were, meer citizens of *Rome*, and most of them by affinity and near kinsed, upon mutual and equal marriages, linked in alliance and blood to the Romans. After that they also were called to vote of the Senate house: for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* should be sent for from *Capua* (for presently upon the taking of the City, *Clodius* the Consul died), that this matter might be argued and discussed in presence of the General himself, like as the other had been reasoned of and debated between *M. Atilius*, and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senate house *M. Atilius*, and *Q. Fulvius*, the brother of *Flaccus*, both his kinsmen, as likewise *Q. Minucius*, and *L. Pomponius Philo*, kinsmen unto *Clodius*, who had been present in all actions, and were eyewitnesses of every thing; and besides, were unwilling that either *Fulvius* should be called away from *Capua*, or the Campanians longer delayed: *M. Atilius*, *Q. Fulvius*, who of all them that had been at the taking of *Capua*, was of greatest authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

I take it (quoth he) when *Capua* was newly won, I was one of the Consuls with thee; when question was asked, and enquiry made, Whether any one Campanian had deserved word of us and our Common-wealth, and found it was but two women only to wit, *Phile Oppia*, born in *Ardea*, but dwelling then at *Capua*, and *Reveria Clovia*, sometime a common trumpet and courier, were well willed unto us. The former of these two daily sacrificed for the welfare, life, and victory of the Romans; the other, secretly sustained the poor and needy Roman families with food and victuals. As for all other Campanians, from the highest to the lowest, they were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even those, who were beleagued by *Antiochus Rex*, suffered death, not because they were more faulty than others, but for that they were of greater mark and calling, than the meanly. Now, that the Senate should decide the fault of any Campanian, who are so antient and dear to *Rome*, without a grant from the people, I do not know it can be. For in our former times the like case was of the Sarracens that rebelled; and then *M. Annius*, Tribune of the Commons, first put up a bill, and the Commons afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senate might have power and authority, to give their opinion, and determine of the Sarracens. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, that one or more of them propose a bill unto the Commons, by virtue whereof we may be authorised to let down laws order for the Campanians. Then *L. Atilius*, Tribune of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, proposed unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. Whereas the Campanians, *Ardeans*, *Calatians*, and *Sabellians*, who have yielded themselves unto Fulvius the Proconsul, to sit at the pleasure and disposal of the people of *Rome*: all such alie, which they have surrendered together with themselves, as well their territory, as their City, as all might, both sacred and profane, their necessary implements, and all other things whatsoever, I demand your will and pleasure. *Q. Quirinus*, who shall be done with the premises? The Commons also deliberation, gave their voices to the said bill in this form. Our will and pleasure is, that whatsoever ye the Senators, who now are in Council, or the most part of you think good and determine, shall stand for just and lawful. Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senate by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* and *Clovia*, first their own goods and liberty; and moreover if they were desirous to crave further reward at the Senates hand, they were left to repair unto *Rome*. For every family and several house of the Campanians, there were special acts and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscated: themselves, their Children and Wives were to be sold, excepting those their Daughters which were wedded, before that they came under the subjection of this people of *Rome*. Others were to be clapt up in Prison, until further order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of some Campanians they made distinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscated or no. All their heads and cattail which were taken, save Horses; all their bond-slaves, but under fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods also, which were not annexed, and fastned to the soil, they awarded for to be restored to the true owners. All Campanians, *Astellians*, *Calatians*, *Sabellians*, excepting those, who either themselves, or whose parents took part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free; provided always, that none of them were either Free-citizens of *Rome*, or of *Latium*. Item, it was enacted, that none of them who had been at *Capua* while the gates were shut, should remain either in the City, or territory of *Capua*, within a certain day prescribed: but should have a place set out unto them for to dwell in, on the farther side of *Tyber*, so it were not upon the very bank close unto

Tyber.

A. Tyber. As for those that during the time of war had been neither at *Capua* nor in any other City of *Campania*, which revolted from the people of *Rome*, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River *Tyber* between it and *Rome*; but such as were turned and passed to the Romans side, before that *Annibal* came unto *Capua*, they should be transplanted on the hither side of *Pulturnus* the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or Land in any place, but in the territory either of *Veii*, *Sutrinum*, or *Neptunum*: but so, as they exceeded not the space of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had born Magistracy in *Capua*, *Ardeans*, or *Calatians*, they awarded that sale should be made thereof in *Capua*. As for those that were free born, and whose bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to *Rome*, and there, set a sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of Bras, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the College of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the Campanians their dispatch, and sent them away much worse paid for their decrees, than they were when they came first to *Rome*. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cursed fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, there was a muster taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and Rowers to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enough, nor yet find money at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to presse and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforesaid find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty dayes. Upon which Edict and Proclamation, all men lo grumbled and muttered, and were to highly discontented and angered, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather then matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, "That the Consuls had taken a course, and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of *Rome*, like as they had already the Sicilians and the Campanians. For thus many years they have been pillaged, cleaned spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare ground, and the same lying waste and untilld. As for their Houses upon their Lands, the enemies had burned: their servants and bonds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the Common-wealth had bereaved them of: one whiles buying them up to the war, for some little piece of money: other whiles levying and pressing them to the Seas to be Gallies-slaves, for a thing of nothing. A man could not so soon get one brail farthing, or single silver denier before-hand, but it went by and by either for Gallies-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandment whatsoever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imprison and punish their bodies too, when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransom and redeem the same."

Again. These and such like words were not only muttered in buggermugger, but uttered also and given out in broad terms even in the market-place and before the Consuls, by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respite for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and ridance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senate together to consult about the supply of Rowers and Gallies-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make denial; at length the drift of all their speech was this, "That whether it were right or wrong, the burden much on privat mens shoulders, there was no remedy: for seeing there was no money in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers else be gotten and levied? And without Armadoes, how possibly should either *Sicily* be held still in possession, or *Philip* be kept out of *Italy*? or the Sea coasts of *Italy* remain in safety and security? In these distresses and difficulties the Council being perplexed, and to seek for remedy, and whiles every mans wits were in the wan and so confounded, as if they were benumbed and stone cold: Then *Levinus* the Consul, As the Magistrate (quoth he) goeth before the Senate in a place of honor, and the Senat likewise before the common people in worth and dignity: so they ought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoy his inferiors to bear some grievous and heavy load, let him first take it up himself, and impose the same upon his own train and company: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any yolk or charges, when they see their Leaders and Rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to wield and sustain. To the end therefore that the people of *Rome* may be provided and furnished of a fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not think much, nor refuse to find Rowers thereunto: let us first that are here command our own selves: let us,

Vv 2

¶ I say,

The speech of
Levinus the
Consul.

"I say, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the braſe coin that we have, ſo as every man referſerving only for himſelf, his wife and children: and a little tablet or Jewel for his ſon, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Alſo let all them that have wives or daughters, retain ſtill one ounce weight of gold, and one pound of ſilver: And as many as have born office of State, and ſit in the Ivory Chair, keep ſtill the trappings and caparition of their Horſe, and two pound weight a piece, the oge of gold, the other of ſilver: for to have a Salt-cellar, and a little bowl or cup, to ſacrifice and offer unto the Gods withal: As for the reſt of the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of ſilver, and no gold at all, and five thouſand Aſſes in coin, to every houſholder a piece. "All other gold, ſilver, and braſe money be ſold, let us forthwith bring abroad, and preſent unto the Triumvirs or publick Bankers, beſides that we make of each any decree of Senat: to the end, that our good example in this voluntary benevolence and contribution, and our eſtimate endeavour to help the Common-weal, may ſtir up and provoke the hearts and affections, firſt of thoſe that are calling Gentlemen and Knights of Rome, and then forward the reſt of the commons, to imitate and follow us with ſome emulation. This is the only means which we that are Conſuls have thought upon and deviſed, after much talk and conference together: Set to therefore, my maſters, in the name of God, and lead the way: God will bleſs your good beginnings. So long as the City ſtandeth on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need fear to live private here: but it ſhall do well enough. Go the weal publick to wreck once, and decay, let no man ever think to ſave his own. All the whole houſe liked ſo well of theſe motions, that not only they gave their accord and conſent thereto, but over and beſides, yielded beſides thanks unto the Conſuls for their good advice and counſel. When the Senat was diſmiſſed, every man for himſelf brought forth his gold, his ſilver, and braſe money, and laid all together in common: and that with ſuch ſpeed, ſtriving a vie who could go before another, and have his name entered firſt in the publick Roles and Registers: as neither the ſorſaid Triumvirs were able to receive it ſalt enough, as it was tendered unto them; nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to ſet it down in writing, and take note thereof accordingly. This conſent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of Rome in their place and calling ſeconded; and the commons for their parts were not behind. So without any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the Magiſtrates, the common-weal wanted neither Rowers for to ſuſtain the armadoes, nor money to pay the Rowers. And thus when all things were provided neceſſary for the wars, the Conſuls went forth to their ſeveral Provinces.

Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had more trial of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equal balance, between fair hope and fearful danger. The Romans, in theſe Provinces taſted both of ſweet and ſour. In Spain on the one ſide, they ſped ill and loſt: in Sicily on the other ſide, they ſped well and won: ſo as their ſorrow was interlaced ſtill and mingled with joy. Alſo in Italy, the loſſe of Tarentum turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Caſtle there with the garriſon, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their ſorrow. Alſo, their ſuddain fright and fear, for the ſiege and aſſault of the City of Rome, was ſalved and cured again within a few dayes after, by the forcing and winning of Capua: and all that heavineſſe and mourning turned into mirth and gladneſſe. The affairs alſo beyond Sea, were checked with interchangeable turns and courſes. Philip became their enemy in an ill time, and when they had little need thereof. Contrary-wiſe, the Aetolians and Attalus the King of Aſia the leſt, proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, ſeemed to ſmile on the Romans, and by that overture, promiſed as it were, unto them the Empire of the Eaſt. Scemably the Carthaginians, as they loſt Capua, ſo they won Tarentum, and made a ſaving game of it. In like manner, as they took no ſmall pride and glory, in coming to the walls of Rome without reſiſtance; ſo they were danted and diſmaid again, that this their enterpriſe took no better effect in the end: and held themſelves much diſgraced and diſhonoured, that whiles they ſet themſelves before one gate of Rome, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and ſent into Spain. And even in Spain alſo, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death of two ſo noble and valiant Generals, and the deſeat of two ſo puſſant armies, the war was come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more ſpight it was, and the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of L. Marcius a tumultuary Captain, choſen in haſt they knew not how, thoſe former victories turned to vanities, and came to juſt nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in ſuſpenſe, both on the one ſide: and the other. Their hope all one as it was at firſt; their fear, the ſame ſtill, neither more nor leſſe: So as between hope and fear, they tared; as if the war at this time were new to begin.

Annibal above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that Capua being more hotly and eagerly aſſaulted by the Romans, than manfully and fairly defended by him, had diverted and turned away the hearts of many States of Italy from him. For neither was he able to hold them all with ſufficient garriſons, unleſs he would diſmember into many ſmall portions, and mangle by piece-meal his army: which to do then, was no good policy: nor he thought it ſafe and good, to withdraw his garriſons from thence, & leave the fidelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend upon ſickle hope, or to ſway with ſuddain fear. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruel

Ally minded) be reſolved at length upon this courſe, to make ſpoil of thoſe Cities which he was not able to keep, and ſo to leave them waſt and empty for the enemy. This deſignment was not ſo diſhoneſt and ſhameful in the firſt enterpriſe, but it proved as bad and hurtful to himſelf in the effect and conclusion. For he loſt the hearts clean, not only of thoſe that were the parties grieved, and ſuffered theſe indignities, but alſo of all others beſides. The preſent calamity and loſs touched but ſome few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman Conſul behind hand for his part, to ſolicit and ſound thoſe Cities, from whence he ſaw ſome light appear, and any hope to gain them unto him.

There were in Salapia two noble men above the reſt, *Dafius* and *Blafius*. *Dafius* was friend to *Annibal*, *Blafius* (ſo far as he might with ſafety) affected and favoured the Romans. And by enticement of ſecret meſſengers, had put *Marcellus* in ſome good hope of betraying the City; but without the help of *Dafius* the plot could not be compaſſed and effected. Wherefore, after much musing and long deliberation, after many ſtays and delays, at length he reſolved (for want rather of better counſel, than upon any hope to ſpeed) to addreſs himſelf to *Dafius*, and acquaint him with the matter. But *Dafius* not only milking utterly and abhorring the thing, but alſo carrying a ſecret enmity to the party himſelf, the only eye-ſore and concurrent that he had, ſtriving to be greater than he, diſcloſed all to *Annibal*. Whereupon, both were ſent for, and convened preſumptuſly before him. As *Annibal* was fitting upon the Tribunal ſeat, giving audience and diſpatch to certain other matters; and that he might upon the better attend unto *Blafius* and the action intended againſt him: whiles the plaintive and defendant ſtood apart by themſelves from the reſt of the people a good way, *Blafius* went in hand again with *Dafius*, and ſolicited him for to deliver the City to the Romans. With that *Dafius* (as if the matter had been too too apparent) cried out and ſaid, That he baſhed not to break unto him and move him, even in the preſence and ſight of *Annibal*, for to praſtice treaſon and berray the City. *Annibal* and all they that were there preſent, gave little credit unto *Dafius*: and the more audacious the thing it ſelf was, the leſſe likelihood it carried with it of a truth. Every man ſuppoſed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy, and enkindred malice, that cauſed *Dafius* to charge upon him that crime, which becauſe there was no witneſs to the contrary, he might untruly devile and more freely enforce againſt him. And ſo for that time they were both diſcharged the court. But *Blafius* never gave over to follow ſtill this bold enterpriſe, but beat ſtill upon this one point, ſhewing how good and commodious the thing would be, both to themſelves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought him ſo, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garriſon, (and thoſe were Numidians) together with the City *Salapia*, ſhould be rendered unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloudſhed they could not poſſibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the moſt hardy and valiant horſemen by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a ſuddain unprovided, and had no uſe of Horſes within the City, yet with ſuch weapons, as in ſuch a ſuddain tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, firſt they aſſayed and gave the venture to break through and eſcape away: and when they ſaw that they could by no means ſave themſelves and get forth, they fought it out to the laſt manfully, even unto death: ſo as there were not of them above fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And ſurely, the loſs of this corner of Horſemen, was a greater damage unto *Annibal*, than the forgoing of *Salapia*: for never from that day forward, had *Annibal* the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only ſervice whereby ever before he moſt prevailed.

Much about the ſame time the Caſtle of Tarentum was ſtreightly diſtreſſed for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garriſon had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof *M. Livius* the Conſtable of the Caſtle, was in the proviſion ſent out of Sicily. For the late convoy whereof, along the coaſt of Italy, there rid at anchor a ſleet whereof of twenty ſail bore *Rhegium*. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to wait theſe victuals from time to time, was one *Decius Quintinus*, a man of obſcure birth and baſe parentage, howbeit, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial glory.

At the firſt he had the charge but of five ſhips, whereof two of the greateſt, which were three banked Gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: after words, upon his good ſervice, when he had born himſelf bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, and thoſe were of five banks of oars, until at laſt himſelf, by calling upon the confederate Cities, as *Rhegium*, *Velia*, and *Paſturn*, for the ſhips due by covenant unto the people of Rome, he had made a pretty Armado, as is above ſaid, of twenty ſail. As this fleet had diſanchored and was gone from *Rhegium*, *Democritus* with the like Armado for number of Tarentin ſhips, encountered almoſt five leagues from the City of Tarentum, at a port called *Sacripotum*. It fortuned at that time, that the Roman Admiral, little looking for any battel, came forth under ſail only, but about *Crotona* and *Sibaris*, he had furniſhed his ſhips with Rowers alſo, and ſo his fleet for the ſignals and talenſe of the Veſſels, was well appointed, and ſufficiently armed and manned. And even then it happened at one time, that both the boiſterous wind lay, and the enemies alſo were within kenning, ſo as they had ſerice time enough to fit their ſeckling, to make ready their Rowers, and to let in order their fighting men, againſt a ſkirmiſh that was ſo near toward. There was no lightly teen a greater conflict, fought more hotly and fiercely between two royal Armadoes that affronted one another, than between theſe ſmall fleets. For why, the battel was for a greater matter, than all

the ships came to. The Tarentines maintained the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous to recover their Castle out of the Romans hands; as they had done their City, after one hundred years almost; during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunate and victorious battle, to cut off and intercept all hopes of victuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side desired themselves as fully satisfied, by keeping the possession of the Castle, all the world might see, that *Tarentum* was not lost by fate, alone through valour, but betrayed by fraud and treachery. So they joined the battle from both parts, and ran almost one against another, with the beaks and stems of their prows, and neither side allowing again forward, not suffering their enemy to part or go aside from them, until they were dashed and grappled their ships together by the means of iron hooks like hands. And sooner they buckled, in hot and furious fight, (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with swordfight, they but also they coped together, while the prows and hind-decks were driven about with contrary parts of the adverse part. So meet and so thick withal stood the ships; and within to perrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-barges they sailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the fouldiers might pass out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forefront of the battle, invetted one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was *Quintus* himself in person, and in the other of the Tarentines, was one *Nico*, surnamed *Pere*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spite against him, as bending with that faction, which had betrayed *Tarentum* to *Annibal*. This *Nico* applying *Quintus* both fighting and also encouraging his men withal, charged him at unawares, and ran him quite through with a pike: who was not so soon slain forward headlong upon the forehead, in armour and all, but the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship disordered and rumbled for the loss of their leader, justly came forward, and boarded her; laid about him manfully, and put by the enemies out of his way, until the Tarentines were masters of the prow and fore-castle. While the Romans had much ado (so thrumpled they were and thrust together) to defend and keep the poop and hind-deck: with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a sudden, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boarded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, (seeing the Admirall ship was won by the enemy) and they fled on all hands: Some were sunk in the deep Sea, some made halt with their oars, and (guided to the land, but soon were a prize and prey to the *Tarentines* and *Metapontins*. But of the *Hallus* and *Caricks*, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest basting and turning their sails cross this wayes and that wayes, according to the inconsistency of the wind, recovered the main Sea.

But about *Tarentum* at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there were out of the Town upon a four thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, *Livius*, Constable of the Castle and Captain of the garrison, spying his time (as he wailed ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Castle 2000 armed fouldiers, under the leading of *C. Porcius* a valorous and industrious man: who set upon the Tarentines stragling out of order, and dispersed in wandering wife over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountered them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chased to the Town: for they made halt in great fear thither, and were let in at the gates standing half shut, for fear lest the same random the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentines and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were, winners by land, the Tarentines at Sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Livius* the Consul, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in *Sicily*, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle and compose the State of *Syracusa*, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to *Aggrigentum*, where only there remained the reliques of war; which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs. *Hanno* chanced to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and repoled all his hope in *Mutinus* and the Numidians. This *Mutinus* had ranged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and raised bodies out of the territories and Lands of the Roman allies, and by no force or policy could be intercepted of his passage back to *Aggrigentum*, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would live forth whenever he listed. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame and honour of the General, turned the man strength to displeasure and danger: so as, what good service soever was achieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyfully accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick at wayes in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Captainship of *Mutinus* from himself, and bestowed it upon his own son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out far otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him.

Neither

A Neither could he himself endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Livius*, with credence, that he would betray and deliver *Aggrigentum* into his hands. By the mediation of these intercourers, there passed sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being considered, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the Sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displayed, and with great tumult and noise; *Hanno* (supposing it was nothing else, but a seditious uprising of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutiny and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude starved off than the Numidians were; and hearing withal the Romans to shout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a back postern gate, taking with him *Epicles*, he recovered with some few other the Sea side, where, a good hap was, they light upon a small bark or pinasse: and so leaving *Sicily* to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many years together, they passed over into *Africa*. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they will not winker: and finding all wayes made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and hewn in pieces about the gates. *Livius* being possessed of the Town, caused all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to loile their heads: all the rest together with the pillage he sold in port-sale, and the money that was raised thereof, he sent to *Rome*.

When the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over *Sicily*, all at once turned Roman, and *Annibal* lost all. For in short space there were 20 Towns betrayed and yielded, six forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendered to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to ear, till, and sow their grounds: to the end that the Land might bring forth fruit, not only to sustain and maintain the natural inhabitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corn and victuals in the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*, like as it had done many times before: he transported over with him into *Italy* a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from *Aggrigentum*. Some four thousand the worse of them, a confused multitude of all sorts, a very much maim and sink, dunghill of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being fed their countries, some for one fact, some for another, they chanced all upon like fortune to tort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will fly together,) and at *Aggrigentum*, they made choice like outlaws, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only protection and trade. *Livius* thought it no good policy to leave behind him these good fellows in an Island, which began but now upon new peace to knit and unite again: for fear lest they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Kings, for to forage and rove about the Brutians country: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with thieving and stealing. And to this year made an end of the war in *Sicily*.

P. Scipio L. Deputy and General in *Spain*, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them afloat, and by an edict summoned all the aids of the allies to repair to the *Rendevous* at *Taraco*; gave order and commandment, that as well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence let forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River *Iberus*. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harbors, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old fouldiers especially, as many as remained alive after to great defeats and overthrow, and when he had alsembled them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them. "Never was there new General before my self, that could by good right, and in regard of desert, render thanks unto his fouldiers before he had employed them, and made trial of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, before I entered my government and law the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. First, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine uncle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession of this Province was lost, after to great foils and overthrow, ye have by your virtue and valour recovered the same again, and kept it entire to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, and myself, the next successor in place of sovereign rule and command. But so much as our rule and purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not so much to hold the possession our selves and abide in *Spain*, but to dispossesse the Carthaginians, that they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not to stand keeping the bank of *Iberus*, for to stop the passage of the enemy: but to give the attempt to pass over our selves by force: yea, and therewithal to transport the war over with us

The Oration
of P. Scipio
to his fouldiers,

"other munition and furniture for war: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and discomfort the enemy. Gain we shall over and besides, not only right fair and beneficial, but also a most rich and wealthy City: yes, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in regard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven, by means wherof, we may be provided both from Sea and Land, of all things needful and requisite for the wars. Which, as they will be of great moment to us that shall have them, so they will be the greater loss to the enemy that shall forgo them. This is their Cattle for strength, their garner for corn, their treasury for money, their armour, their arsenal, and in one word, their very store-house of all things whatsoever. Hither is the direct passage and freight out of *Africa*, here is the only port and harbor for shipping, between the Islands of *Cadiz*, or *Gibralter*, and the mountains *Pyrenæ*: from whence all *Spain* overlooketh (as it were), and commandeth *Africa*. But knowing that you are well appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now, for the honour of the Romans, let us go courageously to it, with all our might and main assault new Carthage. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, so to do indeed, and that no other thing was first to be done; then he advanced before *Carthage*, then he gave commandment to assail it at once, by Land and Sea. *Mago* the Captain of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he saw preparation made by Water and Land to give the assault, for his part ordered his forces and disposed them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay encamped, he opposed two thousand Townsmen, with a guard of five hundred soldiers he kept the citadel: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the City, which looketh to the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, he appointed to make resistance in other places, where any outcries, shouts, or sudden alarms should be given. Then having set open a gate, he senteth those forth, whom he had arranged in that street which leadeth directly to the camp of the enemies. The Romans (according as they were commanded by their Leader himself) in the beginning gave ground a little and retired, to the end, that during the time of skirmish and conflict, they might be neerer to the supply of succours, which were to be sent to second them behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, and there was no odds perceived. But afterwards, the Romans being still freshly reinforced from out of the camp, not only discomfited the enemies, and put them to flight, but pressed on them so hard, as they fled disordered and out of array, that if *Scipio* had not founded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have intermingled themselves pell-mell with those that ran away, and rushed into the City with them. Within the City throughout there was no less fear than in the battell. Many courts of guard and other places were abandoned, the curtain of the walls was left naked, and every man made what shift he could to leap down and escape. Which when *Scipio* perceived (who now was turned to a mount, which they call *Mercurius Tenuis*), and namely, that the walls were void of all the defendants, he commanded all his soldiers to issue forth of the camp, to set forward to the assault, and to bring ladders to scale. Himself in person, defended with the shields of a tall lusty young man going before him (for by this time they let fire again from the walls a mighty volley of shot of all sorts) approached the City. There he exhorted, encouraged, and commanded them to do what was requisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the soldiers, he was there personally as an eye-witness and beholder of each mans valour or cowardise. Whereupon they stuck not to run upon the very shot, and to receive many a wound: and now nothing could keep them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that stood thereupon, but they scaled striving who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the City, also which the Sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seem, they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For whilst they came close to the walls with their ships, whilst they put forth their ladders and their soldiers; whilst every man laboured to gain the Land, the neerer way he could, what with their striving and half-making, they hindered one another. And by that time *Mago* had filled the walls full of armed men, who let fire arrows, javelins, darts, and all kind of shot, wherof they had gathered together exceeding great store. But neither men, nor arrows and darts, nor any things else defended the wall so much as the very wall it self. For few ladders they had that could reach up to the top: and the longer any of them were, the more weak also they were. Whereupon, by reason that they who were climbed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge the ladders, and yet some or other still clambered up after, the ladders being overcharged with the weight, broke in pieces. Some again there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them held still and stood unbroken, yet when they looked down from on high, their eyes dazzled, and were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. Thus when ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew to be more hardy and hardy, the retreat was founded, which gave to the besieged within the Town not hope only of present rest and intermission of so great labour and toil, but also assured them in manner, for the time to come, that the City was tenable against all escalades, although it were invested therewith round about. And as for battels and mounts to be raised and planted against it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would ask some long time: and Minister in the mean while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their own to come to the rescue. But scarce was the first assault fully ceased, when *Scipio* commanded other fresh and unfoiled soldiers, to take the ladders of them that were wearied already and wounded, and

with

A with greater violence to give a new Camifado. Himself, so soon as he understood that it was ebb and low water, having been advertised by certain fishermen of *Taraco* (who sometimes with light boats used to row, and otherwhiles when their vessels touched the ground, to wade all over the lake upon firm ground) that men might easily passe to the walls on foot: thither to that place he brought all his soldiers to the assault. It was now almost noon-tide of the day; and besides that the water of it self naturally full with the ebb into the Sea, there was a good rood northern wind arose, which drove the water out of the lake (which now was well full) after the tide, and discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places thereof they went up to the navel, in some again they waded scarce knee deep. Which albeit *Scipio* knew well to be an ordinary thing in natural reason, and therefore with good forecast had made provision accordingly to take that advantage, yet he turned it to a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediate handy-work of the Gods: as who to give passage and footing to the Romans, had turned back the course and current of the Sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened ways unto them, that never before were troden with the sole of mans foot: and therewith he willed his soldiers to follow *Nepenne*, the guide and Leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the mids of the lake close to the very walls. On the Land side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing under the walls: for not only they were hindered by reason that the curtain was so high; but also as they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were wounded both ways, so as their flanks and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and forefront of their bodies. But on the other part, as they went quietly and easily through the mear to the wall, so they climbed forward as securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bulwarks, nor raised to any height by industry and art of man, as being supported by natural situation of the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defended: nor any guard of armed men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: whilst every man was busy, and wholly intended to help there, from whence some danger was seen. The Romans being thus entered the City over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what speed they could, unto that gate, about which all the fight and hot skirmish was already begun: for there not only all their minds were bent and united, but also their eyes and ears were occupied and possessed; whilst some fought, others looked on and encouraged the fighters: in such sort, that there was none of them all once perceived or knew, that the City was taken and surprised behind them, before the darts flew about their ears and light upon their back parts, and until they had the enemies both before and behind. Then not only the walls were taken (when the defendants upon a twofold fear, were driven to abandon them) but also the gate from withinfort and without, began to be broken down: and anon, after continual running and beating against it, the leaves thereof perforce flew aspees, because there might be nothing to impeach or let them in their entrance: then the armed soldiers brake in most furiously. Many already had scaled the walls, and got over, but they turned and betook themselves every where to massacre and make havoc of the Townsmen. But the main battel, which entered in at the gate with their Captains, orderly by companies and ranks in their array, marched forward through the midst of the City to the market place. From whence *Scipio* might see the enemies flee two ways, some to the fortresses upon the hill aforesaid, which standeth to the East, and was kept with a guard of five hundred soldiers: others into the citadel, into which *Mago* himself, with all the armed men in a manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himself. Whereupon he sent a part of his forces to win the said Hill, and himself in person led the rest to the Castle. And as the force upon the Hill was taken at the first assault and onset given, so *Mago*, after he had a while made some means to defend the Castle, seeing all places full of enemies, (warning every where, and no other hope, yielded himself, the citadel, and the garrison. Until the Castle was surrendered and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the City, and not one (pared that seemed to be fourteen years old and upward, if they came in their way. But then, upon the found of Trumpet the execution ceased, and the Conquerors fell to seizure and pillage, which of all sorts rose to a mighty thing. Of free born, such as were of male sex, there were taken prisoners 20000. Then, so many of them as he found to be natural citizens of *Carthage*, he dismissed and let go free, and restored unto them not only the City, but also their own goods, which the first fury and rage of warriors had left untouched. There were of Artificers and handicraftsmen, some two thousand: those by an edict he pronounced to be bond, and adjudged them as confiscate, to serve the Common-weal of the people of *Rome*: yet with some hope, that shortly they might obtain their freedom again, in case they performed good service, and showed themselves diligent in all ministries and offices of war. The rest of the multitude of inhabitants, such as were able and young lusty men, as also the stout and sturdy bondmen, he awarded them to the ships, for to furnish up the number of Gallies, flaves and Rowers, and with the eight ships of war, which he took captive in the haven, he increased his own Armado. Besides all this multitude, there were also the hostages of the Spaniards above written, of whom he took as great care, and as good regard, as if they had been the children of Allies and associates. A mighty deal of warlike artillery and ordinance was there found and seized on. Of Catapults of the greatest size 120, of a lesser sort 281. Ballists some greater, some small, of them 33, of these 52. Of Scorpions and Cross-bows to shoot quarrels as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armour, and offensive weapons, a huge deal, and a marvellous quantity. Military ensigns 74. Of gold and silver there

New castles forced by Scipio.

was

was a mighty mass brought into the General's Golden cup or beller there were 6; every one weighing almost one pound. Of silver tried, wrought, and alloyed, 8500 pound weight: And much plate and vessels of silver. All this *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, received either by Weight or tale. Of wheate there was 40000 Modii, of barley 50000. Of barkes and ships of burden, there were in the haven won by force, and taken, 155. Some were fraught with corn, armour, brasse besides, and iron, fall-cloth, and hemp; for spars for cables and ropes, also with timber for ships' weights. Carriage to the Town it self, in so great sort of wealth and warlike provision, was the least of all others.

That day *Scipio*, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the City unto *Calpurn* and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, and commanded the soldiers to refresh their bodies with food and rest, wearied as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all manner of toil and work that belongeth to war; for he as who, had both fought a battle in the field, and also taken to great pains, and undergone so much hazard and danger in assaulting and forcing the City; yea, and after it was won, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were fled into the Cattle.

The next day, after he had called both soldiers and mariners together, first he rendered laud and praise; yea, and thanks unto the immortal Gods; who in one day had not only made him Lord of the most mighty and wealthy City in all *Spain*, but also had laid up for him there against his coming, all the riches well-need of *Affricke* and *Spain*, whereby as the enemies now had nothing left them; to he and his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the vertue and valour of his soldiers; whom neither the falling out of the enemies could fright, nor the mighty height of the walls scare, nor the blind and twisted fowles of the lake could once dismay; nor the situation of the Cattle seated upon a high little terrace, nor yet the Cattle it self, which strongly built and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would pass over all and break through wall. And therefore albeit every one of them deserved at his hands all rewards, yet the principal honour of a mural crown and garland, belonged properly unto him that first scaled and mounted over the wall. Come he forth therefore (quoth he) and shew himself, who taketh himself worthy of that gift, and let him claim his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it, and demanded the same, *Q. Terentius*, a Centurion of the fourth Legion; and *Seas Diginius*, a Servitor at the Sea. Neither of these parties themselves in hotly about the matter, as the love and hatred of them set all the whole army divided into legionary soldiers, and servitors at Sea, in a heat of contention; to labour for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of their body. *C. Lelium*, Admiral of the fleet, went with the Sailors and Seamen, *L. Scaenipius* *Tudilianus* was altogether for the legionary Land-soldiers. This debate was like to breed a scab, and so raise a very mutiny in the host. Whenupon *Scipio*, pronounced that he would appoint as Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the state; who should take the disposition of witnesses, and give their verdict accordingly, whether of these two persons entered over the wall first into the Town. Now because *C. Lelium* and *Adrianus* were Advocates to the one party and the other; he therefore adjoynd unto them a third person; one *P. Cornelianus* to go as an indifferent Mediator between them; two and gave order and commandment, that those other three commissioners above said should sit together, and hear and determine the controversy. When as the matter grew to a greater heat of contention, by reason that men of worth in worth and were acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it; who were not so much Advocates to plead, but moderators and Judges to bear down a side; *C. Lelium* rising out from the court, came to the Tribunal seat unto *Scipio*; and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in question, was without all good order, modesty and reverence, and troubled, that they were like to go together by the ears, and try it out by blows. But, be it, quoth he, rather to blows be so done, yet it is a most shameful example and detestable precedent; that the honour and quarter of either virtue, should be carried by fraudulent coven and ungodly perjury. For, quoth he, the legionary soldiers stand of the one hand; the Sea-servitors on the other; and every of them to swear on both sides all the oaths of God, and to swear either which their will and affection leadeth them N to say, which in their conscience they know to be true. By which sort of forswearing and perjury, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their own lives; but also upon the ensignes, standards, and very Eagles; yea, and their religious Military Oath and Sacrament. Thus much I thought good to give you counsel and admonition of aforehand; and that by the advice of *P. Cornelianus* and *M. Scaenipius*, *Scipio* stood his highly praised *Adrianus*, called the soldiers to an assembly, and there with a loud voice pronounced, and made his state own lively, but formed upon certain relation; that *Q. Terentius*, and *Seas Diginius* should sit well both together, and therefore I award his well to the one as to the other; a mural garland, and a crown and testimony of their singular vertue. Then he rewarded the rest, all according to every mans desert and valorous service. But above all other, he honoured *C. Lelium* Admiral of the fleet; not only in matching him equally with himself in all common medals, parts and qualities; but also in presenting him with a coronet of beaten gold, and thirty Oxen. Then he gave commandment that the hostages of the Cities and States of *Spain* should be called forth. Where number were of them, I am ashamed and loth to set down in writing; for almost as I find in some Chronicles, that they were upon some three hundred, in others 725. The like variety there is of other matters, amongstundry writers; One writeth that the Punick garrión were ten thousand; another 7000, and

A and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more. I meet with one Record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners; and another, that there were above 20000. Of Scorpions, or Grosbores, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60, if I would take for mine author *Strabo*, a greek writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antius* and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or flay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed to much as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Most of them say, that *Lelium* was L. Admiral; there be again that would have *M. Junius Syllanus* to be the man, and *Arrius* was Captain of the Punick garrión, and yielded to the Romans, if ye list to believe *Valerius Antius*; but by the testimony and credit of others, it was *Mago*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken; nor of the weight of gold and silver, nor yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs believe some one or other, the mean between is the best, and carrieth most likelihood of the truth.

But to return again to *Scipio*: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence, first he had them all in general to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the people of Rome, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turns more than to awe them with fear and dread; and who have forraín nations knit and joynd in faithful amity, rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of these several Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own, if haply any Embassadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave express charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberal usage. Whiles he was busie in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages, even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentleman, the wife of *Mandunius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great Lord of the Illegies. She shed tears, and fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General; and withall began to beseech him most instantely, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women; and to recommend them to their keepers; for to be guarded with a careless eye, and to be kept and attended on more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant these good woman, that shall want for nothing that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon these terms; for a little thing, God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender age of these maidens here, As for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age; and passing fair and beautiful withall: besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that bare them. Then *Scipio*, "I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline as of that which is established by the people of Rome, have a respective consideration, that no good thing amongst us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held inviolable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of Rome: but to have some special eye that way, your own vertue also and worthiness bindeth me: who in the midst of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of you self. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no less reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of their nearest friends that gave them entertainment. After this there was presented unto him by his followers a damoel and virgin of five years, taken also prisoner: but his well-favoured and surpassing in beauty, that where-soever he went every man's eye was upon her; in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of her country where she was born, and like wife of what parents she was descended: among other things learned, that she was espoused and affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Allodius*. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and forefathers house, for to repair unto him; and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her, and ready to die for his love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, *Scipio* entreated into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden; and in these words he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your self. Come on therefore; let us young men both devile and commune together more freely, and not be too nice, coy, and bashful one to the other. After that your espoused wife, taken captive by my soldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fame and affection that you cast upon her; I believed it well for her singular beauty, despite of no less. Now forasmuch as myself, it might be allowed to me the pastimes of youth, (I mean no otherwise than in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common-weal, & employed wholly in other affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned and held excused if I had an extraordinary liking to a spouse of mine own and loved her extremely. I meet therefore needs favour and tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wife, Your sweet heart and best beloved I have entertained as well and as respectfully, as she should have

A⁵⁵ (As it were) by stealth, it chanced that one of the Cities of Spain was surprized; that the insolent and foolish young man bearing himself proudly, prodigally, and jocularly beyond all measure, would seem to make up the measure of so small a catch that he had got, with a great show of a brave victory; but when he shall here once that there are three Generals coming toward him, and three victorious armies of enemies, he will soon pull in his horns: he will then tell us another tale, when presently he shall call to remembrance with grief of every vain in his heart, the death of a father, of uncle, and other progenitors. These and such like speeches they gave out among the people and common folk, knowing in their own conscience what a blow they had caught, and how much their strength was decayed by the loss of new Carthage.

*Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation
of the City of Rome.*

The Breviary of *L. Flamm* upon the seven and twentieth Book.

Cneus Fulvius the Pro-Consul was slain, and with his army utterly defeated by Annibal at Herdonea. But Cl. Marcel, the Consul had better fortune in a battell against him before Numidum. From whence Annibal dislodged and departed by night. Marcellus pursued after him, and ever as he fell off, followed him hard still, until he gave him battell. In the former fight Annibal had the better, but Marcellus in the later. Fab. Max. the Father being Consul, had the Tarentins yield up into him by treason. In Spain, Scipio fought a battell with Adrubal the son of Amilcar, at Betula, and won the field. Among other there was a boy taken prisoner of royal blood, and of incomparable beauty: whom he sent with rich gifts unto Mafinilla his uncle by the mother. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quintus Cripinus the Consuls, who chanced to go out of their Camps to discover, at Ephesus, the country, were forelaide by an ambush of Annibal, and enriv-pred, where Marcellus was slain: Cripinus fled. This book containeth a list of the wars and exploits achieved by P. Sulpicius the Prator, against Philip and the Acheans. The Consols held a solemn Jurvey and numbering of the Citizens, and purged the City. In which Jurvey there were found of Roman Citizens 137 108. By which account it was seen, how many the people of Rome had lost, by the adverse fortune of Jo. many battels, Adrubal, who with an army had pursued over the Alps for to join with Annibal, was slain, and with him 50000 men besides, by the conduct of M. Livius the Consul, but not without the great goodservice of Cl. Nero the other Consul: who being appointed to make head against Annibal, left the Camp Jo, as the enemy was not ware thereof, and with an elect power of hardy men, surprised and entold Adrubal above, and so defeated him.

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

THus stood the affairs in Spain, In Italy the Consul Marcellus having recovered Salapia by composition, with by force two towns from the Samnites, *Maronea* and *Meles*. Where there were slain three thousand of *Annibal* his souldiers, who had been left there in garri- son. Some good portion of the pillage was shared among the souldiers. Of wheat be- sides there was found there 240 000 measures called *Modii*, and of barley 120000. But the joy from hence was not so great as the loss and damage received within few daies after, nor far from the City *Herdona*. *Cn. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul lay there encamped upon hope to regain that City, which after the defeat at *Cannib*, had revolted from the Romans: a town neither lea- ded in a place of surety, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (*Cn. Fulvius* afore said) was by nature ever negligent, but grown much more careless now, pre- suming upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townsmen already began to fall in their devotion and faithful allegiance to the Carthaginians, especially, after they heard, that upon the loss of *Salapia*, *Annibal* was departed out of those parts into the Brutians country. *Annibal* had intelligence of all this brought unto him from *Herdona* by secret messengers, which, as is caused him to have a careful eye to the saving and keeping of a friend City, so it misinted good hope unto him for to surprize his enemy at unawares and un- provided. Whereupon with his army lightly appointed, he took long journies and made haste to *Herdona*, so as he prevented almost the fame and bruit of his coming. And to strike the more retour into his enemy, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman Generall, as adventures and bold as he every way, but foolish at all so polittick, nor so strong, brought his forces forth in more haste than good speed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing or corner of Cavalry began the skirmish, and charged hoyle. But *Annibal* had given his horse- men direction, that when the Infantry was in the midst of skirmish, with mind & eye wholly oc- cupied that way, they should weave about and fetch a compass, and whiles some of them assailed

and the Dictator, it could not pass and be performed. For the Century System of the younger sort.

The winning of Carthage I have set down in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and ver

As this be would needs have to be carried by the most fresh practice of the newest and latest custom, affirming. That by prescription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies, above was no Flamin of *Imper*, usurped this privilege. The Tribunes, who were moderate in this question, gave their judgement thus. That if a thing were longer, and discontinued through the simple negligence of some Flamin, it was worst for themselves, and they deemed it no reason, that it should hurt or prejudice the whole priesthood. Whereupon, the Prator himself forced not greatly upon the point, nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flamin into the house with great content of the Nobles, as well as of the Compages. And all men thus conceived of it. That the Flamin had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimony and holiness of life than in the right of his sacerdotal dignity.

The Consul before that they went into their Provinces, enrolled two legions of Citizens, for to supply and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old City army Flamin committed unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, (and brother he was besides to the Consul) for to be led into *Herruria*: with direction, that the Legions already in *Herruria* should be brought to *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Consul caused the residue of the army of Flamin to be sought up and rallied, which arose to the number of 336: and commanded his son *Q. Maximus* to lead them into *Sicily*, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirty galliaces aforesaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdrawal of these Legions out of the Island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garrisons of that Province, either in strength or show. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently filled and furnished, he had a great power, as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from the adversity unto the Romans: and took up and levied besides for new souldiers, even those Sicilians also, who had been of the army of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved valour, and skilful warriors. These forraign aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions, he kept still the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cincius* to defend that part of the Island which had been the Realm of King *Hiero*: with the other he maintained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Roman and Punick dominions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of seventy ships, for to guard and defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himself in person, with the horsemen of *Mutines*, rode about all the Province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were tilled and well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chastise and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corn, thus far forth did good, that the Province was able both to send good store to *Rome*, and also to convey unto *Canaan* sufficient to maintain the army that was so lie in standing Camp that summer about *Tarentum*.

But the souldiers who were transported over into *Sicily* (and for the better part they were Latines and other Associates) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may see, that of small occasions and beginnings, oftentimes arise great matters of important consequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to mutter and grumble. That now for ten years space they were with continual multerings and payments of souldiers wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads, but it cost them some great loss and overthrow in battell. Many were slain in the wars, other died of diseases. So that a Citizen of theirs, if he were taken and prest once by the Romans, for to be a souldier was more sure to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians: For the enemy sent their captives hack again gratis, and without ranome, home into their country: the Romans posted and packed them away out of *Italy*, as confined to a place of banishment (to speak truly) rather than appointed to serve in warfare. For to see how the souldiers, remaining after the field of *Cannae*, have continued there, and waxen old these eight years assiduously, and no doubt share were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never so flourished, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old souldiers should returne into their country, and new fill be chosen, within a while there would be none left behind. And therefore best it were for them, before they were come to extrem poverty and desolation, presently to deny the people of *Rome* that, whilst somewhat is left, which shortly they must be driven to do of very necessity when all is gone. And if the Romans see their Allies thus agree together, and take this course they will then verily bethink themselves, and grow to some terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise be sure, as long as *Antioch* had a day to live, they will never be clear of wars. These and such like speeches passed in their Diets above said. There were at that time three Colonies of the people of *Rome*: and whilst they Embassages from them all were at *Rome*, twelve of them denied the Consuls flatly, and said they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were these, *Ardea*, *Veii*, *Sutrinum*, *Circus*, *Alba*, *Corfili*, *Suffes*, *Sora*, *Seis*, *Colas*, *Narnia*, *Interamna*. The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them out of that mind, and to scare them from so detestable a resolution, supposed they should prevail more by chastising and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them again: That they had presumed to speak that unto the Consuls, which they again were abashed should not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senat-house. For surely (say they) this is not a result of souldierly and war service, but a very meere revolting from the people

of

and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were left to return again speedily
to the several Colonies, and to consult with the Ambassadors & Consuls, while the mae
was made, and yet all Wholes as men who had rather let all time words fly, rather adu
desired to attend and comply to his own desires, and to tell him, and put them in
saying that they themselves were better Company nor Tarantini, but their Romans, whom
defended, and of that Race: from thence the Colonies into the lands that were won by
to breed male, and multiply, and to diminish them. That whatsoever duties
children owe to their parents, the like they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them
any blood and natural affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country, and to ex
hort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew, forasmuch as
the determinations of them tended to betray the State and Empire of Rome, and to deliver the
victory of all unto *Antibal*. When the Consuls one after another had dealt and been in hand
with them a long time in this manner, as they could offer more message to bring home, nor their Senat
made answer again, That neither they knew what other message to bring home, nor their Senat
what new counsel to take: since that they had not any more men to be mulctured for soldiers,
nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them to flout, and obstinately bent, made rela
tion thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was stricken into so great fear and trouble
of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of Rome was come to an end. The likewise
they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and
agreed to betray the City of Rome unto *Antibal*. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and bad
them be of good cheer, saying, That all the other Colonies besides would continue loyal, and fast
in their duty and allegiance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there
might be Ambassadors sent among them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speak them
fair and attract them by way of prayer, would so doubt have a respective reverence of the ma
jesty of the Roman Empire. Now when the L.L. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this
matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should think good for the
weal publicke: after they had thoroughly bound the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colo
nies, they called and cited all the Ambassadors, and demanded of them whether their soldiers
were in readiness, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Scatulus*, of *Fregella*
made answer in the behal of eighteen of them, That not only their soldiers were ready ac
cording to the form of the covenant, but also more were ready, more they would allow, and
whatsoever else the people of Rome should upon them, and wished them to perform, the time
which they strain themselves to do to the utmost, as far as they had people, force, and a purse
good enough: and as for their hearts, they were much better than their ability. The Consuls after
they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying, that they thought it
not sufficient for their desert to be commended from the Senat only, unless all the L.L. generally
in the Senat-house gave them condition, thanks with one voice, and common accord, would
them to follow after them thither. The Senat having thenceforth them in as honourable terms as
they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the
Consuls to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them,
among other singular favours and kindnesses which they had shewed both unto them and also un
to their ancestors, to make rehearse of this late good desert of others, which they afforded un
to the Common-wealth: to the end, that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they
should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just praise and due com
pensation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of Rome:
The Signins, Nolans, and Norbans: the *Sacriculans*, *Brundisins*, and *Pregellans*: the *Lucernis*,
Venusinis, and *Adrians*: the *Firmins* and inhabitants of *Ariminum*: And from the other five side
the *Pontians*, *Petans*, and *Cossans*: and of mid-landers, the *Beneventans*, *Efferisins*, *Spoleitans*,
Placentins, and the inhabitants of *Criminum*. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the
Roman State at this time rested and stood maintained, and these all were highly thanked
both in the Senat, and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which N
had refused to do their obedience, the L.L. of the Senat gave express commandment, that they
should not be so much as once named or named: and that the Consuls should neither give
them their dispatch, nor retain them till, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind
of rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majesty and grandeur of the people
of Rome.

Whilſt the Conſuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requiſite and meet for the war, it was thought good to bring abroad the *vicinia* gold: to wit, the twentieth part of all their tributes and revenues which had been laid up and reſerved apart in a more ſecret cloſet of the City chamber, againſt an hard winter, as they ſay to ſerve for what need ſhould the Common-wealth ſhould ſtand in. So there was taken forth four thouſand pound weight of gold; whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Conſuls aſſeſs, and ſo likewiſe to *M. Marcellus* and *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Conſuls; and to *L. Volumnius* the Praetor, unto whole lot the Province of *France* belied. And *Fabius* the Conſul had in addition beſides himſelf above the reſt of one hundred pound weight of gold for to be ſcarried into the *Ciſle of Tarentum*. The reſt of the gold they diſburſed for to make ready payment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to provide apparel for the army in *Spain*, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General, ſerved therein the wars.

Moreover, it was thought good, that before the *Comus* departed into their Province the prodigious *colons* should be purged and expire. On the *Acra* mount there were smitten with fire from heaven the Image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing near unto the Temple: likewise like at *Alaba*, the wall at *Copna*, and the Church of *Fortune*: and at *Sinuffe* the wall and gate of the town. There, I say were, blasted with lightnings and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought down, that the water at *Alba* ran blood, and at *Rome* within the sanctuary of the chapel of *Fortuna* a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell off its own accord from the head of the goddess into her hands. And at *Prætorium* it was for certain reported and known of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a *Vulvite* or *Gripse* fell into a shop in the market place, when it was full of people. And at *Sinuffe* also was an Infant born of doubtful sex, between male and female, (which the common folk call *Androgynis*; as for the most part greek names, admit more easie composition of two words than the Latine) and there it rained milk, and a man-child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearful signs were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and Chappels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was granted, that C. *Hofpitiæ* the Pretor should vow and let out the games and plaies of *Apollo*, in such manner as of late years they had been vowed and let forth.

A BOUT the same time *Q. Fabius* the Consul held an assembly for the creation of Censors, and elected Censors were *M. Cornelius, Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had ever had been Consul. And by a grant of commission from the Senat, there was a bill preferred unto the Commons, and the same passed, that these Censors should let, and to farm let the territory of *Capua*. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindered and staid, by reason of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the choosing of him lay in *Sempronius*'s hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alleged, that the custom and tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living had born first the office of Consul. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* replied again, and said, that the gods had given him by lot the first place, so that he had granted him free liberty to choose whom he would. And therefore would elect *Q. Fabius Max.* whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principal man of all the City, without exception, and take *Annilius* himself for the Judge. After much variance and contending of words, at length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his Collegue elected *Q. Fabius Max.* the chief Senator. Then the Senat was changed; and new Senators chosen, and eight were overpassed and left out, among whom was *L. Caecilius Metellus*, he that gave the infamous and shameful countess, to abandon Italy after the defeat at *Cannae*. In noting likewise and disgracing the Knights and Gentlemen, the same clause was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of them that were touched with this infamy. But all those horsemen belonged to the Cannian legions who were in *Sicily* (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from them: And to aggravate this hardship there was note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare: for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the City, should not reckon upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find themselves horses. Moreover, these Censors after diligent search and survey found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and look how many of them were sixteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the war, those all they disfranchised, and made *Ætuli*, or contributaries. After this, they bargained by the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of those edifices which had been consumed by fire about the *Forum*, (or market place) namely the seven shops, the [fish] shambles, and the Kings Hall, or royall gallery:

(11) Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at *Rome*, the Consul *ſent* forward to the *ſea*, and *ſix Fabius* went before to *Capua*; and ſome few daies after *Fabius* followed; who beſought both his own Collegue by word of mouth moſt earnestly, and alſo *Marcellus* by ſpecial letters, to make ſlip war upon *Annibal*, and to keep him occupied, while he afflied *Tarentum* which *Ciſſius* were once taken from the enemy, he were then driven out of all, & having no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to ſtand ſaſt and truly unto him, he ſhould have no reaſon at all once to ſtay in *Italy*. He diſpatched alſo a meſſenger to *Rhegium* unto the Captain of the fort and garrifon, which by *Levinus* the Conſul was there placed againſt the *Bruttii*; and thoſe were eight thouſand men. The greateſt part of them were of theſe good fellows, and that damned crew, where we ſake before, who ſued to live by robbing and ſtealing, and were brought thither from *Agratino* out of *Sicily*, unto whom there were adjoynd many of the *Bruttii* alſo negatives from thence, and aſſo as themſelves every way, both for audaciousneſſe, and alſo for needineſſe to let upon any bold adventure whatſoever. This power of men he commanded ſhould be led to waſſe and ſpoil the *Brittans* country firſt, and then to lie againſt the *City of Cincſonia*, and to aſſault it. They having performed this ſervice, not only willingly & cheerfully, but alſo with greedineſſe: having alſo chafed away and riſſed the huſbandmen and peafants of the country, aſſailed the *City* with a forcible means. *Marcellus* ſtirred up and provoked by thoſe letters of the Conſul; and having a good opinion of his own, that of all the *Roman* Captains there was not one ſo able to march *Annibal* as himſelf; left his wintering ſtanding Camp, ſo ſoon as ever there was forrage and graſſ in the country, took the field, and encountered *Annibal* ſoon after.

them to sue for the same condition of yielding and surrendering themselves, which was granted them by the Carthians.

Q. Fabius the Consul, won by assault a Town in the Salernitan country called *Metapontum*. The Citizens were taken there 4000, and some good store of other pillage. From thence he went to *Tarentum*, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the City. Those ships which *Livius* had for to wait the convoy of victuals, he partly charged with engines, and other ordnance to be used in the assault. To his own ships, he partly furnished with artillery, with horses, and shot of all sorts: the assault being likewise, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars to the end, that ships of burden likewise, and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ships, wound and hurt those that defended the City. These ships were ordered and appointed from the open Sea to assault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick Navy, which it was fear unto *Corymbus*, at what time as *Publius* minded to, assail the *Scyllians*. In this mean while, the assistants of *Caulonia*, a little before the coming of *Annibal*, for fear lest they should be surprised betook themselves to a little hill, which as it was (for the present danger) a place of safety, so it wanted all things else. *Fabius* as he lay at siege about *Tarentum*, was much helped to the achieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speak of, and of small moment in itself. The *Tarentines* had a garrison of the Brutians, for the love of a woman, who had a brother that served in the army of *Fabius* the Consul. He being certified by letters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that she had with that forainer and stranger, so wealthy and so honorable a person among his countrymen, conceived some hope by means of his sister, that her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would have, so acquainted the Consul with his conceived hope. And this seemed to him by imagination. Whereupon the young man was sent to *Tarentum* in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his sister, grew into some favour with the Captain thereof, and at last practised secretly to understand and sound his mind, and afterwards seeing the weakness and inconstancy of the man, he prevailed with him to touch, through the flattering speeches and allurement of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said soldier left what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. *Fabius* at the first watch after he had L given a token and watchword to them in the Castle, and to those likewise that had the keeping of the haven himself, for a complaint about the said haven and lay as closely as he could to that part of the City which heath to the East. Then all at once the trumpets sounded from the Castle, from the haven and ships, which in the open Sea did neer at hand. Great shouting there was, and much ado on foot purpose from all these quarters, whereas indeed there was least danger or none at all. In the mean season the Consul kept his men in, whereupon *Demetrius*, who had before- time been Admiral of the Armado, and whose chance it was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consul lay close, feeling all thereabout quiet enough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring again and resound with such alarms as otherwise it seemed the City was taken and won, and fearing lest if he sat still and bestirred not himself, the Consul would make some Cambrado, and give the assay to enter the City with banner displayed: withdrew his guard toward the Castle, from whence was heard the greatest and most terrible noise. *Fabius*, when he perceived once by guessing at the time, as also by the silence it self in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raising up one another, and calling to army, there now all was hush, and not a word that the guards were had away from thence, he commanded that the ladders should be brought to that side of the wall, where the brother & broker both of the traitors, had brought word that the cohorts of the Brutians were quartered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the Brutii, who were ready to help and take them up, and to they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their several colours. Whereupon they set up a shout, and all in the night of that day, they marched as far as into the market place, and met with none to make head against them, and caused all them that fought at the Castle and the haven, to turn upon them. These, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmish, rather fought hotly than maintained thoroughly. For the *Tarentin* soldiers were nothing comparable to the Romans, either in courage or heart, or goodness of armour, in skill and knowledge of war, or in lustiness and strength of body. And therefore when they had only shot their darts, even before they came to hand-to-hand, they turned back and slunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, some to their own homes, and some to their friends houses. Two of their Captains, *Nico* and *Demetrius*, fought manfully, and were slain. *Philomenes*, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto *Annibal*, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would carry him: but a while after his empty horse was seen & known wandering astray in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that he slung himself headlong from his horse back, into a certain open pit. As for *Caristales*, Captain of the Punick garrison, he cast away his armour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Consul with a godly tale, recounting and remembering his fathers friendship and intertainment to the Romans, there hapned a soldier to meet him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the Carthaginians and

Tarentines

Tarentines both went to wrack, and were killed without mercy and regard, as well unarmed as armed. Yea, there were many of the Brutians also fell upon the edge of the sword, were it that they were mistaken, or for an old grudge and in-bred hatred; or to suppress and extinguish the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the Town: to the end that *Tarentum* might seem the rather won by assault and force of arms. Then from murder and laughter, they fell to sack and spoil the City. There were taken prisoners by report thirty thousand head of slaves: a mighty male of silver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, so many, as very neer amounted to the number of the ornaments of *Syracusa*. But *Fabius* of a braver mind, obtained from that kind of prize and pillage, which *Marcellus* forbore not. For when his Scribe or Secretary asked him, what his pleasure was, should be done with the images (and the Statues they were of the Gods, of a mighty biggess and proportion, portraied every one in their own habit like warriors) *Mary* (q.d. he) let the *Tarentines* have their angry Gods still among them, for me. After this, the wall which divided the City from the Castle, was dismantled, rased down, and laid even with the ground.

Whiles these things hapned at *Tarentum*, *Annibal* (after they had yielded themselves unto him that besieged *Caulonia*) hearing of the siege and assault of *Tarentum*, went night and day and made all the hat he could, with a running march, to rescue & succour the City: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, "Ah," see well q.d. he, the Romans also are not without their *Annibal*. In good faith, so was *Tarentum* won, and so lost again, by treachery and treason. But because he would not be thought to turn back & flee, in the very same place where he made false, he sat down, and encamped almost five miles from the City: and after he had abode there some few daies, he retired himself to *Metapontum*. From thence he suborned two *Metapontines*, and sent them to *Fabius* at *Tarentum*, with letters devised from certain principal men of that City, wherein they promised to betray *Metapontum* and the Punick garrison into the Consul his hands, upon assurance made unto them, that all former treacheries & offences should be forgiven and forgotten. *Fabius* supposing all was truth and plain-dealing, appointed a certain day when he would come to *Metapontum*, and sent his letters also to thole principal citizens, which letters were brought unto *Annibal*: whereat he was right glad and took great contentment that his fraud proved so well, and that *Fabius* also might be entrapped, caught, and overtaken by his wily fetches as well as others: and thereupon laid an ambush for him in the way not far from *Metapontum*. As *Fabius* (before he should go out of *Tarentum*) attended to know what the birds signified, he observed once or twice that they approved not his journey. And when he killed a sacrifice, thereby to know the will of the Gods, the Soothsayer, or bowel-priest gave him warning, to take heed of the deceit of his enemies, and beware of waile-laying. This *Metapontines*, seeing that he came not at the day appointed, were sent again to hasten him forward, and to encourage him to come: who were all suddenly at once apprehended, and for fear of further torture, disclosed the practice of the ambush.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these occurrences hapned, after that *Scipio* had bestowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the hearts of the barbarous people, partly with gifts and rewards, and partly with enlarging and sending back their hostages, and the prisoners: there came unto him one *Edeso*, a noble and famous Captain of the Spaniards. His wife and children were in custody with the Romans: but besides that occasion which brought him to *Scipio*, there was another cause, even a general inclination of all their minds, that chanced I wot not how, which withdrew and estranged whole *Spain* from the Carthaginian Empire, unto the Roman. The same reason moved *Indubilis* also and *Mandonius*, the greatest LL, and Princes no doubt of all *Spain*, to leave *Asdrubal*, and with all the power they could make of their followers and vassals, to depart into the mountains standing just over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themselves in safety to the Romans. *Asdrubal* perceiving the pillage of his enemies to grow and increase full more and more by little and little, and his own to diminish; and fore-seeing, that unless he made some hardy adventure and prevailed that way, all would be naught, and fall to the ground, as it was beginning already to reel, determined to put it to a battail with all speed possible. *Scipio* also was sharpset, and the more desirous of fight, as well for the good hope, which the success of his former affairs confirmed and increased: as also because, before the armies of his enemies should joyn together, he was more willing to fight with one General and one army, than with all them joyntly at once: and yet he had well amended and increased his forces politically for purpose, against the work, in case he should be driven to fight with many of them together. For, seeing there was no use of ships, because all the Rivers and Seas along *Spain*, were cleared of the Carthaginian navy, he withdrew his fleet up into the harbor at *Taracena*, and joynted his sea-servitors to his Land-fouldiers. For armour he had store enough, which was either taken in the pillage of *Carthago*, or newly made after the winning of the Town, by so many Artificers and Craftmen that he kept there hard and close at work. With this power, *Scipio* in the beginning of spring departed from *Taracena* (for now by this time was *Lutius* returned from *Rome*, without whole company he was not willing to enterprise any service of great moment and importance) and led forward against the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the country, and passed through the territories and confines of every City and State, his Allies were ready to entertain and accompany him. *Indubilis* also and *Mandonius* among the rest, with all their power met him. Then *Indubilis* in the name of them both spake, not like a forthright barbarian foolishly & inconsiderately, but rather with a modest kind of gravity more like one that

Y 2

excused

executed his revolt and running from the adversary part upon confidence and necessity, than made it boast of catching and embracing the vantage there of upon the first opportunity presented. I know full well (quoth he) that the very hands of a fugitive revolt, as it is odious and detestable to old Allies, so it is suspicious to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so doing, in case it be not the bare name, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he reckoned up his own good turns and services done unto the Carthaginians on the one side; and recounted their covetousness and pride on the other side, together with their injurious dealings with himself and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath conversed among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long been with them, where I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and maintained for even to do we lie as suppliants in humble manner to the Gods also, when we can no longer endure the violence and wrongful outrages of men: Beseeching *Scipio* this one thing withal, that this his favouring from the enemy, and ranging with him; he would neither blame and condemn presently as a transgression, nor honor and commend as a good desert of his but as he should find both him and the rest, by good proof from that day forward; even so to make reckoning of them accordingly, and not otherwise. *Scipio* made answer again, That in truth he would do so: neither would he take them for fugitives and runaways; who judged that they were not bound in conscience to maintain the society and alliance with them as good and lawful, who made no count at all to oblige inviolable, any promise or duty to God or man. Then were their two wives and children brought forth into their sight, and delivered unto them; whom they received, and shed tears abundantly for joy; and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after, faith was plighted and contracted between them; and the same confirmed by covenant; and they were dismissed to bring their forces; and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and lodged in the same camp with the Romans; until by their guidance and direction they came unto the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Asdrubal*, near unto the City *Hasdra*. Before his camp, he kept certain standing guards of horsemen. Upon them the light-armed forlorn hope of virgins and darters of the Roman host which went before the battail to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and vanguard, charged forcibly with their shottoyes to contemptuously, and in scornful wise, even presently upon their travail in journey, and before they had chosen a piece of ground to encamp in, that it was soon seen what heart there was in both parts. For the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled; and were driven into the camp: but the Romans advanced with banners displayed, hard to the very gates; and so forth that day they the *Asdrubals* were only up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. *Asdrubal* in the night retired his army to a mount, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this hill there ran a river, the fore-front thereof, and the sides all about the skirts were compassed as it were, with a steep bank standing plumb upright. There lay under this hill top another plain, lower than the other, which also was enclosed round about with the like bank, as difficult for ascent as the former. The next day *Asdrubal*, after he saw the enemies standing arranged before their camp, sent down his Numidian horsemen, the light-armed slanders also of the Balears; and likewise the Africans. Then *Scipio* rode about all the regiments, ensigns, and ranks of his army, marshalled as they stood in battail wife, and shewed unto them their enemies; how they displayed afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground; how they taking the vantage of the hills, braved and shewed themselves presuming and trusting upon the place, and not upon their own valour and strength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) *Carthage* had higher walls, and yet the Roman souldiers were able to scale and get over: neither hills nor Cattle, no, nor the very Sea, stood in their way when, nor stopped them of their entry. And as for these high places which the enemies are possessed of, they haply may serve their turns well, when they shall take their flight and leap from off the steep banks and run down-hill apace and so get away. But I trow, I shall debar them there, and lay a block in their way on every side. Whereupon he commanded two squadrons, the one to keep the freights of the valley, through which the river runneth: the other to beset the passage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and crosseth overthwart N the hill side above said. Himself led the light appointed vanguarders, who the day before had discomfited the guards and wards of the enemies; to wound the light-armed souldiers, that were quartered in the netter brow of the hill. And first they passed through the rough, and were not impeached nor hindered otherwise than by the difficult passages. But afterward, when they were come within shot, at the very first they were welcomed with a mighty volley of all sorts, pouring (as it were) like hail upon them. Himself answered them again, and recharged upon them, letting drive and discharging the stones which lay strewed all over the grounds; and were such in manner all, as might be welded and stung from them with ease. And not only the souldiers, but larkies and horie-boyes, & such as followed the camp, were intermingled amongst the armed companies. And albeit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet being so injured as they were to dimes wals and resolute withal; they mounted top first to the top; and so soon as they had got the even ground, where they might have sure footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to run to and fro, and to save himself, and shift well when he was far off all the time that they skirmished aloof and plaid upon one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and to hand-strokes, not able to stand his ground: and so they drove him from his place, and with great slaughter chased him and

driven him back to the very battel, that stood upon the higher hill. Then *Scipio* having given commandment to them, for to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up still upon the main battel with the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, together with *Lelius*, willing him to coast along and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of easier ascent himself on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came cross overthwart the flank of the enemies. Hereupon first began their battel to be disordered, whiles they were desirous to turn their wings, and to oppose their ranks and squadrons against the noises and shouts which rang every where about them. In this tumultuous trouble, *Lelius* also was got up; and while the enemies drew backward and gave ground, because they would not be charged behind on their back, the vanguard of their part was displayed and lay open: and so the Romans even of the middle battel also, had a lane and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage of the steep bank) so long as the ranks had stood unbroken, and the Elephants were opposed against them before the Ensigns, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and were piteously killed and *Scipio*, who with his left wing encountered the right, charged and plaid especially upon the naked sides of the enemies. And so by this means they had no way left them to flee and escape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, had beset all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General himself, and the other Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the combersome trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no less then their enemies. So there died of them 8000. *Asdrubal*, who before the conflict, had made sure work with all the money, and taken it with him, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he could, of them that fled and escaped out of the camp, he made haste along the river *Tagus*, toward the mountain *Pyrenaeus*. *Scipio* being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given to the souldiers all the pillage and spoil, but only the prisoners, such as were freemen: when he came to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horse. Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he let at liberty and sent them home without ransom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them. Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, was well those that before had yielded themselves, as they then were taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great content and general voice, by the name and title of King. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the crier, said: That he took the name of L. General of Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which his own souldiers used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was great and honorable, at Rome surely was odious and intolerable. For his own part, the mind indeed he carried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the nature of man, let them judge so in their own hearts secretly, and please themselves with that title: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as barbarous as they were, perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in the height of spirit contemned that as a base thing, whereas in admiration only of the very title, all mortal men besides are amazed and astounded. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and great Potentats of the Spaniards, sundry gifts. And of the horses, whereof he had taken in the field and camp great store, he gave *Indibilis* the choice of three hundred where he would. When the treasurer was selling the Africans, according to the General his commandment, he hapned upon a young sprigling and stripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demanded of him who he was, and what country-man, and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude souldiers: I am (saith he) a Numidian born, (and with that his eyes stood full of water) and in my country they call me *Mafanissa*. Being left and orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother side, *Gala*, the King of the Numidians. And with my uncle by the mother. *Mafanissa*, who was lately come with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to fall over into Spain. And never to this day, have I been in any battel, by reason that *Mafanissa* would not in regard of my tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the wars. Howbeit that very day when the battail was fought with the Romans, unware to my said uncle, I secretly got an horse under me, and armour upon my back, and went forth into the field; where my horse chanced to fall, and cast me down headlong on the ground; and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. *Scipio* gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunal in martial court. And after he was come back from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party again before him, and asked him, whether he were willing to return again to *Mafanissa*. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy, yes, full fain (quoth he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring of gold, a coat embroidered with purple stud-wife, with a Spanish souldiers cape, a golden clasp or button, & a brave cowl, with all the furniture & caparison thereto belonging he sent him away, and commanded certain horsemen to safe-conduct and accompany him so far as he would himself. Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the war. Some there were that advised him, presently to pursue *Asdrubal*, but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for fear lest *Mago* and the other African souldiers should joyne their forces to his, he sent only a good guard to keep the passage of the hill *Pyrenaeus*, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and fealty of other States of Spain.

yet in the end turned rather to long and tedious battles, than to hard and bloody battles. For in this place there was not only some going in motions, in all the high streets, thorough-ways, and from ways throughout the City: but also *Q. Lucretius*, Praetor of the City, was commanded to propound unto the people, that the Plebeians should be vowed for ever against a set and determin'd day. Himself there was the man that vowed them, and exhibited them up on the third day before the *Nemi* or *Yppis*, and the same day ever after was observed and kept holiday for that purpose.

As for the rumor of the Arentins revolt increased daily greater, so the L. of the Senat were careful about every day more than other. Letters therefore were sent unto *Hofilius*, that he should without delay take pledges of the Arentines: and *C. Terentius Varro* was sent with commission, to receive the said hostages at his hands, and to bring them to *Rome*. He was no sooner come, but *Hofilius* presently commanded the three legions, which lay in camp before the town, should enter the City with banners displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient. Then having called and summoned the Senators to appear in the market place, he demanded of them hostages. And when the Senat requested but two days respite to consider of the matter, he made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or else the next day he would seize upon all the Senators children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains of the *Alibey*, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by night. But this was hardly and negligently executed: for seven principal Senators before the walls were let at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morning by break of day, when the Senat began to be cited into the Common Hall, these parties were missed, and their goods confiscated, and sold in port-sale. Of the rest of the Senators, their children were taken hostages to the number of 120 and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveyed to *Rome*: who when he was come into the Senat, made such relation of the matter, that the suspicion of their revolt was much more pregnant than before. And therefore, as if some insurrection had like presently to grow from *Tarentum*, *C. Terentius* himself was commanded to conduct it one of the two legions about the City of *Tarentum*, and there to lie in garrison with it, for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that *C. Hofilius* with the army besides, should survey and visit the whole Province, and so be careful and circumspect, that no occasion nor opportunity might be given unto them, that were inclined to seek alteration and to rebel. *C. Terentius* so soon as he was come to *Tarentum* with the legion, when he called unto the Magistrate for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but mislaid aside and could not be found, supposing that they were rather cautiously laid out of the way for the notice, then lost by negligence, caused other keys and locks to be made, and for upon every gate and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave especial warning also to *Hofilius* as touching the Tuscans, and told him, that he should never hope to rest in security, that they would not rebel, unless he took order with them beforehand, that they possibly could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentines, even before *Fabius*, whilst himself excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and most of them gave out plainly, that they were full as faulty as the Campains, and deserved no less punishment. And so there was an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of *M. Atilius*: that the town should be held with a garrison, and all the Tarentines kept from stirring out of the City: and that the matter should further be debated and decided at another time, when the state of Italy stood in better terms of peace and quietness. And the like contention and variance was among the L. of the Senat touching *M. Livius* Constat and Captain of the Castle of *Tarentum*, whilst some were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, because through his carelessness and sloth, *Tarentum* the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good consideration and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five years, and by his means especially and by none else *Tarentum* was recovered. But long were of opinion between these and said, that the diffusing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Censors and not to the Senat: of which judgement *Fabius* also himself was. And this moreover he said, withal, that he must needs confess, that true it was, which *Livius* his friends in the Senat flood to much upon, and treated so often; namely, that he was the only means that *Tarentum* was recovered: for in good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained if it had not once been lost before. *Q. Quinctius Crispinus* one of the Consuls, went to his army which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had, with a new supply into the Lucans country. But *Marcellus* still was laid behind, upon occasion of new scruples of conscience, and sundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls war, at *Clasidium*, a Temple to *Honor* and *Virtus*, the dedication of the said Church was hindered by the Bishops, who said, that one Chappel, by right and according to their ceremonies, served but for one Saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right expiation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the saints or gods the sacrifice should be done: for by order one sacrifice could not serve twain, unless there were some particular and especial gods named. So there was said to be another Chappel

A bulle to *Virtus* and great hast there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his fortune ever to dedicate those chappels. So at length he set forward and put himself on his journey with his supply, unto the army which he had left the year before at *Venusia*.

When *Crispinus* minded to assault *Laeri* in the country of the Brutians, because there went a great name of *Fabius* for the assailing and winning of *Tarentum*, he sent for all kind of artillery and engines out of *Staiy*, and ships also were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the City that lieth to the Sea side. But the enterprise went not forward, because *Annibal* had removed, with all his forces to *Lacinium*. And besides, the news went that his colleague had already brought out his forces from *Venusia*, with whom he was desirous to joyn. And therefore he returned out of the Brutians country into *Apulia*: and so between *Venusia* and *Brutia*, the Consuls encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. *Annibal* likewise was retired into the same country, considering that the war was turned from *Laeri*. There the Consuls (hot men of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but that *Annibal* once met them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the war once for all. *Annibal* because the year before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and taken the foil: like as he had great reason, as well to fear as to hope, if he were to encounter and fight with him alone: so he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with both the Consuls together. And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himself wholly to his old Foxes coat, and sought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to entrap him. Howbeit there passed some light skirmishes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and interchangeable success. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keep the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet nevertheless be able to assault *Laeri*, wrote unto *L. Cincius*, that he should take the Seas, and cross over with his fleet out of *Staiy* to the City of *Laeri*. And to the end that the Town might be likewise assailed from the Land side, they commanded part of the army which lay in garrison at *Tarentum*, to be conducted thither. *Annibal* having intelligence afore-hand of these things, by certain Thurons, sent forth certain of his forces to bely the wayes from *Tarentum*. And there under the side of the Perellian mount, he bestowed secretly in ambush two thousand horse, and three thousand foot. Upon whom the Romans (marching without their espials sent afore them) chanced to light, and were slain to the number of two thousand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the rest were scattered and fled over the fields and forests back to *Tarentum*. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of the Carthaginians and Romans, and the same all overgrown with wood, which at first was possessed and kept, neither by one nor other: because the Romans knew not the situation of that side which lay toward the enemies camp: and *Annibal* supposed verily that it was a place fitter for to lay an ambush, than to encamp in: and therefore he sent by night for that purpose, certain troops of Numidians, and bestowed them closely in the midst of the wood, and not one of them stirred all the day long out of their standings, for fear lest either their armour or themselves might be espied afar off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to say, that the said hill was to be seized and fortified for their use, with a good fortress built upon it, for fear lest if they were first gained by *Annibal*, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads ready to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himself was of the same opinion: whereupon, Why go not we out selves in person (quoth he, to his colleague) with some few horsemen, to view and consider the place, where our eyes shall be our judges: and seeing the ground once, we shall resolve more certainly what course to take? *Crispinus* liked well of the motion: and so they went forward accompanied with two hundred and twenty horsemen of which forty were Fregellans, he rest all Tuscans. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Consul his son, and *Aulus Manlius*, two Colonels: also *L. Aremius* and *M. Atilius*, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have set down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Col. sacrificed that day: and when the first beast was killed, the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the second, all things appeared that were wont to be seen. But in the head of that liver there shewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinary preference: which the Soothsayer had no liking to, because after those inward things which seemed before short, unperfect, and misliking: now those again were seen too well fed and overgrown. But the Consul *Marcellus* was so hot and desirous to fight with *Annibal*, that he thought himself never encamped near enough unto him. And even then also as he went forth out of the camp, he gave order to his soldiers to be ready at a short warning, and have their eye upon the place: that presently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they should dislodge, truss up bag and baggage and follow presently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from whence the way that led unto the said hill, was on every side very open and evident to the eye: where there lay a scout or spie, set of purpose to discover any of the enemies gone far from the camp, stragling and ranging abroad, either for fowle or forage, that they might be intercepted: and nor for any hope of so great effect as fell out. This fellow gave a sign unto the Numidians, that all at once they should arise out of their lurking & starting holes. And they that from the top & ridge of the hill, were to rifle & shew themselves affront, never appeared & made head, before that they had set a compass about, for to shut up the passage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts they began to start up & with a main shout charged & ran upon them. The Consul now were in that valley, from whence they neither could possibly get up to the pitch of the hill, possessed aforehand by the enemy nor had any place of safe retreat behind, for that they were environed & hemmed in

above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the chief Patagon. But a H companion with him in the government, they were life wife to each other. As *Scipio* had to doubt, they deemed him a singular man and a brave Captain: but yet more to value the other, for his quality and occasions of this was required, or to be matched with such an enemy as *Antibal* was. And therefore they thought good to join with him of his colleague, *Alibi*, wife, and prudent man, who might temper and qualify that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*, many years ago had been upon his Consulship, condemned by the judgment of the people. Which ignominy and reproach he took so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country, and for many years together, he bore not only the City, but to converse and keep company with men. And almost eight years after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Valerius Maximus* the Consuls, reduced him again into the City. But he did not go in old and worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance and air, the fresh and notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *L. Furius* and *P. Licinius* the Censors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unbecomly weeds, to come into the Senate, and to speak again in civil matters and affairs of State. And yet in so doing, he would never proceed far; then to say Amen to other men's opinions, and speak but one word, yea and nay, or else not hugging at all, but shew his mind by pressing his feet to one side or other. Until such time as a kindman of his own, *M. Livius Macatus*, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up and speak in the Senate and deliver his opinion. And when after a long discourse, he was to deliver his mind, he heard himself speak, he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministered occasion also of speech in these terms, namely, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, years and hurt the common weal: much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no man in place of so worthy a person, either for his travail and pains; or his wisdom and counsel." But to return again to the Lords of the Senate: they knew well, that *Antibal* was not *M. Valerius*, *Leonus*, nor could possibly be joynt as companion in government to *C. Nero*. Forasmuch as it was not lawful that both should be chosen out of the Nobles or *Patrons*. And the same was *T. Manlius* his case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consulship when it was offered unto him, so no doubt he would not accept thereof the second time if he were offered unto him. But if they should join *Marcus Livius* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent example of Consuls in deed. Neither stood the people so much against, thus moved first by the Lords of the Senate. The only man in the whole City, that desired it, was the very party himself, unto whom this dignity and honourable place was presented. Who much blamed himself, and his country of the City, saying, "That they had, in part of his trouble and sorrow, and simple garments: but now stood and accused, and during the time of his trouble and sorrow, and simple garments: but now against his will, they offered him a glittering white robe, and a Consulship. This quothe he) they punish and deprecate, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they took me for a good, and honest man, why condemned they me as if I were for a wicked one and a flibby? If they found me naughty and faulty, why could they have to trust me with a second Consulship, who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made complaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senate reproved him, and replied again: saying, "That the eyes, the example of *M. Furius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the State was decayed and lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glory. And like as the cruelties and rigor of parents, is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard and fiery dealings of a mans country, is to be dulged and mitigated by bearing and sufferance. So they all flock close together, and chose *M. Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three dayes after, they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, *L. Porcius Cicerilius*, *Caius Manlius*, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Cass*. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendered their places; *C. Terentius Varro* was sent into *Hetruria* as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province; *C. Hostilius* should go to *Tarentum*, unto that army which *T. Quinctius* the Coll had. That *L. Manlius* should go beyond Sea as Ambassador, to see how the world went there: And withal, considering that in summer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at *Olympia*, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all Greece, in case he might safely and without impeachment of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Sicilians, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of *Tarentum*, confined thither and sent away by *Antibal*, they should repair home again into their own countries, and know, that whatsoever they were possessed of, before the wars began, the people of *Rome* would restore the same, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangero is year, and no Consuls were invested fully in the Common-weal, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with all speed, call for their Provinces: and every man was willing to know aforeshand, what Province each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should be reconciled and made friends, and *Q. Fabius Max.* propounded that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance between them aforesaid: and the calamity of *Livius* made the same more grievous and unportable unto himself; in regard that he was perished, he was in that misery of his, he was

depicted

A depicted of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain, and worse to be treated. There needs (quothe he) no reconciliation, neither is it material and to any purpose, for they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authority of the Senat bare such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with one mind, content, and counsel, administered the affairs of the common-weal. Their Provinces were intermingled, nor their government extended into one anothers country, as in former years, but distant alunder, and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest marches of *Italy*. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucans country against *Antibal*: unto the other, *Gallia* against *Antibal*: who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward near unto the *Alpes*. Of those two armies which were in *Gallia* and in *Hetruria*, he whose fortune was to go into *Gallia*, was to chule which army he would, and have besides that, other of the City. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians country, beside the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the army of whether Consul he list, of the former year. *Allo Quintus Fabius* the Pro-consul, had the charge of that army which the Consul refused, and his authority was renewed for one year longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose Province *Tarentum* they exchanged for *Hetruria*, they altered this Province again, to wit, *Capua* instead of *Tarentum*. Unto him was allowed that one legion which *Fulvius* the last year commanded.

Now increased their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of *Antibal* into *Italy*. And the Embassadors of the Massilians had brought newshirts, that he was passed over into *Gallia*: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went, that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage soldiers for aid in the wars. Then afterwards, *Sex. Asinius*, and *M. Reius*, who were sent Embassadors back with them from *Rome*, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had sent certain of purpose guided by the Massilians, who by means of their especial friends, the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the truth, and bring word back accordingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that *Antibal* having levied already a puissant army, was minded the next spring to passe over the *Alps*: and that there was nothing else said him, but that it had been done already, saving only the passages of the *Alps* which were closed up with the winter snow.

In the room of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Paivus* was created Augur, and so consecrated. And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurated or installed King of the sacrifices, instead of *Marcus Marcius*, who died two years before. In this very same year the City was purged; and there was a general survey and numbering of the people, by the Censors taken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entered into the Censors books of Citizens, 137168. A smaller number by much odds, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that this year first after that *Antibal* came into *Italy*, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Roman Games were once renewed by the Ediles of the chair, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Serrullius*: and that the other Games called *Plautii*, were renewed two dayes by *Q. Manlius*, and *M. Caelius Metellus*, Ediles of the Commons: who also offered three images, and let them up in the Chapel of *Ceres*: And the solemn feasting dinner of *Jupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entered their Consulship: who (because whiles they were but Coll. elect, they had call lots for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and forrainers: to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces. To *A. Hostilius* was allotted *Sardinia*: to *C. Manlius*, *Sicilia*: and to *L. Porcius* France. In sum, the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, the Consuls had two apiece, Spain four. The three Pretors for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and France each of them twain. *C. Terentius* in *Hetruria* commanded two. *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians country, other two. *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the Salentins conducted twain: and *Caius Hostilius* *Tubulus* at *Capua*, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the City. In the fourth first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Massials, but to all the rest the Consuls sent new to make up the defect.

Before the Consuls went forth there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at *Vul* it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in *Anturnus* the temple of *Jupiter*, and the sacred grove of *Marcius* was smitten with lightning: and at *Atella* the wall and gate likewise, was blasted with fire from Heaven. The men of *Anturnus* take also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, at *Capua* the Wolf entered the gate at night, and worried and dismembered one of the watchmen. These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by virtue of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacrifice once again renewed, because it was seen, that in *Arministrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple; but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at *Furino* there was an infant born, as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age. And the thing was not so strange for the bigness of the body, as for

the kind that Cicer.

that it was born doubtful whether it was male or female, like as two years before, at *Spina*, it was a monster, and that it should be had out of the Dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deep, lest it might touch no ground. Wherefore they went alive into a coffin, and when they had carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in before the Priests made a decree that certain Virgins in three companies, having nine apiece, should go through the City, and sing certain Canicles. And while in the Temple of *Asclepius* the Virgins were learning their song by heart, deified and framed in verse by *Lucius* the Poet, the Temple of *Queen Juno* in the Aventine hill, was stricken with lightning about Heaven, and when she herself had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddess was to be pacified with an oblation, they were (by virtue of a sacred law) carried out by the *Curules* of the *Patres* into the Capitol, as many as had any house, either in the City of *Rome*, or within ten miles every way. And these matrons themselves chose five and twenty into whose hands all the rest should put some small portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a file and large golden chain, to be presented unto *Juno*, and it was brought into the Aventine, and the dames offered unto her purely and chaste their sacrifices. And straight after the Decemvirs sacrificed a bull for another sacrifice of the same goddess, the manner and the where of was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of *Asclepius* into the City through the *Sacra Caracina*, after them were carried two images, representing *Phoebus* made of Cyprus wood, which were seven and twenty, Virgins in long (wide garments) chanting hymns and songs to the unknown *Phoebus*. These songs in verse were of a very commendable, and passed for good with the matrons and people with their living, but it they should be careful now a days to our time, heads they would learn but empty stuff, and composed without wit or reason. After this row of Maidens, came the Decemvirs decked with sacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and garlands of *Pales*, clothed in vestures and robes embroidered with purple; from the gate above named, they passed by the street *Septimia* to the Grand place, and there vested this solemn pomp, and train, the three Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, singing and dancing the measures, looking as usually according to the book. From thence they went by the *Tullian* street, and *Palatine* through the *Forum* market, and so forward into the *Claustrum Publicum*, until they came to the Temple of *Juno*. There the Decemvirs sacrificed two oxen, and the images of Cyprus wood were offered and set up in the Temple. When the Gods and Goddesses were sacrificed, the Consul took matters more freightly and with greater reverence, than any Consul could remember in former years; For both the fear of the war was two-fold, by reason of a new come enemy unto *Italy*, and also there was less store of youth out of which the soldiers should be recruited. Whereupon they cancelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the Sea sides, who were said to have an especial immunity of warfare (by a sacred law) to go to find, and fight, and when they denied, and stood upon their privilege of exemption, they set them down a certain day, upon which every man should repair into the Senate, and shew what cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there presented themselves before the Senate, these Commonwealths following to wit, of *Hesperia*, *Alba*, *Antium*, *Ardea*, *Antivra*, *Signina*, and *Ardea* from the upper Sea. When every one of these States exhibited and read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them denied with, but they of *Antium* and *Hoffia*, in regard the enemy abode in *Italy*, and to the young and servicable men of those Colonies, were put to their oath and sware, that not above forty of them should be taken forth of the walls of their Colony, so long as the enemy continued in *Italy*.

When all the *Legati* of the Senate were of opinion, that the Consuls were to go forth to the wars with all speed possible (for that both *Asdrubal* was to be encountered coming down the *Alps*, for fear he should follow the Gauls on this side the *Alps*, and the *Tullani* likewise who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration; and also *Annibal* was to be kept occupied in his own wars, that he might not go forth of the Brutian country, and meet with his brother) only *Lucius* made some stay, and drew back, as reporting but small fruit in the armies belonging to his own Provinces. And as for his Colleague, whereof *Quintus* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon he had made some motion of calling the *Volones* (or volunteers) again to their colours, and to serve in the wars. The Senate granted the Consul a large and free commission, both to make supply from whence he would, by chusing out of all his armies whom they pleased; and to make exchange with whom they would; and to draw out of the Provinces whomsoever, according as they should think it good for the Common weal. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unity of the Consuls: The *Volones* were enrolled into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that *Scipio* sent unto *Spain* from out of *Spain* a strong power of auxiliaries for that way, to wit, eight thousand of Spaniards and Frenchmen; two thousand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards; and that *Marcus Lucertius* brought these forces by Sea; also that *C. Marius* sent out of *Sicily* four thousand archers and slingers.

The fear and trouble in *Rome* were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of *Gallia* from *Leptineus* the Pretor, purposing thus much, That *Asdrubal* was removed out of his wintering harbours, and was passing over the *Alps*, that there were eight thousand Egiptians levied

Alexand and ready to join with him, so soon as ever he was come into *Italy*, unless some one would first against the Lightness to prevent and keep them otherwise busied with war. As for himself, he was armed with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safety. These letters caused the Consuls to dispatch the multitudes in great haste, and to go forth into their Provinces, sooner than they had purposed with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other, might in his several provinces keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to join, and lay the forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their disengagement, was an opinion and persuasion that *Annibal* had. For albeit he was assured that his brother would, the summer past over into *Italy*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself, and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage one while of the river *Rodanus*, and then while of the mountains of the *Alps*, and how for the space of five months together, he was forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places, a he never looked that *Asdrubal* could so easily and speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause that he dislodged out of his wintering places to such the hater. But *Asdrubal* had better expectation, and all things more easily and speedily than either himself hoped for, or others expected. For the *Arverni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alps*, not only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he conducted his army by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had been at anytime unpassable wilds and craggy fells: so against his coming, the *Alps* were much more easily, by reason of twelve years continual passage, to and fro those ways, and the nature of the peasants more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travellers coming into those parts, were in manner unobedient, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not knowing whither *Annibal* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprise their holds in caves and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and cattle as booties. But afterwards, the same that went of the *Punic* war, (wherein now twelve years *Italy* was plagued and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alps* were nothing but the way for the Carthaginians to travel through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and States, divided and removed one from another by a great space of Land and Sea between, strived together and warred for their greatness and sovereignty. Upon these occasions, *Italy*, the *Alps* were open and passable to *Asdrubal* with ease. But look what time he gained by speedy journey, the same he lost again by stay about *Plavinia*, whilst he lay there in vain, rather besieging than assailing it. He was carried away with a great passion, that the Town lested upon a plain and champion country, might long before him and with, and the great name that went of that noble Colony, induced him to believe, that by the strength and ruling of that City, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But in lying against that Town, he not only hindered himself much, but also itaid *Annibal*, who having heard that he was pressed out of the *Alps*, and come down into *Italy*, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his standing wintering camp. For he considered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and assault Cities, but also well remembered how himself after his victory at *Trebia*, assailed to force that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail.

The Consuls being departed from the City, and gone diverse ways as it were for two sundry wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well it is remembrance of those losses and overthrow, which they had received at *Annibal* his first coming; as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and empire of *Rome*, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-weal, at once in both places. For until then, their success had been variable and alternative; and their prosperity always delayed with flemishable adversity; and again, their losses were recompensed with equal gains. For when in *Italy* the Common-wealth of *Rome* went one way downward heading to the ground at *Thrasymenus* and *Cannae*, the fortune was another way in *Spain*, let it upright again. Afterwards, when in *Spain* one overthrow and defeat happened in the neck of a nother, at what time as two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroyed; the happy and lucky hand in *Sicily* and *Italy*, made up those breaches, and let the reeling line on its foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote (because one of the wars was maintained in the farthest part of the World) yielded time and respite to breath themselves and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within *Italy*, two most brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of *Rome*: all dangers come huddle together; all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the self-same place and no doubt, but whether of those two Captains first shall get a victory, he will within few days after join his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remembrance also of the very last year, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily frightened the hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of mind, it is more over in fong records the Consuls as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in fong records found, that when *Q. Fabius* advised and warned *M. Livius* being upon his journey toward the wars, not rashly and hand over head to give battail to the enemy, before he knew his nature and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this answer, That so soon as ever he could have a fight of his enemies army, he would fight it, and being

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At *Rome*, they were no leſſe terrified and troubled, than they were two years before, at what time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the walls and gates of the City. And men wiſt not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Conſul, whether they

that *Annibal* was dejected and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what it was become of the General, or of the Army, to which he lay in clove and near encampment. *Annibal* (thought he) and without all question, he hath received no small toil and overthrow, and in this might dareth not make after and follow the *Spaniards*. *Nerva* he feared much lest all were lost and gone, and that he should not come time enough to help and succour him: and that the *Romans* had gotten already the same good hand in *Spain*, which they had before in *Spain*. Other whiles he was persuaded, that his letters never came to *Annibal* his hands; that they were intercepted, and so the Consul made halt to prevent him, and give him the fall by the way. Being perplexed with these careful cogitations, he called the fires to be put out, and as the signal given at the first watch to run up his baggage, and to dislodge, and on gone. In this fearful halt and nightly tumult, the golden whiles they were sleepily looked unto, and small heed was taken of them, one of them lay down and rested close in a secret lurking hole which he had before defined in his mind; the other waded over the river *Megris*, through the floods that he was well acquainted with, and to go away and made an escape. So the army left at random without their guides, first wandered over the fields, and then diverse of them being weary and sleepy with overwatching, laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. *Annibal* commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day-light might direct them the right way: and to go, a compass in hand, and according to the winding teaches and cranks of the River, wandered a great while, and gained but a small ground forward. Now when day light once appeared, he purposed to file out the fifth place for convenient passage and there to get over. But finding no floods, by reason that the river it was from the Sea; the higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he sent all the live-long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first *Claudian Nero* came with all the *Horleimen*, then *Porcius* followed hard after with the *vapouriers*, and light armed footmen. Whilest he made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and paid it till upon them, in so much as now *Annibal* leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was desirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortify: *Livius* was come also with all the main power of footmen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but ready also presently to give battle. But when they were all joyed together, and arranged in battail array, *Claudian* kept the leading of the right wing. *Livius* commanded the left, and the Pretor took the charge and conduct of the main battail. *Annibal* seeing no other remedy but to fight, never fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: about them in the left wing he opposeth the French against *Claudian*: not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he took up the right wing against *Livius* for himself and the *Spaniards*, in whom (being old beaten fouldiers) he reposed his most hope. The *Ligurians* in the mids were bestowed behind the Elephants. But the battail was rather drawn out in length, than stretched forth in breadth: The Frenchmen were defended with the hill that bare out over them. That front which the *Spaniards* kept, encountered with the left wing of the *Romans*. And all the battail of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The hill that was opposite against them, was the cause that neither afront, nor as flank, they could charge upon the enemy. But between *Livius* and *Annibal* there was an hot fight begun already, and cruel bloudshed on both sides: There were both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the *Romans*, as well foot as Horse: there were the *Spaniards*, old and experienced fouldiers, skillfull also in the Roman manner of fight: there were the *Ligurians*, a tough nation, and hardy in fight. Against this battail were the Elephants turned, who at the first shock and onset troubled and disordered the vanguard, yea, and began to force the ensignes to give ground. But after upon the noise that grew greater, and the battail that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, and traveres between both battails, as it were doubtful to whether side they belonged, much like to ships left hulling and floating without their pilots and steers men. Then *Claudian* cried out loud to his fouldiers: To what end, quoth he, made we such post halt, and took so long a journey? But seeing that he laboured in vain to advance his banners and mount up against the hill opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth certain cohorts out of the right wing where he saw they were liker to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battail, and so upwars not only to the enemies, but also to his own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he bestirred himself so nimbly, that when he had shewed himself on the sides, presently he paid upon their backs: in such sort, that now on all hands, afront, behind, and on their flanks, down went the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians* and were hewn in pieces, yea, and the execution reached to the very French. There, with them was leashed, and smallest fight of all: for a great many of their fellows had abandoned their colours, and being slip away in the night, lay asleep all over the fields: and such as were there, went with travail and watching (as having bodies that of all things cannot away with labour and pains taking) were scarce able to bear their coriaces on their backs. Besides, now it was high noon: and what with drought & heat together, they stood gaping for air, & yielded their bodies either to be massacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of the governors and guides that late upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For their

A their manner was to have about them a Carpenters chissel and a mallet, and when the beasts began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their mallets would set the laid chissel between their ears, even in the very joyn: where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Annibal*, a famous and memorable Captain, as in many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his fouldiers to fight, fighting also himself, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) incensed them again, one while by fair words and intreaty, another while by sharp checks and rebukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away: he renewed the fight in divers places when it flaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after to great an army defeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spurs to his Horse, and rode among the Squadrons of the Roman *Horleimen*: and there, as be seemed *Amilcar* son, and *Annibal* brother, fighting right manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for losse of Captain and overthrow of army, they might well cry quittance with them for the defeat at *Canna*. Slain there were 50000 enemies, 6000 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pillage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the fouldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloudshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand *Romans* and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had so much their fill of bloud and laughter, that the next morning, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consul, that divers *Cisalpine Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without Ensigns, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one cornet of *Horleimen* sent out after them, "Nay, quoth he, let some remain alive to tell the news both of our enemies losse and ruin, and of our own virtue and valour." And *Nerva* the very next night after the battail, marched with more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six dayes returned again so far as to his standing leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not indeed to recolect unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no hiribingers or messengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welner besides themselves. As for *Rome*, it cannot be uttered and exprelled in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how penfive the City was in doubtful expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that *Claudian* the Consul was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun-rising unto the setting, departed either Senators out of the Council-chamber, from attendance upon the Magistrats, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yield none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble supplications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspense: first there came some flying news, that two *Horleimen* of *Narnia* were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp which lay to guard and keep the straits and passages of *Umbria*, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to hear these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could affordly believe: and the exceeding twiftness of the rumor hindered the credit thereof, because it was reported withal, that the battail was fought but two dayes before. Then were letters brought from *L. Manlius Acidinus*, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those *Horleimen* of *Narnia*. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Pretor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent for out of the Council-hous. But the people kept such a thrilling and thronging about the door of the Senat, that the messenger could not pass thither, but was baled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market cross, and in the *Koffra*, before they were opened in the Senat. But at the last, they were refrained by the Magistrats and caused to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among to unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the letters were first read in the Senat, and then in the assembly of the people: and there, according to the divers dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speak directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet them, of all sorts, young and old, every one desirous to be the first, to see and to hear these so glad tidings, and they went out so far as the bridge *Milvius*, and all the way along, was full of people. These Embassadors or messengers, were *L. Volumnius Philo*, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Q. Caelius Metellus*, Who being accompanied with people

of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to be seen on places some H
 applied with themselves, others of court of their train and retinue, what news, and how the
 World went. And as any one had caught in and from them, that the army and Captain General
 of the enemies was slain, or the Roman legions safe, and the Consuls alive and well, he would
 immediately impart his joy unto others. Much and had they to come into the City, and more ad
 there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate.
 Bill at the letters. Were read in the Senate. From thence were the Ambassadors brought into
 the general assembly of the people. And *Scipio* after he had read the letters, explained him-
 self from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applause, and afterwards,
 with a general shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds so great joy.
 Then they ran divers ways, some to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their I
 own houses, to communicate with their wives and children to lucky and fortunate tidings: And
 the Senate decreed a solemn procession for three days together, for which as *M. Livius* and *C.
 Claudius* the Consuls, with the fathers of the legions had, vanquished the enemies, killed their Ge-
 nerals, and put their army to the sword. This procession, *C. Hostilius* the Priest, published in the
 open assembly of the people, and it was celebrated and solemnized, both by men and women.
 All the Temples for three days fully, were likewise replenished with one sex and the other.
 For the Matrons and Dames of the City, in their best apparel, together with their children, yield-
 ed praise and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the
 war came to a final end for ever. This victory altered the very face and course of the common-
 wealth, so as from that time forward, as long as called peace, men durst make contracts, buy and
 sell, borrow and lend, yea, and pay debts to their creditors. *Scipio* and *Clau-
 dius* the Consuls, so soon as he was entered into the camp again, sent the head of *As-
 drubal* (which he had preserved with great care and brought with him) to be shewen before
 the *Comitia* and the Nations of the enemies, and that the African captives, should be shewed
 bound as they were in chains, and two of them to be kept loose unto *Annibal*, to declare and re-
 count in order, how every thing happened. *Annibal* having at once received this double blow,
 mourning as well for the publick loss of the state, as for the calamity happened in his own house,
 fetched a deep sigh (by report) and said, Ah, I see well the hard fortune of *Carthage*. And dis-
 tressing from thence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being dispersed and
 under, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmost angle of *Syrah* (the *Bruttians* country) L
 he brought thither as well the Metropolitans, even the whole state of them, who abandoned their
 own Towns and Cities, as also the *Lucans*, as many as were subject unto him, and under his obe-
 dience.

The eight and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eight and twentieth Book.

T H E prosperous affairs in Spain, under the conduct of *Syllanus* the Lieutenant of *Scipio*, and L.
Scipio his brother, achieved against the *Carthaginians*; as also the acts performed by *Sulpitius*
 the Procurator, and *Attalus* the King of *Bithynia* (the last) in the quarrel and behalf of the *Ætolians*,
 against Philip King of the *Macedonians*, are reported and set down in this book. When there was a
 triumph decreed and granted unto *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Consuls: *Livius*, because he N
 had performed the exploit in his own Province, rode in a chariot drawn with four steeds: and *Nero*,
 because he came into the Province of his colleague, in help forward the victory, rode after him mount-
 ed on horseback: Howbeit even then, in the habit and manner of triumph, he carried the more glo-
 rious, post, and reverence: for to say a truth, in this war he had done more good services than his brother
 Consul. The five went out in the chapel of *Vesta*, by negligence of a Virgin, that had the keeping and
 tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The said Virgin was well whipped. P. *Scipio* finished
 the war in Spain against the *Carthaginians*, when he had continued fourteen years: and in the first year
 after that he went from the City of Rome. And having dispersed the enemies quite of the possession of
 Spain, he recovered it wholly for the Romans. From *Tarcon* he took two barks, and sailed into
Africk unto *Syphax* King of the *Nymidians*, with whom he concluded a league. *Aidrubal* the son of
Gilgo, at there with him at one table, and they supped together. He exhibited a game and pastime
 of word-playing at new *Carthage*, in the honor of his father and uncle: and the same was not per-
 formed by common fencers, and sword-players hired thereto, but by such as either for the honor of their
 Captain, or to determine some controversy, gave defiance one to the other, and entered the lists in com-
 bat. Among whom, we give L. of the country, who were brethren, fought as sharp for the sovereignty
 of the Kingdom. When the City *Alapa* was besieged and assailed by the Romans, the Townsmen
 caused

A caused a mighty pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and chil-
 dren, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. *Scipio* himself, whilst he lay grievously
 sick, and this happened by occasion thereof, writing to arise in one part of his army, when he was am-
 able done, made an end thereof: and compelled the States of Spain (that mutined) to come in and was am-
 ed obedience again. There was likewise an amity and treaty concluded with *Malmilla*, King of the *Nymidians*:
 who also promised him his aide, in case he would come over into *Africk*: With the *Gaditans*
 also, after the departure of *Mago* from thence: who had received letters from *Carthage*, that he should
 pass the sea into Italy. *Scipio*, after he was returned to Rome, was created Consul. And when he
 made sure to have the Province of *Africk*, Q. *Pabius* Maximus withstood him: a d so he had the go-
 vernment of Sicily: but with commission to sail over into *Africk*, in case he thought it good for the
 Commonwealth. *Mago* the son of *Amilcar* from the lesser *Baleare* Islands, where he had wintered, took the
 sea and sailed over into Italy.

The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VV Hich it seemed that Spain was eased as much of war, as Italy charged therewith;
 by the voyage of *Asdrubal* thither: behold all of a sudden there arose other trou-
 bles there, equal to the former. And as for the Provinces of Spain at that time,
 they were possessed between Romans & *Carthaginians* in this manner. *Asdrubal*
 the son of *Orgo* was retired with his power full within the country, even to the Ocean and *Gades*.
 But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all Spain bending toward the East, was held
 by *Scipio* and subject to the Roman Empire. Hanno the new General, being passed out of *Africk*
 with a fresh army, and entered into the coast of *Asdrubal* the Barchine, joined with *Mago*:
 and when he had put in arms within a short time, a great number of men in *Celiberia*, with lieth in
 the midst between the two seas: *Scipio* sent forth against him: *M. Syllanus* made ten thousand
 foot, and five hundred horsemen. *Syllanus* made such speed by taking as long journeys as possi-
 bly he could (considering how much hindered and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the
 wayes, and also by the straits, environed with thick woods, and forests, as most parts of Spain
 are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also
 the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitive revolts out of
Celiberia, he passed forward from thence to the enemy. By the same guides he had intelligence,
 and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very
 way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army a-
 bovevald of *Celiberians*, to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the *Car-
 thaginians* on the right. As for this Leaguer it was well defended and fortified with *corps de guards*,
 which watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war.
 But the other was as much neglected, dilapidate, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barba-
 rous people and raw souldiers are, and such as fear the less, by reason they are at home within
 their own country. *Syllanus* thinking it good policy to set upon them first, gave commandment to
 march under their ensigns and colours, and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for
 fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and Sentinels of the *Carthaginians*.
 And himself in person, having sent before certain vanguardiers and epials, with his army ad-
 vanced space directly toward his enemy. Now he was approached within three miles of them
 unespied, and not descried at all. For why? a mountain country it was, full of roughs and crags,
 overpread and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley between, and there-
 fore secret for the purpose, he commanded his souldiers to sit them down and take their rest.
 In this mean time the epials came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid.
 Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trusses and baggage in the midst, armed
 themselves, and in order of battell set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of
 the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be afraid. *Mago* at the first
 outcry and alarm, let spurs to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to succour. Now
 there were in the army of the *Celiberians* four thousand footmen targettiers, and two hundred
 horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it
 were, a full and complete legion he placed in the vanguard: all the rest, which were lightly armed,
 he bestowed in the rearward for to succour and relieve. As he led them forth thus ordered and ar-
 ranged they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their jav-
 alins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched
 close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they rose up at once to charge
 again upon them. But the Romans standing thick, as their manner is, received all their darts in
 their targets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with
 their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftness of the
Celiberians (whose guile is to run to and fro in skirmish and keep no ground) so the same was
 not hurtful at all to the Romans who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their fight: only
 the straight room, and the trees and shrubs growing between parted their ranks and files asunder,
 so as they were forced to maintain skirmish either singly one to one, or two to two at the most: as
 if they had been marched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in
 their

their flight, the same yielded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all these targetiers were slain, the Celtiberians were slain, their light armed soldiers, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other camp ran to succour, were likewise discomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and escaped. As for *Hannibal*, the other General, together with them who came left, and to the very end of the day, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled still; and all the Cavalry, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after him, by the tenth day arrived in the Province of *Gades*, and came unto *Alshubal*. The Celtiberians, that were but new soldiers, slipped the next woods out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

Andalusia.

This fortunate victory happened in so good a time, not so much stifled the present war in the very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles, in case the enemies had been let alone, and suffered to solicit and stir other nations to take arms, like as they rallied the Celtiberians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having taken the City, in case *Hannibal* should not the matter, hope withal to dispatch quite, and make an end of the war, in case *Hannibal* should not the matter, and made long stay; pursued the remnant behind, and far forward into the utmost Province of Spain against *Alshubal*. But *Alshubal*, who hoped that to live encamped in a *Belagium* for to keep his Allies in obedience and faithful allegiance, all on a sudden dislodged, pluck up (as he kept away) and more like one that fled than marched, led his army further into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to *Gades*. But supposing that so long as he kept his forces all together, himself was the only mark which the enemy would shoot at, before that he was driven there, straight to *Gibraltar*, to *Gades*, he brake up his whole army, and sent them away betwixt and there to their several Cities, both to save themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. *Scipio*, so soon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into sundry parts, and that to lead about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious piece of work, than either difficult or much available, retired back. But because he would not leave that country clear in the hands of the enemies, he sent his brother, *Laelius*, with 10,000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, to assail the mightiest and wealthiest City in those parts, which the barbarous people call *Orcula*. This City is seated in the compass of the *Metiss* (a nation meer Spaniards) the soil fruitful, and the inhabitants thereof find themselves. This was the fortress of *Alshubal*, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outcrops all abroad into the midland countries of the main, and spoiled the people. *Laelius*, *Scipio* having pitched his Camp under the said City, before that he entrenched and blocked the town, sent certain to the gates, who by parling near at hand, might feel and found the dispositions of the Citizens, and perceive with them to make usual of the Roman friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answers no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he casts a trench, and raised a double rampart about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the assault, while the other twain took rest and ease. And when his first troop and regiment of them began to give a *camisado*, there followed a fierce, cruel, and doubtful skirmish. For they could not easily either come under the walls, or bring scaling ladders to set to, by reason of the shot that lightly upon them. And such as already had reared up ladders to the wall, some of them were pushed off with certain forks provided for that purpose, others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up to the air, hoisted aloft, and seeth over the wall. Seeing that the conflict was unequal, by reason of the small number of assailants, and that the enemies had the advantage besides, in that they fought from the wall top, caused the first regiment to retire, and with the other twain at once gave a fresh assault to the town. This assault greatly a fear into them who were already wearied with fighting, that not only the townsmen suddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garrison footmen, for fear lest the City was betrayed, forsook also their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves in one place. But then the townsmen were afraid, lest if the enemies put themselves within the City, they should be massacred every where as they came in their way, without respect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they for one gate open on a sudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their targets before them, against the darts that were shot far off, and showing still their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemy could not well discern them so far off, or whether they suspected some crafty and deceitful practice, I wot not, but they fell upon their shields and yielded unto them, and slew them down with axes, and to break them open with crow's of iron. And as every horseman got into the City, he rode again according to the direction given by the General into the market place, to be possessed thereof. And to these horsemen were assigned the *Triarii* for aid and assistance. The Legionary footmen besides ran over all the other parts of the City, spoiling and killing all that ever they met, save such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners, and committed to ward, likewise the townsmen about three hundred, such as had shut the gates; but unto all the rest there was no reward again, and each man had his own goods delivered and restored unto him. There were slain at the assault of that City, of enemies almost two thousand; but of Romans not above four score

As by the winning of the town, they that were employed there took great joy and contentment, so in their return to their General himself, and the rest of the main army, they made a goodly show as they marched with a mighty multitude of prisoners led before them. *Scipio* having offered his brother in the most honourable terms that he could devise, and namely, for his exploit of forcing *Orcula*, making him equal in glory to himself for the conquest of *Carthage*; because whilst drew out, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor yet follow at once upon the army of *Alshubal*, so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of Spain, that lieth on this side *Thenus*; and when he had diminished his legions into their several standing camps to winter in, and sent his brother *L. Scipio* to Rome together with *Hannibal* the General of the enemies, and other Gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himself to *Tarraco*.

In the last year the Roman Armado being set out under the conduct of the Admirall *M. P. Valerius*, the Pro-Consul, made a voyage from *Sicily* into *Africa*, and tormented all over the Territories of *Mica* and *Carthage*, inasmuch as they drove booties out of the very utmost confines of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of *Mica*. As they failed back for *Sicily*, they were encountered by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy long ships of war, whereof eleven were boarded and taken, lost sunk in the deep sea, the rest were put to flight and dispersed. Thus the Roman Captain *Valerius*, after victories achieved both by sea and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to *Lilybæum*; and hereupon by reason that the seas were open and cleared of the enemies ships, great store and abundance of grain was brought to *Rome*.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these things shap'd, *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Consul, and King *Antiochus*, after they had wintered in *Egina*, as is above said, with a joint navy passed over from thence into the Island *Lemnos*. The Romans were twenty five Gallies of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five. *Philip* for his part because he would be ready at all affairs to meet with the enemy either by land or sea, went himself in person down to the sea-side, as far as *Dintheis*, and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certain day meet together at *Laurisa*. Upon the same that went of the Kings coming, there repaired sundry Embassies from the confederate States of all parts unto *Demetrius*, for the *Etolians* having taken heart unto them, as well for the society with the Romans, as upon the coming of *Antiochus*, waited and peeped their borders. And not only the *Acadians* and *Boeotians*, and they that inhabit *Euboea*, were in great fear, but also the *Acheans*, whom over and besides the war from the *Etolians*, *Medonides* also the *Lacedaemonian* tyrant terrified, who encamped himself not far from the confines of the *Argives*. All these States made report what perils were like to ensue both by sea and land to their several Cities, and besought the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him out of his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietness, for that *Scardelus* and *Phlegrus* were gone out and rebelled; and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* especially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoining upon *Macedony*, in case the King should fortune to be busied and occupied otherwise in any long wars. The *Boeotians* likewise themselves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the passages of the torrest

Thermopylae, where as the narrow gullet of the treights yieldeth small passage, were stopped up by the *Etolians* with a trench and palliads, that it might give no access at all unto *Philip*, for to come and defend the Cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming fast and thick one upon another, had been able to have roused and awakened even a sleepy and slow Captain, and made him to look about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent away, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit; and willing them each one for the present to provide those things that were most urgent and important. Then he sent a garrison unto that City from whence new came, that *Antiochus* having passed with a fleet from *Lemnos*, had wasted and foraged all the territory about it. And he sent *Paphlantes* with a small power into *Boetia*, and *Menippus* likewise, one of his own Captains and Cavaliers, unto *Chalcis*, with a thousand targetiers, called *Peltati*, (now the *Phlaeans* certain small bucklers or targets, nothing unlike unto the Spanish *Cetra*) unto whom were joined five hundred *Ænians*, that they might be able to guard all the parts of the Island; himself in person went to *Scorfinia*, and there he appointed the *Remonstrances* that all the forces of the *Macadonians* should be brought thither from *Laurisa*. News came unto him there that the *Etolians* had summoned and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at *Heraclea*, and that King *Antiochus* would repair thither to consult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his sudden coming to trouble this solemn assembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward *Heraclea*; but the Council was newly dissolved when he arrived thither. However, he destroyed all the standing corn, which was near-hand ripe, especially in the vale along the Gulph of the *Ænians*, and to reduce his army back again to *Scorfinia*; and there leaving his whole power, he retired himself to *Demetrius*, attended only with his royal guard. And because he might from thence be ready to meet with all sudden hits and invasions of the enemies, he sent out men of purpose into *Phocis*, *Euboea*, and *Peloponnese*, to chuse out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be seen afar off. And himself set up one watch tower upon *Cyllarus* (a mountain, the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the signal of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute

Laurisa.

* Scorfinia.
* Lemnos, &c.
* Scarpinus.
* Chalcis.

dition

dition of the Orphans and the *Oppidum* he called from *Chalcis* to *Orvum*. And when he had commis-
sioned the government of the State, and the affairs of the City, unto these principal Citizens, who
chose to be, when the City was full, he returned unto the Romans, himself
chose to be, when the City was full, he returned unto the Romans, himself
chose to be, when the City was full, he returned unto the Romans, himself

A next year likewise that the Consuls for the time being confirmed this prerogative choice and ele-
ction of those gentlemen, with their own assent and authority the morrow after in a frequent as-
sembly before the people, giving honourable testimony of the valiant and faithfull service of
those forsaide Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time draw neare of election of new Magistrates; and when it was thought good by
the Senat, that a Dictator should call that solemn assembly for the laide election; *C. Claudius* the
Consul nominated for Dictator his Colleague *M. Livius*, and *Livius* named *Q. Cecilius* General of
the horsemen. So there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictator, *L. Varrus*, and *Q. Cecilius*,
even he who then was General of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the
B. Praetors, and chosen there were, *G. Servilius*, *M. Caelius*, *Manlius*, *T. Claudius*, *Asellus*, and *Q. Man-
lius* *Leptinus*, who then was Edile of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dismissed
the army, by vertue of an act of the Senat, took his journey unto the Province of *Tuscania*, to sit in
commission and make enquiry, what *Vases* either of the *Tulcan* or *Umbrians* intended and plotted
to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to *Asinibal* at his coming into thole parts; and
who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliary soldiers, or with victuals, or with any
aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the
war.

The great Roman Games were wholly renewed and set out again three times by the *Ediles* of
C. the chaif, *En. Servilius*, *Capto*, and *Sere. Cornelius* *Leptinus*. Likewise the palliames and plaies, called
Plebeis, were once illy renewed and exhibited again by *M. Sempronius* *Mato*, and *Q. Manlius*
Turpinus *Rebules* of the Commons.

In the thirtieth year of the second Punic war, when *L. Varrus* *Philz*, and *Q. Cecilius* *Marcellus*
were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make war upon *Asinibal* in the
Province of the *Bruttii*, which done, the Praetors cast lots: And to *M. Cecilius* *Marcellus* fell the
jurisdiction of the Citizens; to *Q. Manlius* of the forreigners. *C. Servilius* his lot was to govern *Sicily*,
and *T. Claudius* *Sardinia*. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Con-
suls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consul of the year before. The other
Consul had the leading of that (namely, two full legions) which *C. Claudius* the Pro-Praetor before
D. commanded. *M. Livinus* Pro-Consul, whose government was prorogued for another year, re-
ceived the charge of two legions of voluntaries in *Hetruria*, at the hand of *C. Terentius* the Pro-
Praetor. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat to deliver over his jurisdiction to
his Colleague, and to take the charge of *Gallia* with the forces there; whereof *L. Porcius* the Pro-
Praetor was Captain, and he had in commission to waite the lands of thole Gauls who were re-
turned to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asinibal*. *C. Servilius* was assigned with the power
of the two Campan legions, to defend *Sicily*, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of *Sardinia* the
old army was withdrawn, which was under the governance of *A. Hostilius*; and the Consuls en-
rolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to sail over with *Quintus* *Claudius*, and *C. Hostilius* *Tubulus*,
E. had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern *Tar-
ra-*num, and the other to rule *Capua*. *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, who also was Admiral for the sea-
coast and river along *Stella*, was commanded to give up thirty of his sail unto *C. Servilius*, and
withal the chief of the Navy to return to the City of *Rome*.

As the City was in turbulence and flood doubtfull for the variable event of so great a war, attri-
bution of the causes of the war, and woe of prosperity, and misery to the gods; behold many pro-
digious tokens were reported to have happened. Namely, That in *Tarracina* the Temple of *Jupiter*,
and at *Saguntum* the Chappel of the goddess *Minerva*, were blasted with lightning from heaven, and
the inhabitants of *Saturnium* were no less terrified with two serpents that were crept into the tem-
ple of *Jupiter* at the very doors. From *Antium* there was word brought, that the harvest folk as
they were reaping, spied certain ears of corn bloudy. At *Ceres* there was a sow that farrowed a pig
with two heads, and an ewe yeamed a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at
F. *Alba* there were two lions seen; and at *Fregella* by night the day-light appeared. Also in the terri-
tory of *Rome*, by report, an Oxe spake; and the altar of *Neptunus* within the Cirke *Flaminia* brake
out into much fire, and the Temple of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus* were blasted and imitten from
heaven. The Consuls were commanded to expiate and purge these fearful sights with sacrificing of
greater beasts and to make supplication one day. Which was done according to the decree of the
Senat. But above all, the wondrous signs, either reported from abroad, or seen at home, the
minds of men were put in fear, for the going out of the fire in the Chappel of *Vesta*. For, which
cause the *Vestal* Virgin who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the command-
ment of *P. Valerius* the Bishop well and thoroughly scourged. And albeit this happened by humane
negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby, yet it was thought good that an expia-
tion thereof should be made with greater sacrifices, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappel
of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senat to take re-
newed order for the Regiment, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and pla-
cing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodness the war was removed far
from *Rome* and *Livinus*, the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and fre-
quented again; neither was it a meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabit *Sicily* than
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Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the wars; and great scarcity there was of servants and hires to till the ground: besides, the cattell was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were either ruinat or burned. Howbeit, a great sort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repair again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*; who made complaint, that their territories were much damaged and wasted by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them; and that many of their own natural inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desart. Whereupon *Manius* the Prætor had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by virtue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Placentia* should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and fet forward to war.

Q. Cælius the Cof, received the army of *Cl. Nero* and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having forraged and spoiled there and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and freight passage much troubled by the *Bruttii* and the Numidian archers: in omuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucania country. All that *X* nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Annibal* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loys received as well in publike as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quieter. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such mettall and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him; whether he were more to be wondered at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in such variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of natural Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused ill-rat and medley of all nations, having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customs, nor language: differing in fashions, in habit, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were, the same gods: he had to knit and united them in one link and freight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their General, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof, in the former Punic war, many outrages were committed both among Captains and souldiers. But when *Annibal* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory, and when they were fain to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Bruttium*: who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the *Bruttians* country: And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was fet away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholly employed in warfare: to say nothing of the natural guile and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage*: whyles they all were studious and careful only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*.

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captain, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that *N* *Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than *Italy*, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province: yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Cæsar*. There at that time, *Annibal* the son of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the *Barchin* house) returned from *Cadix*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcor* to wage war afresh, took musters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Silpia*. O There upon the open plains late these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

Scipio, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations, if it were no more but for the new and outward appearance: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his army, that in case they should

A should give him the slip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might do much hurt to the main chance and totall sum of all. And therefore he sent *Sylpium* before unto *Celera*, (a Lord over the lignory of eight and twenty towns) for to receive of him his horse and foot, which he had promised to levy in the winter time. Himself departed from *Carthage*, and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to *Castulo*. Thither *Sylpium* brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City *Barula*, being in all of Citizens and Allies, with footmen & notemen together, one with another 45000 strong. *Annibal*, As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Masani*, with all their Cavalry, set upon them, and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their designs, but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* hadily for the purpose had there bestowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them as they were secretly cidden forward without order and array. These had not well begun skirmish with them, but they discomfited the forwardest of them, and such especially as engaged themselves near to the trench, to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and were orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtful. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and stations, were first brought forth: and after them, the souldiers also from their work and fortifications were moved, to take arms: and still more and more continually came fresh and in heart, in place of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power, and ran to the battell, wney the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies, keeping their order and array fully, and not disbanded for hattle or flight. But afterwards, when the Romans began one more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them, so as now their furious violence could no longer be resisted, when without all regard of ranks or files they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish, the Romans were more encouraged agood deal, and the enemies hearts much danted: yet for certain daies ensuing there never ceased exultations and bickering maintained by the horsemen & those that were lightly armed. Now when by these small scuffling they had made stiff, sent trial on both sides of their strength. *Annibal* first led forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in battell array, & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward intreating, *Annibal* first retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman General likewise. This continued they for certain daies together. *Annibal* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first again that sounded the terror to his souldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish, or discharged any shot, or gave alarms and let up a cry. Of the one part the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Africans, stood in the main battell: and the allies of either side kept the wings, and those were Spaniards, as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battell were the elephants placed, who after off made a *E* show as if they had been Cattles. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would so fight as they stood day by day arranged namely, that the main battell of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occasion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be stilly settled in their opinions, altered all on set purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battell. And over-night he gave a watch-word and taken throughout the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in arms ready appointed should hold their horses saddled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light, he lent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the Corps de guard and standing watch of the enemies. And himself straight after advanced forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and persuasion both of his own men, and also of his enemies he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battell with the allies. *Annibal* ran d with the clamour and shout of the horsemen leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearful stir of his own men before the rampart and trench, and seeing start off the glittering ensigns of the Legions, and all the plains over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the forward horsemen. Himself with the battell of footmen thrust out of the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battillions, otherwise than he used the daies past. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by it felt, because evermore, as any of them were put back (which happened on both parts in manner by turns) they retired safely into the battell of footmen. *G* Now when as the battells were not put half a mile asunder one from another, *Scipio* sounded the retreat and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armed souldiers within the middle ward: and having divided them in two regiments, he bestowed them for succours and supple behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyn in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battell) to take fore footing and so steadily together: fair and softly himself out of the right wing (for that point he commanded) dispatched a messenger to *Sydacus* & *Martius*, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw him

him to draw it as length on the right: with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horsemen and light appointed footmen should encounter and close with the enemy before that both battels might meet and joyn together. Thus having enlarged but at full their wings, they with three squadrons of footmen and as many corners of horsemen, together with the light armed skirmishers, advanced with fall speed directly against the enemies whilst the rest followed side ways across. Now there was a void piece of ground in the middle between, by reason that the Spaniards enigs were but slowly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and strength of the enemies battell, consisting of old beaten Carthaginians and African soldiers, were not yet come within the darts shot neither durst they put it to succour them that were in fight, for fear they should open the main battell for the enemy that came directly against them. Their wings were much distressed in the fight on every side. For the horsemen, the light armed soldiers, and the skirmishers, having wheeled about and set a compass to environ their ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them above, and strove to break off their wings from the body of the battell. And as now in every respect the fight was unequal, so the rabble of camp-followers, Balear Islanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, opposed against the approved Roman and Latine soldiers, pulled down aside. The day went on hill and dale, till his army began to faint: and no marvel, for they were surprised and taken on a sudden, betimes in the morning. So were forced in haste to enter into the field & go to battell before they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies. And to that purpose Scipio had drawn the day on length, & drilled out the time, that the battell might be late. For it was the seventh hour of the clock after noon, before the ensign of footmen charged upon the side points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battels fought and joyned together: so that the heat of the noon in the pain of long standing in a storm, and hunger and thirst came all together to enfeeble and spend their bodies before that they came to hand-strokes and to buckle with their enemies: which was the cause that they stood leaning and resting themselves upon their shields. And over and besides all other troubles, the elephants also affrighted and maddened with this tumultuous and disordered manner of fight of horsemen, skirmishers, and light armed soldiers together, ran from the wings upon the main battell. The Captains therefore themselves, being thus tainted as well in courage of heart as in bodily strength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they still kept their straits, as if the whole battell had retired whole and found by the commandment more forward to charge upon them more hotly on every side, because they saw them to lose their ground and shrink back: so as their violence could not well be endured: then albeis Afrubal held them still together, and did what he could to stay their flight, crying offensives aloud unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of safe retreat, if they would retire in good sort, moderately, and in order: yet when they saw their enemies press so hard upon them, killing and hewing in pieces those that were next unto them, fear was above shame, and so immediately they flew their back parts, and ran away all at once as fast as they could. Yet at first, when they came to the root and foot of the hills they began to make a stand, and rally the soldiers again into order of battell, seeing the Romans to make some stay of advancing their ensigns up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come lustily forward, they began again to flee a fresh, and so in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was Scipio himself far from their trench and rampier; but in that very brunt had been master thereof, but that immediately upon the hot gleams of the sun, when he shined in a watery sky full of black and rainy clouds, there poured down such a store of showers and tempests, that hardly could he himself after his victory recover his own camp. And some there were also that made it a scruple and matter of conscience to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reason to repose themselves, and take their necessary rest, so wearied as they were with travel, and sore wounded, especially seeing the night was come, and the stormy rain continued: yet, because their fear and present danger wherein they stood gave them no time to loyler and slack their business, against the next morning that the enemies should early assault their Camp, they gathered up stones from out of the vallies near about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the height of their rampier, purposing to defend themselves by the strength of their fence, seeing small help and remedy in force of arms. But the falling away of their Confederats was the cause that their departure and flight from thence, seemed more safe than their abode there would have been. This revolt was begun by Alanes, a great Lord of the Turdetans: for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverse part. Whereupon two strong walled towns, together with their garrisons were yielded by the Captains unto Scipio. Afrubal therefore, fearing lest this mischief might spread farther, now that their minds were once set upon rebellion, dislodged about the midnight following, and removed. Scipio so soon as he was advertised at the break of the day, by those that kept standing watch in their stations, that the enemies were gone: having sent his horsemen before, commanded the standards and ensigns to be advanced, and led so speedily a march, that if they had gone straight forward and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but believing certain guides, that there was a shorter way to the river Batis, they were advised to charge upon them as they passed over. But Afrubal seeing the passage of the river stopped against him, turned to the Ocean: and even at the first they departed in great haste as if they fled, which was the cause that they got the start of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good space

A space of ground before them. But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen, plied one while upon their tails, flanked another whilst their sides, and by this means with charging and recharging they wearied them and tailed their march. And when as upon many of their troubles by the way, their ensigns were fain to stand, and forced to maintain skirmish, some time with the horsemen and sometimes with the light javelotters and auxiliary footmen behind the legions also came on apace and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and resistance, as massacre and slaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like sheep. So long, until their Leader himself began to flee, and escaped into the next mountains, together with 7000 half naked and unarmed. All the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to encamp and fortifie in all haste and tumultuous sort upon the highest mount they could find: from whence (by reason that the enemies had assailed in vain to get up the hill, having so difficult an ascent) they had not so much ado to defend themselves. But the place being bare and naked, and disurnished of all commodities for their relieve, they were not able to hold out the siege for a few daies. And thereupon the soldiers fell apace to forsake their own Captains. And to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General himself in the night season abandoned his army and having got shipping (for the sea was not far off) he embarked and fled to Gades, Scipio being advertized that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with Syllanus ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the Camp. Himself in person with the rest of his forces within seven daies returned to Taracoon, for to examine and hear incontinently upon his Carrival the causes of the Princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their defects they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

After his departure, Masanissa having had secret conference with Syllanus, about inducing his people also to be pliable and to hearken unto a change, passed over into Affrick with some small retinue. At which present time verily the occasion of his sudden alteration was not so evident and apparent, as afterwards his most constant truth and fast allegiance observed unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entered not into this designment and action, without good and important cause. Then Mago, in those ships that Afrubal had sent back, passed over to Gades. The remnant, thus forsaken of their Captains, some by way of voluntary yielding and raising themselves to the adverse part, others by flight, were scattered among the next Cities, and no troop remained of them behind of any mark and reckoning to speak of, either for number or strength. In this manner, and by these means especially were the Carthaginians driven all out of Spain, by the conduct and happy fortune of P. Scipio, in the thirteenth year of the war, and in the sixth of Scipio his government in that Province and command of the army. And not long after Syllanus returned to Taracoon unto Scipio, and brought word that the war in Spain was fully ended. And L. Scipio was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carry tidings to Rome of the conquest of Spain. And when all other took full contentment and infinite joy at the news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this service, he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an insatiable desire of virtue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recovery and winning of Spain, in comparison of those matters that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he cast in mind and aimed at the conquest of Affrick and great Carthage: and therewith, to make perfect and consummate that glorious war to his own immortal honour and renown. Add therefore, supposing it was now a good time to begin the way to those high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare beforehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined first of all other to found and ally King Sphax. This Sphax was King of the Masafis, a people bordering upon the Moors, and abutting upon that part of Spain especially where new Carthage is situate. At the same time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which Scipio supposing that he would observe no more surely and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (whose fidelity dependeth upon Fortune) sent C. Lelius with rich gifts and presents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous Prince was glad hereof, both because the Romans then prospered every where: and also the Carthaginians in Italy lived by the loss: and in Spain went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he condescended to entertain the friendship of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take assurance, but only in the personal presence of the Roman General himself. So Lelius having obtained the Kings royall word and warrant that Scipio might come unto him with safe conduct and security, returned unto Scipio. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of Affrick, it was a matter of great consequence and importance in all respects, to make himself sure of Sphax, the most mighty and puissant King of that Land, who had aforetime made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whole kingdom lay fully upon Spain, and but a small arm of the sea between, Scipio thinking it therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might not be) leaving for the defence and guard of Spain L. Marius at Taracoon, and M. Syllanus at new Carthage, (whether he had travelled by land from Taracoon, and taken great journeys himself and Lelius together, looted from Carthage with two great Catvels of five banks of oars, and passed over into Affrick, through the calm and still sea, most of all rowing, and otherwise also making sail with a gentle gale of wind.

Happy it so fell out that the very same time Afrubal, driven out of Spain, was entred the ha-

ven with seven galleies of three courses of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the shore for to be let a land. When he had a kenning of the two Carvels aforesaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have been boarded by them being more in number, before they could gain the rode; yet hereupon ensued nothing else but a tumult and hurry among the mariners and fouldiers together, in vain preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high, drave the Carvels with full sail out of the main fea into the haven, being further dealing within the Kings Rode. So *Asdrubal* first let a shore, and within a while *Scipio* and *Laelius* landed, and went all to the Court. *Syphax* took this for a great honour done unto him (as indeed it was no leis) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two Generall Captains of two most mighty and puissant States, to sue for peace and amity with him. He invited both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and since it was their fortune to enter under one roof, and the lame house for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a parley, and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controversies between them. But *Scipio* denied flatly, that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and *Asdrubal*, that should need an end with conference and speech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a professed enemy as touching them, without expreis warrant and commission from the Senate. But when the King laboured greatly with him that he would find in his heart and not think much to bear *Asdrubal* company at meat and meal, because he would not seem to exclude either of them from his board, he yielded thereunto, and was content. So they supped both twain together with the King, and *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* sat both at one table in one meis, and upon one bed, for so it was the Kings pleasure. But so courteously *Scipio* behaved himself (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carry himself with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place wheresoever he came) that by his fair language and eloquent speech, he won not only the favour of the barbarous Prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Roman fashions) but also the good will and love of *Asdrubal*, a most malicious and mortal enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personal, than for all his feats of arms achieved in war, and made no doubt but reckoned fully that King *Syphax* and his Realm would presently be at the devotion of the Empire of Rome. Such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour, and to solace himself with walking along wandering at a venture, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himself with walking along the pleasant and desirable coasts, leaving the Province which he had newly subdued, leaving his armies which he commanded, sailing thus with two ships only into *Affrick*, and committing himself unto an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whose fidelity and protection he had no self experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compass the conquest of *Affrick*. And this was it that long since *Scipio* had in secret purpose and designment, this was it that openly he fretted and formed at, namely, that he warred not himself as well in Spain as *Annibal* in Italy. Well, *Scipio* having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of *Affrick*, and notwithstanding he was tossed upon the sea with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging, yet upon the fourth day he arrived at *New Carthage*.

As Spain generally was at peace and rest for any Carthaginian war, so it was well known, that certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyall allegiance. Of which the most notorious as well for their own greatness and power, as for their fault and transgression, were *Illurgum* and *Cassula*. The Cassulonians had been Roman Confederates in time of prosperity, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two *Scipios* and their armies. The Illurgians besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickedness, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge, while the States of the country stood in suspense he should have regarded their desert more than his own good and commodity. But when all troubles were composed and reduced to quietness, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Marius* from *Taracum*, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assaile *Cassula*. He himself with the rest of the army marched toward *Illurgum*, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their conscience bare them witness what they had deserved, and there needed no other defence or incitation of war against them than the privy of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* took occasion to exhort his souldiers, and began in this wise. "The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by putting their gates declare plainly what they justly are to fear: and therefore ye ought to war with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rancor, only for their cruelty glory: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyall treachery, for their cruelty and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow souldiers, but also the like insult prepared for your selves, in case your hap had been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplary justice to all posterity,

*Scipio to his
Souldiers.*

A posterity, that no man hereafter be so heady as to wrong any Citizen or souldier of Rome, in what poor state so ever he be, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhortation and comfortable words of the Generall, they belittled themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst choise men out of every company. And having to parted the army between them, that *Laelius* the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with great terror unto the City in two places at once. But neither any one generall captain, nor any principal Citizens encouraged and heartened the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful and sinful consciences for they wilt well and remembered, yea, and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victory that the Romans sought for. And as for themselves, since they were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battail was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put down the conqueror) or after their City burnt and laid, to yield up breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives amid the torments of whipping and hard irons, when they had endured all villanies and indignities. Whereupon not only the servicable youth for war, not only men I say, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of that sex, were ready and presented themselves to defend the wals. Some brought weapons to the defendants, others carried stones up to the wals unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their liberty alone, which whetted the stomacks of valiant and magnanimous men only, but they set before their eyes all extremities of torture and punishment, yea, and the shamefullest death that could be devised: and their hearts were incited to undergo all pains and peril, by striving avie together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought so resolutely, that even that noble army which had subdued all Spain, took the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the wals, and finally to their honor received some foill in fight and began to fear. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting lest upon so many bootlesse attempts the enemies might take heart and his own souldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himself personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having re-embled therefore his men for their cowardise, he commanded the ladders to be brought and set to, threatening that himself would scale the wals, if the rest made basting and thus drew back. With that he made no more ado, but approached under the wals in great peril of his person. Whereupon the souldiers respecting the dangerous state of their Generall, and fearing greatly of his behalf, set up a shout on all hands, and began to rear ladders in many places at once. *Laelius* likewise on the other side plied the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townsmen, for all their resolute resistance, were overcome; the defendants overthrowen and beaten from their standing, and the wals possessed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought impregnable, was in that brant and tumult taken. For there were certain Africans serving then among the Romans (fled before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholly turned to defend those places that seemed to be expoied unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entering where they could, espied one part of the City much higher then the rest, which because it was compassed about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified otherwise with bulwarks, nor manned with any defendants at all: and being men (as they all are) light and agile of body, and nimble by reason of much practice and exercise, they climbed up the rock where they could meet with any crag therof to bear out unequally from the rest, and to yield them hold and footing: but when they came to a plumb upright steep place, and where the cliff was even and smooth, they talked certain great iron spikes and nails, which they carried about with them of purpose, and stuck them a pretty distance asunder, like greces and stairs to climb upon: and ever the foremost plucked him up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up those that went before them, until they were gotten up to the top; and then they ran down with an outcry into the City, which was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from very desperate anger and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ransacked and rifled. But down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women one with another: nay, their cruell mood was such, as they spared not the sucking babes. Then they let fire on their houses: and what the fire saved they rated and pulled down: so canered a mind they had, and so bent they were, to leave no monument and token of such a City, and utterly to abolish and root out the memorial of those enemies.

After this, *Scipio* led his army against *Cassula*. This City was defended not only by Spaniards who thither were repaired out of others parts, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginian army which were scattered abroad in their flight, and thither fled. But ere *Scipio* was come before the City, they had heard the news of the wofull calamity and destruction of the Illurgians: by reason whereof they were all terrified and in despair of themselves: and as it falleth out in such variety of causes and deserts every man sought means to shift for himself the best he could, without regard of his neighbour. And at first they began to have a feere jealousy and suspicion one of another, but afterwards they brake out to open dissention: in somuch as the Carthaginians and Spaniards divided themselves, and parted asunder. *Cerdubellus* openly advised the Spaniards, and persuaded with them, to yield. *Himilco* was the Captain over the Auxilliary Carthaginians,

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whom

when

when doubtful & suspicious rumours were spread of their General, how he was in danger of death, H
but long before, upon a licentious course of life that they had taken to, and so much the rather, for
that now in time of peace they were held in, more freightly and neatly, who before were used in
their enemies land, during the wars, to break out in more loose manner, and to live upon rapine
and robbery. At the first they began to mutter and whisper secretly these and such like speeches :
If there be war still in the province of Spain, what do we here among peaceable people ? And
if the war be ended, and the time of the commision come out and expired, why are we not had
again back into Italy ? Then they proceed to demand their pay very malapertly, and more loudly
than might stand with the duty and modesty of soldiers : yea, and the Sentinels and *corps de guard*
would not stick to give reproachfull terms and railing words to the Tribunes or Marshals, when
they went the round : and some of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable ter-
ritory about them, for to fetch in booties and prizes ; untill at length openly at noon day, they de-
parted from their colours without passport and licence. All things they did as transported away
with lust and self-will of soldiers, not guided by the order and discipline of warfare, nor directed
by the commandment of their captains and rulers. Nevertheless, there was retained still a
form of Roman camp among them : and that upon this only hope that the soldiers had of the
Tribunes fore said : whom they supposed in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter into
to the same furious courses, and have their hand in the mutinies, and follow them in their rebel-
lion : and therefore they were well content with them to sit judicially in Marshall court, in the us-
ual place of *Principis* to minister law and execute justice : also to call for the watchword and sign-
all of them, yes, and orderly to go to their watch and ward in their course and due times, And K
whereas in very deed they had cast off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they
would seem to shew a kind of loyal and dutiful diligence, in that (forsooth) they would be com-
manders of themselves, and keep some order without constraint. But in the end the mutiny broke
out into open sedition : namely, when they perceived once, that Tribunes misliked and reproved
their doings and endeavoured to cross their designs, yes, and denied flatly and openly to take part
with them in their follies and furious outrages. Whereupon they dethroned the Tribunes of their
judicial places in the *Principis*, yes, and dispossessed them quite of all room in the camp, and by a
general consent conferred the sovereign rule on two common soldiers, the captains of their
seditionous commotion, *Albius Caelius*, and *C. Arrius Puster*. Who not contented with the
* marks and ornaments of the Tribunes, were so bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the
very toll enigns of sovereign rule ; never thinking how those knives of rods, and axes sticking
within them, which they caused to be born afore them to the fear of others, were ready to light
upon themselves, to scourge their backs and sides, and to chop off their own heads not long after.
The supposed death of *Scipio*, whereupon they vainly built, was it that blinded their wits and
minds : upon the rumour whereof, being already noised abroad, they had no doubt, but all Spain
generally would be up in arms. In which garb and hubbubly, they made reckoning, that they
might levy monies of the confederat States, and spoil and pill the Cities neer unto them. And a-
mid these troubles, when all were in an uprose, and every man would venture to do every thing
at his pleasure, then they supposed their own deeds and actions would be lesse scised and marked.
Now when as they looked every day still to hear fresh newes, not of his death only, but also of his
funerals ; and seeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and
proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make semblance of enquiring af-
ter, & seeking out the first authors who raised those false reports : then they seemed to be angry also
and offended with them, to the end, that they forsooth might be thought rather to have believed
things inconsiderately, than to have devised such a matter themselves purposely. These leaders and
captains thus disappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and stand in horror of their own
enigns of magistracy that were carried before them, and in stead of that imaginary rule which
they usurped, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the true and lawfull power of
authoritie would be shortly turned upon them. As the sedition was thus dashed, by occasion,
that it was credibly and for certain reported, first, that *Scipio* was living ; and within a while
after, that he was recovered and in health : there came seven Tribunes or Colonels, sent from
Scipio himself. At whose first arrivall at the camp, the soldiers grew more angrie and wailpish
then before : but anon upon fair words and speeches, wherewith the Colonels entertained
those of their acquaintance, with whom they had communication, they were well contented
and appeased. For first they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards
to the *Principis* and the *Pretorium*, where they hapned to spie some knots of soldiers met to-
gether and talking one with another : and so spake unto them, as if they rather questioned with
them what the cause should be of their anger and suddain commotion, then blamed them, or
laid any action to their charge. The reason commonly pretended, was this, that their wages was
not duly paid at the day. Besides, they alleged, that whereas at the same time, when upon
the treacherous fact of the Illiturgians, there followed the losse and death of two Generals, and
the defeat of their two armies, they by their virtue had defended the Roman name and ho-
nour, and likewise kept the province to their behoof, the Illiturgians had indeed received com-
pensation for their offence and trespass, but there was none that had requited and re-
compensed them for their good service accordingly. Believe me (say they again) your com-
plaints are just and requests reasonable, and we will make relation thereof to the Lord General :
and glad we are in our hearts, that it is no worse, and that the case is no more insurable then it is
for

* Certain off-
cers or serge-
ants going be-
fore them
with vine rods

A for God be thanked, *P. Scipio* and the common-weal, are both sufficient and also willing to make
you amends for all.
But *Scipio*, a man though siled to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with storms of soldiers
was much troubled in spirit and perplexed, for fear the army might exceed measure in
transgressing or himself pass his bounds in punishing for the present he thought good to deal gen-
tly with them till, as he had begun, and sent abroad the collectors about the Tributary Cities to
gather up the revenues, thereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with speed. And here-
upon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they should repair to *Carthage*, there to
call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in general, whe-
ther they would themselves.
B And now by this time, the sudden pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebel, hil-
led the sedition of the soldiers quite, which of it self began to cool and slake already. For *Man-
donius* and *Indibilis*, after it was reported that *Scipio* was alive and lively, gave over their enter-
prise, and were retired again within their confines. So as now the soldiers had neither Citizen
nor forreiner to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had calt all about
what course to take and what shift to make, they found no other evasion, but the most common
refuge and retreat of all Jewel counsels and bad desigments, even to commit themselves either
to the just wrath of their General, or else to his clemency and mercy, whereof they were not past
all hope and in utter despair. For why ? he had not pardoned even the very enemies, with whom
he had fought in battell. And as for their mutiny, it was as yet without bloodshed, and no hurt
C done : and as it self was not cruel and outrageous, so it had delivered no extreme and rigorous pun-
ishment : thus reasoned they and comforted themselves, as naturally men are too prompt and
eloquent, to exonerate, to palliate and cloke their own faults, more I wot, then they should. This
was their only doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and squadrons, or all at once to
command their pay. In the end they were of opinion, that the safer way was to go all in one train.
At the very same time, whilst they among themselves laid their heads thus together in the camp,
there was a council held at new *Carthage* about them, and much dispute there was, and variety
of opinions, whether they should proceed against the heads and Captains only of the seditious
(who were in number not above five and thirty) or by cutting off the greater sort to punish this
so odious example and precedent of a rebellion rather then a mutiny. But the milder sentence took
D place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the punishment should rest. And for
the multitude, some chastisement and rebuke was sufficient for their correction. When the Council
was dismissed and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they sat about no-
thing else but this which they pretended, they published an edict throughout all the army in *Car-
thage*, for an expedition or journey against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* : and gave commandment to
make provision of victuals for certain daies. And those seven Tribunes, who had before gone to
Suero for to appease the mutiny there, were now sent to meet that army again : and having five
names apiece given them of the principal authors of the fore said tumult, they had a direction un-
to certain meet persons for the purpose, to shew them good countenance, to speak fair unto them,
and courteously to invite them home to their houses, and afford them kind and friendly entertain-
ment ; and after they had made them good cheer and brought them to bed, to take them being fast
E asleep upon their libell drinking of wine, and to bind them sure hand and foot Now when they
were not far off from *Carthage*, they under stood by those whom they met and encountered upon
the way, that all the whole army, was the next day following to set forth against the *Lacians* :
which tidings not only rid them of all fear, which secretly surprised and possessed their minds, but
also made them exceeding glad and joyous, for that they supposed their General being now left
alone with their forces, they might do with him what they would themselves, rather then be at
his commandment and devotion. And about sun-setting they entred the City, and perceived
the other army providing and making all ready for the voice above named. Received they were
and welcomed with gentle words, devised and framed on purpose : namely, that the L. General
F took great joy and contentment for their coming, for that they were come so just before the set-
ting out of the other army : and so they went to repose and make much of themselves. And with-
out any stir and tumult at all, the ring leaders of the sedition, were by the means of those Tri-
bunes entertained and lodged in the houses of certain persons of good behavior and meet for that
purpose, and there apprehended and imprisoned. At the relieve of the fourth watch, the carriages
of that army, whose expedition was pretended, began to set forward on the journey : and some-
what before day the standards and enigns advanced, but the whole army was detained and staid
at the gates, and certain warders sent to keep all the passages and wayes, that no man should go
as forth of the City. Then were those soldiers who came the day before summoned to an as-
sistance : and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunal of the General, (as if
G with their outcries and clamours they would have put him in some fear and dread of them. And
at one time both the Lord General himself in person ascended up the Tribunal, and with all the
armed soldiers were brought again from the gate, and enclosed round about at their backs
the unarmed multitude gathered together to hear an Oration. Then were they damed, as lustily
as they were before, and all their courage cooled : and (as they confessed afterwards themselves)
nothing terrified them so much, as the healthful strength and fresh colour of the L. General beyond
all their expectation, whom they thought verily to have found sick and cratie : yea, and his coun-
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tenance and face to vigorous and courageous, as they never remembered to have seen him so lusty in any battell before. For a while he sat still and said never a word, until he was advertised that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readines. Then after silence made by an *Oyez* of the cryer, in this wise he began and said,

"I would never have believed that I should have wanted words, and proper language unto mine own army: not because I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent speeches than to manage valiant actions, but for that being always from mine infancy almost trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of soldiers. But in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue afford me utterance: you, I say, whom I wot not to much as by what name to call. Should I term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or soldiers, who have renounced your Generall, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and made no conscience to break the oath of your allegiance? Left of all, should I give you the name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agnise the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and minds of arant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the Illegates and the Caracenes have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their captives in their outrage, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royal blood: whereas you imposed the sovereign command & government upon *Vmber Arius*, & *Calenus Albinius*, two base companions. Denie it now hardly if you will, that you all either were in the action, or willing in the intention. Verily I can easily believe you in to disavowing, and namely, that all this proceeded from the folly of some brainick fellows among you. For the trespasses committed are of that quality and consequence, that if the whole army were therein culpable, the expiation & purging thereof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishment. Full against my will I touch these points, as sores and galls that will not abide the rubbing: but unless they be touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own part, I thought verily that when the Carthaginians were driven out of *Spain*, there was neither place nor person throughout the whole province, that had envied my life and health: such hath been my carriage, and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies, but also with enemies. But see, how much I have been deceived! even in mine own campe the news of my death was not only received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have any man to imagine that I conceive, how all in general are guilty of this fact (for if I were per-
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faded in my mind, that my whole army wished my death, I would here die presently before your eyes; for what good would my life do me, repined of my soldiers and fellow Citizens?) But the multitude of every people is like the seas in nature: which of themselves are unmovable, and stir not as the winds blow, as the gales go and come, so are they either calm or troubled, serene and quiet: and even so the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads and leaders. As for you, ye have caught the infection from them, and plaid the fools with them for company. Surely I am thus perfwaded of you this day, that ye know not yet, to what enormous height of folly ye have proceeded: what mischievous act ye were entred into against mine own people: what you attempted against your native country, your wives and children: what you entertained against the gods and witnesses of your loyal oath: what ye have done against the sacred auspices and happy fortune, under which ye have served in warfare: what ye have committed against the custome & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors: & finally, how prejudicial and offensive your designs have been against the sovereign majesty of the Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that ye rather gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, then hearken thereto willingly and greedily. And it may be, that I have behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be weary of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country deserved at your hands which to betray, ye should complot with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*? How hath the people of *Rome* offended you, that you have deprived the *Kn. Marshalls* and Colonels created by the voices of the people, of their lawful rule and authority, and conferred the same upon private persons? And being not therewith contented, to have and acknowledge them for your Colonels: you, even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods belonging only to the General, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own to command. *Albins* and *Arius* forsooth, set up their pavilions in that chief place and State in the camp, where the sovereign magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded: from them the signall and watch-word was demanded, they sat as judges in the Tribunal seat of *Scipio* the Pro-consul: upon them the Licitors and Sergeants attended: for them they made way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them were the rods borne, and the axes withall. When it rained stones, when thunderbolts are shot, when lightnings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange, uncouth, and monstrous young ones, contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearful tokens. Nay this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by no supplications and prayers, can be purged and expiat, without the blood of them that have committed so heinous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembered)

"what

A "what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in times past a legion sent to *Rhegium*, there to lie in garrison. Traitorously and villainously they murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years space possessed and kept that wealthy town to their own behoof. For this notorious and heathily fact the whole legion, even four thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of *Rome* beheaded every one. And yet they at the first followed not for their captain *Arius Vmber*, little better then alander, der, skulian, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfortunate name, but *Decimus Junellus*, a Tribune or *Kn. Marshall*: neither joyed they with *Pyrrhus*, nor with the Samnites and *Lucans*, professed enemies of the people of *Rome*. Whereas ye, have plotted in council, and meant to have banded in arms together with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, their purpose was to have heated themselves for ever in *Rhegium*, like as before them the Campanians, who took *Capua* from the Tuscans, the old inhabitants: and the Mamertines likewise; who possessed themselves in *Stellio* of *Messana*, and never minded to molest and make war either upon the people of *Rome*, or any of their allies and confederats. But tell me I pray you, intended ye to have made your continual residence, and to have dwelt at *Suerot* where if I your General at my departure out of the province, when my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, ye might have cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard measure and wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and children. But alas, wife and children were clean excluded out of your minds: ye thought no more upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow on still, and discourse upon your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were. Yet haply not altogether to foolish and forth in the highest degree as may be supposed. I imagined ye being eight thousand men in number, (and say that ye were all of better account & reckoning then *Albins* & *Arius* are, under whom ye submitted your selves) to have been able for to defeat the people of *Rome* of the province of *Spain* so long as I lived, and the other army I stood bound and strong: wherewith in one day I forced new *Carthage*; with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased our *Spa*, four brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to say aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quickly believed that I was dead. How then? what if I was departed this life and gone indeed? Had the common wealth together with me yielded up her ghost? Would the main state and empire of *Rome* have lain to the ground with me at once? Forth (O *Jupiter*, almighty and most gracious) that ever a City founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eternally for ever to endure, should be compassed and made but equal with this frail and mortal body of mine. *Flamininus*, *Pantus*, *Gracchus*, *Posthumus Albinus*, *M. Marcellus*, *T. Quintus Crispinus*, *Cn. Fulvius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains have been slain in this one war; and they are dead and gone: yet the people of *Rome* continue on foot and overlive them, yea, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, either upon the edge of the sword, or upon some sickness or other. How should then the state of the people of *Rome* be entered & buried with the dead corps of me, but one man and no more? Even you your selves (to go no farther to seek examples here in *Spain*, when my father and uncle two Generals, were killed, chole *Septimius Martius* for your captain, to lead against the Carthaginians, being in the ruff and jollity of their fresh and late victory. I speak now, as though if I had miscarried, *Spain* had been left delitute and without a Commander and General. *M. Syllanus* who was sent with me in the province, joined in the same commission and of equal authority; *L. Scipio* my brother, and *C. Lalius*, both Lieutenants general: would these have fit still and done nothing? would these have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire? What could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your reputation and credit, or your quarrel and cause comparable? And suppose that in all these regards, ye have been superior and gotten the vantage, would ye indeed with the Carthaginians, have born arms against your native country against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that *Africk* should have commended *Italy*, and *Carthage* the City of *Rome*? And for what demerit and great trespass, I pray you, that your country had committed? *Corneilius* long ago, being wrongfully condemned and unworthily banished, seeing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was moved to take arms and to come against his country to assail it. A private regard of love and natural kinde, reclaimed them from publick parricide. But what grief of heart, what fit of anger hath indeed and provoked you? Set case your wages was paid later by some daies, whilst your General lay sick; was that a sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & proclaim open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of *Rome*, and turn to the Illegates? and to spare no law of God and man, but to break all and make shipwrack of conscience and common honesty? now surely, soldiers, ye were out of your wits, and fools as ye were in the highest degree. I was not my self farther out of frame and sicker in body, then ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to rehear, what folk believed, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it be possible: if not let us not speak of it yet, however we do, but rake it up in deep silence. I cannot deny, but my words have seemed sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very rigorous. But how much more cruell think ye are your deeds, then my words tart and sour? And if ye deem it reasonable, that I should bear & put up the things that ye have done, will ye not abide them

* *Arius Vmber*: alluding to *Atreus*, black and *Umbra* a dark shadow.

"and take in good part, and patiently to hear me to tell all that I can say. But these matters I will H
 "lay no more in your dish from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye
 "could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching
 "you all in general, if ye repent and be displeased with yourselves for your fault, and folly, I shall
 "be content and think you punished to the full. But as for *Adrius Calpurnius* and *Arrius Pudentius*,
 "the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their
 "treachery and transgression, even with their heart-blood; and they shall surely die for it. The
 "spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but
 "rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right
 "wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischief to no man alive, more than to your selves."

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before-
 hand, there was presented to their eyes and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the
 army which had environed the assembly round about clattered their swords & bucklers together.
 The common cry was heard to cite by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence
 of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and haled forth in the midst of them all, and
 every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the
 stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumbed they were all and astonished
 for fear, that were present at the sight, thereof, that there was not heard amongst them all one
 shrill & hard word, in milking the rigor of the punishment, no, nor so much as one groan or
 fetter sigh. Then their bodies were all drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged & all
 the soldiers were called by name & each one according as he answered to his name, had his wage
 get truly paid. This was the issue and final end of the soldiers mutiny, which began at *Sucri*.

At the same time, Captain *Hannibal* by *Mago*, from *Gades* with a small power of Africans,
 solicited the Spaniards about the river *Baetis*, for money, to rebel and put in arms upon a four thousand
 able men. But afterwards he was forced by *L. Marcius* to quit his camp, and having lost the
 greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yea, and some in the flight, whom
 the horsemen pursued in chase and slew as they ran struggling, himself with few others escaped a-
 way. While these things happened about the river *Baetis*, *Laelius* in the mean time having passed
 through the Straights into the main Ocean, arrived with his army at *Carteia*. This is a City stand-
 ing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first open-
 eth from the Straights into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as hath been aforesaid) to
 gain the City of *Gades* without any assault, by treason, for as much as there came some into the
 Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the treason broke forth too
 soon and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspirators were all apprehended, and sent by *Mago*
 unto *Adherbal* the Pretor, for to be conveyed to *Carthage*. And *Adherbal* having embarked
 those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five banks of oars, and sent her ashore, because she was
 slower of sail than those of three banks; himself with eight three-banked galleys, followed a pre-
 ty way also. The said Caravel of five oars of oars, was not so soon entered the Straights, but
Scipio also being embarked in another Caravel of the same sort, made out of the haven of *Carteia*
 with seven Gallies of three ranks of oars and invited *Adherbal* and the fore-said Gallies sup-
 posing verily, that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against
 the tide to retire. *Adherbal* being thus surprised on the sudden, for a while stood in fear and doubt
 what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravel, or turn the prow and
 beaks of his galleys, and make head against the enemy. Thus while he stood at a bay lingering, he
 lost the opportunity of shifting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart
 shot, and the enemies on every side were ready to charge. And the current was so strong, that
 they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was no-
 thing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by skill
 and dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature onely of the narrow sea, the violence of
 the current was in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well up-
 on their own fellows as upon their enemies: notwithstanding they rowed and laboured what they
 could to the contrary. So as one while ye should see a ship that fled and scudded away, whirled
 about back again with a witness by the waves, upon those that had her in chase: and likewise
 another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemy, if she hapned once into a contrary
 course of billows, to turn top and tail, and seem to flee. And in the very conflict it so fell out, that
 when as one vessel ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to
 turn her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one
 with her flank opposite to the enemy, suddenly all at once she should wind and whirle again
 upon her prow. As the galleys fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure
 and will of Fortune, the Roman Caravel (where it because of her weight she was able to stand more
 steady against the surging billows, or by reason that she had more ranks of oars that cut the waves,
 and so was more easily ruled) chanced to sink two of the smaller galleys of the enemies; and run-
 ning fast by one with a forcible violence wiped away clean all the oars of one side, and had no
 doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have invited and charged upon, but that
Adherbal, with the other five made sail, and got over into *Africk*. *Laelius* having sailed back
 to *Carteia* with victory, and heard what had been done at *Gades*, namely, how the culprit of
 betraying

A betraying the Island was disclosed, the conspirators sent bound unto *Carthage*, and consequently
 all their hope frustrate and turned to nothing upon which they came to *Gades*; dispatched mes-
 sengers to *L. Marius*, giving him to understand, that unless they meant still to lie before *Gades*,
 trifling away the time and doing no good, the best way was to return unto *Scipio* the lord General;
 and so with the content of *Marius* both of them within few daies repaired to *Carthage*. Up-
 on whose departure *Mago* had not only a time to breath himself being frightened as he was with a
 double fear both by land & sea; but also hearing that the Illegers were revolted, conceived some
 hope to recover *Spain* again, and addressed his courriers to the Senat at *Carthage*: who by relat-
 ing not only the civil mutiny that arose in the Roman camp, but also the rebellion of the confeder-
 ates (and all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the highest degree) should en-
 courage and exhort them to send aids for to regain the dominion of *Spain*, left unto them by de-
 scent over their ancestors. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* who were retired for a time into their confines,
 untill they knew how the sedition sped and what was the issue thereof, rested still in inopine. For
 if the natural citizens had their trespass forgiven, they made no doubt themselves but they might
 be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely and sharply they were punish-
 ed, they supposing their own transgression to deserve the like punishment, solicited their own
 people again to take arms: and thus having levied and assembled the same power of aids which
 they had before, they passed into the Sedetan's country, where at the beginning they lay in standing
 camp, being in all 20000, and 2500 horse strong.

C *Scipio* after he had soon reconciled and won again the heart of his soldiers, as well by making
 true payment of their wages, to the faulty and innocent alike, as also by shewing a loving coun-
 tenance, and giving friendly words unto all indifferently; before he did lodge and removed
 from *Carthage*, assembled them all together to an audience. "Where he inveighed bitterly and at
 large against the fallhood and treachery of the lords of the country that rebelled: and protested be-
 fore them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickedness with the same
 mind, wherewith lately before he had cured the folly, and reformed the error of his natural
 citizens: for then quoth he with grief and groans, and with tears like as one that rent and cut
 his own bowels, I expiated and purged either the inconsiderate folly, or the wilful malice of eight
 thousand men, with the head of thirty persons: but now I go with joy and glad heart, yea, and
 with a resolution to execute and massacre the Illegers. For neither are they born in the same land
 with me, nor linked now in any society at all unto me: the only bond of faith and amity which
 was between us, that they have themselves first impiously broken. But in my own army, besides
 that I see they are all either Roman citizens or else allies, and thole not Aliens but meer Latins:
 this doth me good and moved me much, that there is not among them so much as one soldier
 to speak of, but was brought out of Italy either by mine uncle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the first of
 the Roman name that came as *L. Deputy* into this province) or else by my father who was Con-
 sul, or last of all by my mine own self. They are every one of them well acquainted & inured with
 the name of *Scipio*, and tied to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct
 home safe with me to deserved triumph, and whom I hope to find ready to assist me with their
 favour when I stand for a Consulship, as if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them
 all in general, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whosoever
 taketh it to be a war, little remembereth the noble acts by me achieved: for surely I make more
 reckoning of *Mago* and his exploits, who is fled with a few ships as it were out of the compass
 of the world, in an land environed with the Ocean sea, then I do of the Illegers. For there
 in that place is not only a Carthaginian captain, but all the Carthaginian forces and strength that
 now remain. Here are none but thieves and robbers, and their leader: who peradventure
 may be of some power and sufficiency to forage the fields, to burn the houses, to drive away some
 cattell of their neighbours, but to come to hand-to-strokes in a set fight and ranged battell, they are
 of no valour and worth at all: who no doubt will come into the field, trusting upon their good
 footmanship to run away in the rout, more than upon any force of arms to maintain the fight.
 F And therefore I have thought good to put down and suppress these Illegers, before I depart out
 of the province: not for any present danger at all, or fear of greater war that I see may spring
 from thence; but first and principally, that I to ungracious and wicked a rebellion should not re-
 main unpunished, and next because it might not be said, that in a province so subdued, as well by
 singular prowess as rare felicity, there was left one enemy behind of the Romans. And therefore
 in the name of the gods follow after me, not so much to make just war (for ye are not to deal
 with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to punish
 graceless persons. When he had finished his speech, he dismissed them, with commandment to
 G be ready the next morrow to put themselves in the journey; and after that he set once forward, by
 the tenth day he came to the river *Iberus*, and when he had passed over, within 4 daies more, he
 encamped in the sight of his enemies. Now there was a plain there, environed round about with
 mountains: into which vale between, he caused the cattell (and those were for the most part driven
 out of the enemies country) for to be put forth to graze and all to provoke the anger of the
 fierce and savage enemies: and lent out withall, the light appointed archers to guard them: he
 took order besides, that when there were one in skirmish with the vanquishers of the enemies, *Lae-
 lius* with his Cavalry should closely from some covert place give sudden charge. And for
 this purpose, there was a hill that bare out handiomey to hide the ambush of those horsemen.
 And

Scipio to his
 soldiers.

"fear of any danger from thence. We see before our eyes their City rated at whose infatigation & whom for to gratifie. *Annibal* before had said *Saguntum* and ought their lands now we gather rents and revenues: which contenteth our hearts not so much for profit & gain, as for quittance and revenge. In consideration and regard of these benefits and good turns, which be such, as greater we cannot hope nor wish for at the hands of the immortal gods, the Senat and people of *Saguntum* hath sent us ren here in Embaslie unto you, for to give you thanks in their name; & with all joy & congratulate in your behalf for the happy hand ye have made, and the fortunate exploits ye have achieved these last years past, as well in *Spain*, as in *Italy*; namely, that ye have subdued, and do hold in possession all *Spain*, not only so far as to the river *Iberus*, but even to the lands end, and the utmost point lying upon the Ocean Sea, And as for *Italy*, ye have left no more ground in it, for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, than they emale within the compass of I french and ramparts. Moreover, we have in special charge, not only to render thanksgiving there- to for almighty and most gracious *Jupiter*, the patron of the fortres, and Castle of the Capitol, but also to offer & present unto him (if it might stand with your good grace and liking) this golden crown; and to set it up in the Capitol, in token and memorial of Victory. Which we humbly beseech your HH. of your favour to grant unto us; and moreover, (if it please you) to ratifie and confirm for ever by your authority and approbation all those benefits, franchises, and privileges, which your Generals have of their goodness vouchsafed to endow us with.

The Senat made this answer to the *Saguntin* Embassadors. "That both the raising and also the tearing again of *Saguntum* should be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithfulness, and alliance, observed both of the one part and the other inviolate. And whereas their Generals had re-edified the City of *Saguntum*, and delivered the Citizens thereof from servitude and bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction according to the will and pleasure of the Senat. And whatsoever else was performed by them to the good and benefit of the *Saguntins*, the Senat stood willing and contented therewith, and gave order therefore. As for their present and oblation, good leave they had to bestow it solemnly in the Temple of the Capitol. After this order was given, That the Embassadors should have their lodging appointed them, and presents sent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the City; yea, and by way of a reward, an allowance of no less than ten thousand Asles apiece.

Then were the other Embassadors admitted into the Senat-houle, and audience given them. Also the request of the *Saguntins* was granted to go and see *Italy* for their pleasure, so far forth as they might with security of their persons; and certain guides were assigned to conduct and accompany them, with especial letters also directed unto all Cities and towns, for to receive the Spaniards friendly, and give them courteous entertainment.

These things done, the Senators sat in consultation about the state and common weal, & treated concerning the levying of new armies; the distribution of the Provinces. Now when as the common brite went that *P. Scipio* was destined & named to a new province of *Affrick*, & all men gave out with open voice, that he was the man to be sent thither directly, without asking lots for the matter; & himself besides not resting content now with men glory, said openly, that he was declared Col, not only for to maintain war but also to finish and make an end thereof, once for all which could not be effected by any other means, unless himself in person made a voyage with an army into *Affrick*; protesting moreover, That if the Senat crossed and gaind this design of his he would propound it to the people, and carry it away clear by their voices: whiles the principal LL. and ancients of the Senat were nothing pleased with this resolution of his, but durst not say a word and speak their minds, either for fear, or for courting of him, in hope of preferment; only *Q. Fabius* being demanded his opinion, spake to the matter in question to this effect.

"Right honourable and my LL. of the Senat, I know full well, that many of you here attempted are of this mind & verily periwaded, That we are let this day to no purpose, but even to confute & debate of a matter clearly determined; & that in vain he shall spend words, who shall deliver his advice of the Province of *Affrick*, as of a point as yet doubtful & not resolved upon already. For mine own part, first I cannot conceive neither will I enter into my head, how *Affrick* can possibly now be accounted as a Province, & assigned certainly unto your Col, (let him be a man right hardy, & of as much valour as may be) considering, that neither the Senat unto this day hath judged it; nor the people ordained & assigned it to any person in the nature and name of a Province. Furthermore, if it were so indeed without all peradventure: then in my judgment the Col, hath done amiss, who in making fembance to put a matter for to be debated, which is already agreed upon, hath deluded and mocked the whole Senat, and not the Senator, who in his course delivereth his opinion of the thing in question. But I am assured, that in gainfaying and crossing this hally voyage into *Affrick*, I shall incur the sinister opinion & surmise of two things: the one is of my usual lingring and slow proceeding in all mine actions (a course that naturally I am given unto) which young men may term at their pleasure, timorousness and laziness; but so long as I have no cause to repent therefore, I pass the less. For surely hitherto the advices of others have ever at the first light made a goodlier hear, and seemed more honourable: but by experience, mine own waies have sped better, and been found in the end more effectual. The other is, of backbitting, detraction, and envying at the glory and reputation of the Col. a man of singular prowess (I must confess) & whom I see to grow from day to day in greatness and honour. From which jealousie and suspicion, if neither my life passed and the carriage of my self; if neither my

"Dictator-

"Dictatorship with five Consulships, nor so much glory which I have acquired as well in managing the affairs of war abroad, as of civill policy at home (that a man would think I should rather be glutted therewith than desire any more) be able to clear and assuage me; yet my years at least will free me from my very son? When I was Dictator, in the vigour and and him, who is not of equal age with my very son? I was Dictator, in the vigour and flower of my strength, in the very course and train of my greatest and bravest exploits, no man either in Senat or in the assembly of the people, heard me to refuse or deny. That my own General of Cavalry, who could not afford me a good word, but ever railed at me, (a thing that was never heard before) should be made equal with my self in command and government. And yet by good deeds rather than by fair words, I effected and gained thus much in the end, that he, who in the judgment of others was matched with me and made my fellow, confessed within a while himself to be my inferior. Let reason have I then now, after I have gone through all degrees of honors and dignities, to enter into contention & emulation with a young gentleman, of all others at this day most flourishing in the eyes of the world: unless forthwith it bea likely matter that (a man weary not only of managing affairs, but also of this world, and of this life) should look to have the Province of *Affrick* offered unto me, if it were once denied him, Nay verily, I have enough already: in that glory I am content to live and die, and seek for no more. It was sufficient for me to hinder *Annibal* from achieving the victory to the end that by you, who now are gallants in the belt of your strength, he might be vanquished & overcome. Meet it is then and great reason *O. P. Cornelius*, that you should bear with me and hold me excused, if I, who never in regard of mine own self set greater store by the fame and opinion of people, than of the good of the Common-weal prefer not now your glory before the weal-publike. And yet I will not say, but in case there were no war at all in *Italy* for the enemy of that quality, as by conquering of whom there were no credit & honour to be gotten: then that would seek to keep you still in *Italy*, were it never so much for the good of the State might seem to go about to disappoint and frustrate you (in putting you by the charge of the war) of the very means and matter of your glory and renown. But seeing that *Annibal* is your object, seeing he is our enemy, who with an entire army still holdeth *Italy*, as it were besieged now these fourteen years will you not, *O. P. Cornelius*, hold your self well contented with this honour and reputation. That you being Consul, should drive that enemy out of *Italy*, who hath been the cause of the death of so many brave men of ours, and of so many foils and overthrow that we have received: that, like as *C. Lucius* had the name of finishing the former Punic war, so you may win the title of ending this other also. Unless that a man would say that *Annibal* was a warrior and Captain worthy to be preferred before *Annibal*; or that war of more importance than this: or that victory greater and more honorable than this is like to be, in case it happen that we may be conquerors under your conduct, and whiles you are Consul. Whether would you chuse rather to have drawn *Annibal* away from *Drepanum* & the mountain of *Eryx*, than chased and hunted the Carthaginians and *Annibal* out of *Italy*? Nay surely, even your own self (howsoever you embrace glory already won than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy & contentment, and triumph rather for freeing and delivering of *Spain* than *Italy* from the wars. *Annibal*, Twot, as yet is not come to that low ebb, nor so down the wind, but that he which made choice of another war, may seem well in so doing to stand as much in fear and dread, as in contempt of him. Why then address you not your self to effect this imprese, and leave building these Castles in the air, and hope by fetching these reaches and this compals, & going the longest way about, that when you are passed over into *Affrick*, *Annibal* will follow you thither: and not rather go the next way to work, and fight with *Annibal* where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed and desirous to win this honour of dispatching quite the Punic war? Why, it is the course of nature to defend and make sure your own before you go in hand to assaile the dominions of others. Let us have peace first in *Italy* before we make war in *Affrick*: and let us first rid our selves of fear ere ever we take occasion to put others in fear; unless we had some greater quarrel. And if by your conduct and fortunate government, both these may possibly be effected; conquer *Annibal* here, and then go thither to assaile *Carthage* a Gods name, But if the one or the other of these victories must needs be left for new Consuls to achieve: as the former of the twain will be the greater and more memorable, so it will open the way, and give the overture unto the other, then ensuing upon it. For at this time, over and besides that our treasure, and all the revenues and finances of our state, are not able to maintain and wage two sundry armies both in *Italy* and in *Affrick*: besides I say, that we want the means to keep two Armados afloat, and have nothing left sufficient wherewith to furnish them with victuals and munition: who leeth not I pray you how far we engage our selves in peril and danger by this enterprise? *P. Lucius* shall war in *Italy*, and *P. Scipio* in *Affrick*. What will ye say if *Annibal*, (which God forbid, & my heart even dreadeth to prelate, but that which once hath happened may happen full well again) upon the ground of some new victory, fortune to go forward and assaile the City of *Rome*? Where are we then? Shall we have time then to tend for your Col, out of *Affrick*, as we did for *Q. Fabius* from *Spain*? And what say you to this besides. That the fortune of war is doubtful & uncertain even in *Affrick*, as well as in other places: Call to mind, and learn betimes by the examples of your own house and family, by your father and uncle: who within 30 daies were slain, & their armies defeated: even there, where for certain years space they had performed both by sea and land most

Ccc 2

"noble

*He meaneth
Alibab.

"noble exploits: and highly renowned among forrain nations both the Roman people, and also H
"your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day nothing else but
"reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors, & General Captains there have been,
"who have entered rashly into their enemies countries, and received many toils and overthrows
"thereby, as well in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent &
"politic State, having left the war at home in their own country, and following the counsel and
"suggestion of one young man, as hasty & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your
"self (none dispraised) failed into Sicily, with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell
"fought at sea, overturned and ruinated for ever their most flourishing City & Common-weal.
"But why seek I forrain examples of strangers, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago.
"Let even this same Affrick, and *M. Asdrubal*, have as a notable example of both fortunes, for our
"instruction & learning for ever. Now surely, *P. Cornelius*, when you shall once discover Affrick with-
"in your view from the sea, you will think then that your Provinces of Spain were matters of sport
"in your opinion of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in
"your voyage for Spain, you failed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of Italy and France,
"and arrived at Emporia, a friend City and Confederat; and when you had landed your men, you
"led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of Rome, even as far
"as Tarragon. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towne, furnished with Roman
"garrisons. About the river *Iberus* you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained
"upon the loss of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than
"before. You met there *L. Martius* their Captain and Leader, choisen (I must needs say) I know K
"not how in a hurry by the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
"bounty of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
"feats of arms and martiall knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.
"After this you assaulted Carthage without any empachment, and took your time at your own
"pleasure, even when there was no respect to be compared with the African war: where we shall find
"affociates. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken & not to debate any good
"servi: there) they are in no respect to be compared with the African war: where we shall find
"no haven open to entertain our Amado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King
"friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with
"safety. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostility threatening danger and perill L
"unto you. Do you indeed trust *Syphax* nor rely upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that I
"we trusted them. Rash adventures speed nor always best. And oftentimes we see, that fraud fe-
"meth faithfull, and maketh way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance
"and when the time serveth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witness. The enemies
"overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtiberians our Allies
"over-raught them by falshood and treachery: neither were your self in so much danger from
"*Mago* and *Asdrubal* the chief Captains of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your
"new friends and confederates. Can you repose any confidence in the Numidians? You, I say that
"have experience of your own souldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for *Sy-*
"*phax* and *Masaniassa*, as they had rather themselves be the sovereign & most mighty in Affrick, M
"than the Carthaginians should: so surely they wish the Carthaginians to be the highest above
"all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heart-burning
"among them, and all occasions of quarrell where they on to maintain sides and factions, so long
"as fear of forrain enemy is far enough off. Shew them once the Roman arms and forces, let
"them see an host of strangers once, they will run I warrant you altogether then, as it were to
"quench a common scarefire. You shall find, that the very same Carthaginians will far otherwise
"stand to the defence of the wals of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their
"Altars and private houses, when going to battell they shall have their fearful wives to bear them
"company, their small children to go afore them in their eye: you shall find them, I say, stick be-
"tar to it than they did in the quarrell upon the confidence of the generall concord of Affrick, of
"finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of their own wals, should fortune
"the fast fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their own wals, should fortune
"shew themselves, when they shall see Italy destitute of your help, and disarmed of their forces, ei-
"ther to make out a fresh army from Affrick and send it into Italy, or else give order and directi-
"on to *Mago* (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the Balear
"Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurians) for to joyne his
"power with *Annibal*: It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much affright-
"red then as we were of late, when *Asdrubal* mounted over the Alpes, and came down into
"Italy. *Asdrubal*, I say, whom you (that will with your army compass not only Carthage, but also
"all Affrick) let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into Italy. But you will say, that O
"you have vanquished him, say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love
"I beare to the Common-weal, but also of the affection that I carry toward your self, that a van-
"quished man could find the way by you into Italy, be content & suffer us to attribute all things
"that have gone well with you or the Common-weal, during the time of your government, to
"your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out crose and adverse, to im-
"pute and assign the same to nothing else, but to the variable events of war, and to fickle fortune. The

A Under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely *L. Veturius* & *Q. Caecilius*, should either
"The better and more valiant that you are, the more need hath your native Country, yes, and all
"Italy besides, to keep you still at home with them, to brave a captain, or rare a Protector. You
"annot your own self dissemble the matter, but confess, That wheresoever *Annibal* is, there is
"the very head, the fort & strength of all this war; for as much as you pretend, that the only cause
"why you would pass into Affrick, is to draw *Annibal* thither after you. Well then, he is here or
"is it there, with *Annibal* you must have to do. Tell me then, whether are you like to be stronger
"affric your self alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Colleague shall be
"joined together? Is it possible that even the late example of *Levinus* and *Clautius*, so fresh in
"memory, should not inform and teach us, what difference there is between the one and the o-
"ther? In whither place I pray you, will *Annibal* be more strong in men and munition, here in the
"utmost corner & angle of the Brutians Country, where this long time he hath waited in vain for
"aid from home, where he hath sent for succour and gone without, or near unto Carthage, and in
"the midst of Affrick among his friends and allies? What kind of policy is this of yours, there to de-
"cide the quarrell and try the whole matter, where your own forces are as lesse by a halfe moiety, and
"the power of your enemies much greater and stronger, rather then here, whereas you may
"fight with the power of two armies against one, toiled out of heart in so many battles, and wea-
"ried with long warfare, so tedious and grievous withal? Consider with your self, what comfort-
"mity and remembrance there is, between your designs and your fathers. He, as Consul having
"made a journey into Spain, to the end that he might encounter *Annibal* as he came down the Alps,
"returned out of his own province into Italy: and you, when *Annibal* is in Italy, purpose to a-
"bandon and leave Italy. And why? forsooth not because you judge it good for the common-weal,
"but because you think it an enterprise that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
"when you being captain Generall of the people of Rome, left your province at random, and your
"army at six and seven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senat, hazarded in two
"bottoms the whole state and majesty of the Empire of Rome; which at that time together with
"the danger of your life, incurred the perill and jeopardy of the maine chance. To conclude, for
"mine own part (my LL. of the Senat, I am of this mind, and this is my conceit, that *P. Cornelius*
"was not created Col. privately for himself and his own behoof, but for the good of the common-
"weal and us all: and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
"fence of Italy; and not for the Col. in their proud self-conceit & overweening of themselves.
D "after the manner of absolute KK to transport & lead into what parts of the world they list them-
"selves. When *Fabius* by this oration (premeditated and framed to the time) had through his autho-
"rity and the long settled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisdom, drawn unto his side
"and the grave counsell of the old man, above the lully and youthful courage of the other gallant:
"then *Scipio* by way of answer made these remonstrances, and spake in this wise. "My lords of the
"Senat, even *Fabius* himself in the beginning of his oration, said very well, that his opinion which
"he was to deliver, might be suspected of detraction and envy. Or which note, verily I distrust not
"my self to tax and accuse a man of his quality and reputation so much, as methinks is not so well
"cleared as it ought to be the very suspicion it self: and I wot not whether it be a default of his
"speech & oration, or that the thing it self is so pregnant. For in such manner he exalted with good-
"ly words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and all to quench the jauntie
"and envie of envy: as if my self was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of some
"company of the basest degree and condition and not of him; who because he far surpasseth other
"men, (which height and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endeavour my self to reach unto) would
"not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himself in regard
"of his old years considering that he hath gone through all ranks and honour: and so low debated
"me, and put me down even under the age of his own ion: as though the desire and love of glory,
"should passe no farther then the length of mans life, and the greatest part thereof extended not
"to the memory of posterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
"dent to the most magnanimous men and of greatest spirit and courage, to have a desire for to
"match themselves not only with them that live in their daies, but with most famous & excellent
"personages, that ever were or might be in any age. And surely for mine own part, *Q. Fabius*,
"I will not make it goodly, but frankly bewray my mind that way, namely, that I would full fair
"not only attain unto your praise-worthy acts and commendable virtues; but also (with your good
"leave be it spoken) if possible I can, even to exceed and surmount the same. Therefore let us not ca-
"ry this mind, either you towards me, or I to those that are younger then my self, to be unwilling
"and think much, that any one citizen among us, should prove equall to our selves: for in to do-
"ing, we should offer wrong and do hurt not only to them whom we have envied and maligne,
"but also prejudice the common-weal, & in manner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much
"to you self. He hath now (my lords) recounted, to what great perils I should enter into by the A-
"ffrick voyage in such sort, as he would seem not only to have a careful regard of the common-
"wealth and the army, but also to pity me and tender my safe and fortune. Whence cometh it, that
"you should all on a sudden take so great care for me when my father and uncle both were slain,
"when their armies both twain, were utterly almost defeated and put all to the sword: when
"Spain was lost; when 4 armies of Carthaginians, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
"armes; when there was a captain sought for to undertake that war, and no man durst be seen to
"Gcc 3 put

"put himself forward, no man so hardy as to present and offer his service, but my self; and when H
 "the people of Rome had committed the charge and government of Spain to me a young man
 "but four and twenty years old: how happened it that no man then took exception at my age, made
 "mention of the enemies force, discount of the difficulty and danger of the war, or laid abroad
 "the late and fresh defeat and death of my father and uncle? I would demand and gladly know
 "whether we have succeeded now lately, more greater calamity and loss in Africa, than we re-
 "ceived at that time in Spain? or if the armies at this present in Africa be more puissant, or the
 "captains more in number, or better in valour, then they were in Spain at that time? or whe-
 "ther mine age then, was more ripe and sufficient to manage wars, then now it is? Is that of
 "wherein I be better, more commodious & easie, to maintain war with the Carthaginian enemy
 "in Spain, then in Africa? After that I have discomfited and put to flight four holls of Cartha-
 "ginians: after I have either for ed by assault, or reduced under mine obedience (for fear) so many
 "my Cities: after I have vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many
 "princes and potentates, so many herce and cruel nations: after I have so fully recovered Spain, as
 "there is not remaining to be seen there, so much as the footing and bare token of any war: as also
 "easie matter it is, and all one to elevat and deprelle the acts past that I have achieved: as also
 "purdie it will be, when I return with conquest out of Africa, to debase and make nothing of
 "those very things, which now to keep me back from then, e, and to make them appear strange,
 "are amplified with great words, & stretched upon the painters to the fun, he holdeth that there
 "is no access, no entrance into Africa, nor havens open to receive an armada. He telleth us and
 "alleged that M. Attilius was taken prisoner in Africa, as if M. Attilius forsooth at this first arri-
 "vall in Africa, had caught that harm and heavy misfortune. But he never in remembrance and cal-
 "lecth to mind, how that even the very same captain, as infomant as he was, yet found the baies
 "is open enough into Africa, and the first year bare himself fight valiantly and victoriously: & for
 "hitherto of Carthaginian captains, continued invincible to the end. You shall never therefore
 "scare me with the example so much, (were it so) that the calamity you speak of, hapned in this
 "war, and not in the former: of late, and not forty years ago) that I should give over my intend-
 "ed purpose and not to fall into Africa now, because Regulus there was taken prisoner: as well as
 "I passed before into Spain, whereas the Scipio chanced to be killed. Or that I shall suffer, that
 "Sambroth the Laedemonian was born into this world more happy for Carthage, then my
 "self for Italy: but rather, that thereby I should think the better of my self, considering that the
 "fortune of one only man can be of such consequence and so great effect. But we ought (you say)
 "to consider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the war at home in their own country,
 "passed over into Sicily unadvisedly. Seeing you are at so good leisure to tell tales and report
 "the fabulous stories of Greece: why discourse you not rather of Agathocles the king of the Syracuse
 "Sicily, who seeing that Sicily a long time was troubled & eyed with the Punic war, failed over
 "into the self-same Africa, whereof we speak, and withdrew the war thither from when, e it
 "came? But what need I to instruct and teach you by rehearsing old and forrain examples, how
 "material a thing it is and important, to begin with an enemy first and put him in fear; and by
 "bringing another in danger, to remove the peril from our selves. Can there be a present found
 "more present more present and fresh in memory to prove and enforce this point, then Anni-
 "bal himself? A great difference there is between the waiting and pilling the lands of others, and
 "seeing of our own burnt and destroyed. And he which giveth the assault to endanger another,
 "is ever, of more courage then he that standeth upon his own guard and at defence only to save
 "himself. Moreover, the fear and dread is alwaies greater of things unknown unto us: but so
 "soon as the good is entered into the confines of a forrain country he may behold and see at hand (as
 "well as the good as the bad) what may advantage and what may endanger the enemies. Annibal
 "would never have thought and hoped, that so many States in Italy would have revolted unto
 "him as they did upon the overthrow at Cannæ. How much lesse account then may the Cartha-
 "ginians make of anything in Africa, to remain fall and assured unto them: who are fickle al-
 "lies to strangers without all truth and fidelity: proud, lords & intolerable tyrants over their
 "own subjects, full of wrath & cruelty? Over and besides, we albeit we were forsaken and aban-
 "doned of all our confederates should alwaies upon our own forces, & maintained our selves with
 "peer Roman souldiers: whereas in Carthage they have no strength of natural citizens: the
 "souldiers that they have, are mercenaries all & waged for money partly Africans and partly Ni-
 "midians, the most unconstant nations of all others by nature, and aptest to entertain changes &
 "innovations. Let me have no stay and hindrance in this place only: ye shall hear news at one
 "time that I am set over in Africa, that all the country there is up in a broil that Annibal is re-
 "ady to dislodge and remove out of these parts: & also that, Carthage it self is besieged. Expect you
 "daily out of Africa better and luckier tidings, yea, and often then ye heard out of Spain. These
 "hopes of mine, I ground upon the fortune of the people of Rome to upon the justice of the gods
 "witnesses of the league broken by the enemies upon Syphax and Masinissa, both Kings, whose
 "truth and fidelity I will trust so far forth as I find them, and ever stand in fear and doubt of their
 "faith and treachery. Many things they are now, that by distance of place appear not, which
 "war now begun will soon discover. And this is a special point of a man indeed, & of a good cap-
 "tain, in no case to be wanting unto fortune when the offereth herself, but to take all vantage
 "that she giveth: and those accidents and occurrences which fall by chance to make use of them
 "yea,

A "yea and by wisdom and counsell to frame them to his own purpose and designs. True
 "it is, O Fabius, I shall have Annibal to beard and to match me: a souldier, I confesse, as
 "good every way as my self, but I will rather draw him after me, than he shall keep me back
 "at home. For he him I will to fight in his own country, and Carthage shall be the price of my vi-
 "ctory, rather then the decayed peeces, and half ruinat perycassles of the Brutii. Only provide, O
 "Q. Fabius, that in the mean time whiles I am at sea in my voyage, whiles I am landing mine ar-
 "my in Africa, whiles I approach Carthage with a running camp, the Common-weal luttin no
 "harm and damage here at home. See to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shame-
 "full reproach to say, that P. Licinius the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the
 "high Priest, and by vertue thereof, not to absent himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices
 "and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should
 "be not befall unto him by calling lots) is not able to perform that, now when Annibal is half de-
 "feated, and his heart almost broken, which your self was sufficient to effect when Annibal's half de-
 "feated it out, and braved all Italy like a conqueror. But let the case and suppose I say, that by this
 "counsell which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end: yet surely it
 "were for the honour of the people of Rome, and for the reputation and name which they have
 "among forrain princes and States abroad, that they may see and know, that they have
 "not only to defend Italy, but also to offend Africa, and that it might neither be thought, and be-
 "lieved nor spoken and noised abroad in the world, how no Roman captain durst adventure that
 "which Annibal hath already dared and done: and when as in the former Punic war, when all
 "the quarell was for Sicily, our armies and armados so often assailed Africa: now that Italy is in
 "C. a question Africa should lie still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let Italy be at repose and quiet now
 "at last, after so long travell and affliction and let Africa in her turn be fired and forraged ano-
 "ther while. Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the very walls and gates of Carthage,
 "then we see once again from our walls the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our Ci-
 "ty. Let Africa be the set place and seat of the war, let tight and flight, foraging and harrying
 "of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that
 "follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thither. It shall content
 "and suffice me to have spoken as touching state-matters & the commonweal of the war present-
 "ly in hand: and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and consula-
 "tion. For it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same impertinent altogether un-
 "to you, as if Q. Fabius hath delayed and depraived mine acts in Spain, so I likewise should dif-
 "fer and diminish his glory, and set out my self and mine own reputation with goodly
 "and magnificent words. But my self, I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else,
 "yet at leastwise, young man as I am, I will in modesty and government of my tongue go beyond
 "him as old and ancient a personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self in
 "all mine actions, that without blazing of mine own praises, I can soon content my self with
 "that good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me.
 "Scipio had audien given him, with lesse indifference, and patience because it was commonly
 "voiced abroad. That if the Senat would not grant him to have the province and whereupon Q.
 "Fulvius, a man that had been four times Consul and Censor besides, required the Consul to
 "E speak his mind openly before the Senat, whether he would refer unto the LL, there assembled,
 "to determine of the provinces, and stand to that which they should set down, or prefer the thing
 "unto the people. When Scipio had made answer again and said, That he would do that which
 "might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-weal: then Fulvius replied upon
 "him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what either you would answer, or
 "what you meant to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no lets your self, that you do but
 "found the Senat, and feel rather how they had inclined, then to stand to any advice of theirs in
 "good sadness. And in case we do not presently grant you the province according unto your de-
 "fire, you have a bill framed already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty.
 "F And therefore (qd. he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that
 "I forbear to speak unto the point and deliver mine opinion; in this regard, because I know that
 "the Col. will not approve and ratifie the same, howsoever the whole house will go with me,
 "and allow my sentence. Hereupon arose some brail & debate among them, whiles the Col. urged
 "and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reason and equity, that the Tribuns
 "should enterpise their authority, and not permit every Senator being requelled to speak in his
 "turn, for to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribuns made a decree in this manner, if the
 "Col. be content that the Senat shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command, that all
 "men rest in that which the Senat that order and judgment will we suffer the same to be pro-
 "pounded unto the people: if he be not content nor yeeld thereto, then we will assist him who
 "shall refuse to speak to the matter. Then the Col. requested a daies rest to confer with his Col-
 "league, and so the morrow after he condescended to put all to the censure of the Senat. And in this
 "wife were the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Col. Sicily was assigned, and
 "thirty ships of war with brazen beak heads (even the same that C. Servilius the year before had
 "the charge of) with commission also to passe over in Africa, if he thought it were for the good
 "of the Common-weal. The other Consul had the government of the Brutii and the managing
 "of the war against Annibal, with the power of that army which L. Veturius and Q. Caecilius had
 "left

wherein they seemed to be made good friends again. The same Livius left all the tribes but one, disarmed, and caused them to pay tribute as no denizens, for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and also made him a Consul and Censor afterwards.

The nine and twentieth book of T. Livius.

Scipto after he was arrived in Sicily, disposed his voluntary souldiers in order, and enrolled them by Centuries. Over and besides them he had him three hundred lusty tall fellows, for the flower of their age and strength of body, the bravest men of all others: but they wist not themselves for what purpose they were relieved; being neither assigned to any Colours under a Captain, nor so much as armed at all. Then he made choice from out of the whole manhood and youth of Sicily three hundred men, such as for birth and wealth were the very principal and best in the Island, who were to pass over with him into Affrick: and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readines, furnished and appointed in the best manner with horse and armor. This warfare so far from home was like to be irksome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and fear hereof mightily disquieted not only the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they shewed their horses and armour. Then Scipio made a speech unto them, and said, "That he was given to understand, that certain Sicilian horsemen stood in great fear and dread of this soldiery, as being a force and painfull piece of service: In case then (quoth he) there be any of you so minded and disposed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereof unto me, and confesse at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and so to prove lazy lubbers and unprofitable souldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore prier your minds in plain terms, and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and said flatly, "That if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then Scipio answered him again in this manner, Forasmuch as my youth (thou hast not dissembled thy heart's grief, but spoken out what thou thinkest, I will loose) depute one in thy turn unto whom thou shalt deliver thy armour, thy horse and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, there to train, teach, & exercise him after thou hast given him thy horse and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he assigned unto him one of those three hundred above said, whom he kept about himself unarmed. When the rest saw that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the L. General: every man then began to speak for himself, and to make excuses and took others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were substituted as many Roman horsemen, without any expenses at all of the State. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing and training them up. For the General had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whosoever did not so, should serve himself in person. This proved by report a brave cornet of horsemen above the rest; and in many battles performed right good service to the Common-wealth. After this, he took a survey of the legions or footmen: and all those who had borne arms longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had been employed under the conduct of Marcellus. For those he well wist to have been brought under the best discipline of warfare, and also by reason of the long siege of Syracuse, to be most skilfull in assaulting of Cities. For now they were no small matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruin of great Carthage. After this, he divided his army and placed severall forces in sundry towns. The Cities of Sicily he enjoyed to provide corn, he made spare of that which was brought out of Italy: the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent Lelivius into Affrick for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes the new which did at Panormus he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground, and be seasoned, because they were made in haste of green timber. When he had prepared all things necessary for war, he came to the City of Syracuse, which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, since the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods, granted unto them by the Senat of Rome, which certain of the Italian nation detained and withheld from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of war they had possessed themselves thereof. He supposing it meet and requisite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State: partly by vertue of an edict and commandment, and partly by a civil course and process of law against such as were obstinate and avowed their wrongs done, he forced them to make restitution to the Syracusians. This act of his pleased not only them, but also all the states of Sicily: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The same summer there arose in Spain great troubles, raised by the means of Indibilis the Illegere for no other occasion or reason in the world, but because in regard of the high admiration of Scipio, all other Captains besides whatsoever were but despised. "Him they supposed to be the only General that the Romans had left, now that all the rest were slain by Annibal. And hereupon it was thought they that when the two Scipios were killed, they had no other to send into Spain but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in Italy, he was the only man sent for over to match with Annibal. And over and besides that, the Romans had now in Spain no Cap-

"rains

A "rains at all, but in bare name and shew: the old experienced army also was from thence withdrawn. All things are out of frame, and in great confusion, & none there, but a disordered sort of raw Irish water souldiers. And never they looked to have again the like occasion & opportunity to recover Spain out of their hands. For hitherto they had ever been in subjection to that day, either to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not always to the one or the other, by turns, but otherwise to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Romans, so may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in the end Spain being freed from all foreign war, might be restored for ever to the ancient customs and rights of the country. With these and such like suggestions and discourses, he solicited and raised not only his own subjects and countinmen, but the Aulicans also, a neighbouring nation, yea, and other States and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines: so as within few daies there assembled together into the territory of the Sedetans (according to an Edict published abroad thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse).

The Roman Captains likewise for their part, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, left by neglected of the first beginning the war might grow to a greater head, joined their forces together, and marching through the country of the Aulicans, as peaceably as if they had been friends (notwithstanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped and pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they assayed by way of Embassage to deal with them, and to persuade them to lay aside all arms and hostility: but they laboured in vain. Afterwards, when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certain Romans that were foraging, the Romans also sent out from their Stations and Corps de Guard their Cavalry to rescue: so the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act to speak of was effected on the one side or the other. The next morrow by sunrise the enemies all shewed themselves armed and in order of battel, and braved the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Aulicans were marshalled in the main battel: the Illegeres in the right point, and certain other Spanish nations of late and mean account in the left: between both those wings and the battel, of either hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth their horsemen. The Romans having embattled and put themselves in array after their old and usual manner yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain open waies between the legions for the men of arms to pass through, but Lentulus supposing that the use of the horse-service would be advantageous to that part which first should fend out their Cavalry into the battell of the enemies, that lay to open with spaces between, gave commandment to Ser. Cornelius a Knight Marhall or Tribune, to call and charge the Cavalry to let to with their horses, and to enter those open places between the enemies battalions. And himself having sped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, staid no longer, but until he had brought the thirteenth legion (which was set in the left wing opposite to the Illegeres) out of the reeward into the vanguard, for to succour and strengthen the twelfth legion, which already began to shrink and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equal and on even hand, he advanced forward to L. Manlius, who in the forefront of the battell was busy in encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where he saw need: thus shewing unto him, that all was well and whole in the left point, and that he had sent out Cornelius, who with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storm come upon them, and soon over all bespread the enemies round about. The word was not so soon spoken, but the Roman horsemen were ridden within the thickest of the enemies, and not only did disorder the arrays and companies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waies and passages that the Spaniards could not make out with their horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horseback, alight on foot. The Roman Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies disordered, themselves in fright and fear, and their ensignes waving up and down every way: fell to exhorting, yea, to entreating of their own Infantry to recharge them with all their force, whiles they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and to enforce the battel again. And surely the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent impression, but that Indibilis himself their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the ensignes of the footmen in the vanguard. Whereupon ensued a sharp and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that fought about their Prince (who first, although he was half dead yet stood their ground, and afterwards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts and slain: then they began to flee on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses, and mount upon them again, and also the Romans pressed so hotly upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over until they had stript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thousand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romans and Allies, not many more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and those especially in the left point. The Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp, or fled out of the battell, first ran scattered and dispersed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where he dwelt.

Then Mandonius summoned them to a generall council: where they all bewailed their calamities & miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the wars, and agreed in the end to send their embas-

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upon the signs and tokens which they should mark from on high a far off, they were sent back again. Then the exiled Locrians repaired unto *Scipio* at *Syracuse*, with whom also were others of the banished persons of *Locri*: and there they related unto him the promises of the captives aforesaid, and put the Consul in very good hope that the effect would be correspondent to their designation. With them were sent two Tribunes or Marshals, to wit, *M. Sergius* and *P. Matienus*, with commission to conduct three thousand soldiers from *Rhegium* to *Locri*. Letters also were dispatched unto *Q. Pleminius* the Vice-pretor, for to be assistant in this action. Who being departed from *Rhegium*, and carrying with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Castle wall fore-told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the Castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readines also, and looking wittily for them, put down likewise ladders of their own, made for the purpose; and in many places at once received them that climbed up: so as, before there was any alarm heard, they let upon the watch of the Carthaginians, fast asleep as they were, and distrusting no such matter: who first were heard to grone as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keep a running and much ado, upon their suddain starting from sleep, all the whiles that they wist not what the occasion was. At length, upon the discovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every one called aloud to arms; crying out, that the enemies were within the Castle, and the watchmen slain. And without question, the Romans had been put to the worse and defeated quite, being far fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcry and shout set up by them that were without the fortresse: which so long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in great fear: and the tumult besides by night made every small and vain thing much greater than it was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians astonished (as if all places had been full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betook themselves into the other fortresse (for two there were distant not far asunder.) The Townsmen kept possession of the City as the prize and quarry in the midst, for the winners. But out of the two Castles there were light skirmishes every day. *Q. Pleminius* was Captain of the fort and garrison of the Romans, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both parts increased their strength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoining. Until at last *Annibal* shewed himself in person: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrenians were galled and grieved with the proud government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romans were distressed in *Locri*, and that *Annibal* himself was advancing thither: for fear lest the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no ready means to retire from thence) himself leaving at *Messana* his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the place, passed over from thence with his vessels down the water, when he espied the current and the tide offered to serve for a lane. Likewise *Annibal* having sent out a vanguard from the River *Butaurus* (which is not far from the City *Locri*) to signify unto his men, that by day light they should give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locrenians and Romans both, whiles he himself made an assault upon the Town behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amused upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he heard the skirmish begun, he was not willing to put himself within the Castle, for fear of pestering with over great a company the place so freight and of so small receipt: and for to scale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap together: he presented all his footmen in battail array before the City, to terrifie his enemies withal: and with the Numidian horsemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about the City. While the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an assault, were in preparing and making ready, he approached on horseback near to the wall, for to view on which part above the rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarell discharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which hapned to be planted next unto him. And being affrighted at this so dangerous an occurrence, he commanded to found the retreat, and fortified his camp aloof without the perill and shot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from *Messana* arrived at *Locri*, and had the day afore them: so as they were all fet a land, and entered the City before the sun setting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the Castle: and *Annibal* being now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readines needful for the assault, came under the walls: with that, all upon a suddain the Romans fet open a gate and sallied out upon him, who feared nothing less than any such accident: and thus setting upon them at unawares, slew two hundred of them. *Annibal* perceiving that the Consul was there, retired with the rest into the camp: and after he had sent a messenger to them that were within the Castle, willing them to shift for themselves, in the night season he dislodged and departed. They also who were in the fort, after they had set on fire the houses which were in their keeping, of purpose by that tumult to cause the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout and before it was night with good footmanhip overtook their own company. *Scipio* seeing as well this Castle quit by the enemy, as their camp also empty, called the Locrenies to a general assembly, and gave them a sharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Authors of that trespass he put to death; and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other faction, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the public fate of the Locrians, he said he would neither make nor meddle therewith, either in giving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to send their Embassadors to

Rome,

A Rome, and look what the Senat would award in equity, that fortune they should abide. This one thing he was well assured of, that how ill soever they had deceived of the people of Rome yet they should live in better condition under the signory of the Romans, provoked no longer as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and unity as they did.

Then himself in person cut over to *Messana* with those forces that he brought with him, leaving *Pleminius* his Lieutenant, and that power that won the Castle, in garnison for the defence of the City. The citizens of *Locri* had been so proudly muted, and so cruelly handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolted from the Romans, that it seemed they could be content to abide any small wrongs, not only patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a good heart. But to far now exceeded *Pleminius*, *Amilcar* the former captain of the garrison, for when the Roman garrison fled, before the Carthaginians in wickedness & avarice, that man would have brought they had strove together who should pain the other in fustial vice and ungodliness, and not in tears of arms and prowess. For neither Captain nor soldier forbore to practise upon the poor Townsmen any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great & mighty men odious unto the poor and meane persons. They wrought and committed shameful villanies upon their very bodies: upon their wives and children. And their greedy avarice so far proceeded, that they could not hold their hands from spoiling and robbing the very religious and sacred Temples. Inomuch as, among other holy Churches which they polluted, they met even with the rich measure of *Proserpina*, which had lien still in all ages, and untouched by all others: save only it was thought to have been pilled by *Pyrrhus*: who indeed carried away the spoil of her, but he deeply bought it and paid full sweetly for that sacrilege. And therefore like as before time the Kings ships flucken with tempests, and torn and split with the rage of the Sea, brought nothing at all in that wreck safe to Land, but only that sacred money of the goddess, which they had stoln and carried away; even so at this present, the very same money (but in another kind of calamity and misery) brought upon all them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the Temple, a strange & frantick madness: which caused Captain against Captain, and soldier against soldier, to fire as if they were black and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Pleminius* had the chief rule and command of all. As for the soldiers, some were under him, such as himself had brought from *Rhegium*; others were commanded by the Tribunes or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of *Pleminius* his soldiers had stoln a silver cup out of a Townsmans house, and ran away when he had done; and the owners after him with hue and cry, and returned to come in the way, and to meet with *Sergius* & *Matienus* the two Tribunes or Colonels, full in the face. Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribunes; and thence arose first a brawl, and some hard words were dealt between; and from them consequently they went to open clamors and loud outcries, until at length there grew a very fray between the soldiers of *Pleminius* and of the Tribunes: and according as they came still one or other in time to help their own side, both the number and the riot increased at once. In the end, *Pleminius* his men went away with the blows, and moaned themselves unto *Pleminius*, running to him with open mouth and great indignation, shewing their bloody wounds: and reporting besides, what opprobrious words to his disgrace had passed against him without spare, in the time of thole brawling fits. Hereupon in a great choler and boiling heat of blood, he gat him forth of doors in all the halt; convened the Tribunes before him, and commanded them to be stripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth ready for to scourge them. But whiles there was some time spent in turning them out of their apparel & uncajing them (for they struggled & made resistance, and called to their soldiers for help) at once they came thick about them (for very lusty they were upon their fresh victory) and ran from all places, as if the alarm bell had been rung against the coming of some enemies. But when they saw once the bodies of their Tribunes rewed with rods, then they fell into far more furious rage and a very fit of madness; and thus incensed as they were, without all regard, not only of the reverent majesty of authority, but also of common humanity, they fell upon the Lieutenant himself, after they had most pitiously beaten and evil intreated his Lieutors and Officers about him. Then having singled him out apart from his Ministers and Sergeants, they cruelly mangled him, cut off his nose, croped his ears, and left him for dead. News hereof came to *Messana*, and within few dayes *Scipio* highed him apace to *Locri* in a gally directed with six banks of oars: who after due examination and hearing of the cause between *Pleminius* and the Tribunes, acquit *Pleminius* as innocent, and left him Governour of the garrison of the place: but he judged the Tribunes guilty, as Malefactors, and caused them to be bound in chains for to be sent to Rome unto the Senat: and so he returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Syracuse*. *Pleminius* not able to over-rule his anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too light of the injury which he had received, and not punished the offenders accordingly; and supposing that there was no man able to make true estimate of the cause, but he that in his own person had felt the indignity and hainounes thereof: commanded the Tribunes to be haled before him, and after he had put them to all the cruel torments, that any mans body is able to abide, he put them to death: and not satisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick, nor with taking their lives from them, cast their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lie a-bowe ground unburied. The like cruelty he exercised upon the principal Burgeesses of the Locrians, such as he heard say went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And look

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what foul and shameful pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust and covetousness: the same now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers sorts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himself, but also made the world to think hardly, and to speak much shame of the General himself.

Now drew the time near of the solemn election of Magistrats: when as there came letters to Rome from Pub. Licinius the Consul, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himself and his army were sore visited with a grievous sickness: and that he could not possibly have staid there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the same malady, if not greater & more grievous, had not afflicted the enemies. Seeing that therefore himself was not able to come unto the election, he was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senat, to nominate as Dictator Q. Cecilius Metellus, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the army of Q. Cecilius, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it should be called and discharged, since that there was no employment of them at this present: considering that Annibal was retired already with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintering harbor; and again, the pestilence grew so hot in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senat granted unto their commission unto the Consul, for to do according as himself thought to stand either with his own credit and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very same time there was a certain religious opinion that had possessed of a fuddin the whole City, by occasion of a certain Prophecie found in the books of Sibylla. When search was made into them and they diligently perused, about the raising of stones, which happened so often that year, the Prophecie ran in this form: "At what time soever an enemy of a strange and foreign country shall happen to make war upon Italy, he may be chased out of Italy and vanquished, if the goddesses come Cybele of Ida, were brought to Rome from Pessinus. This Prophecie found by the Decemvirs, moved the Senat the more, for that, the Embassadors also who carried the oblation and present afore said to Delphos, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto Pythius Apollo, all the inwards of the beast killed for sacrifice, appeared good, and shewed prosperity: and the Oracle besides gave answer. That there was a far greater victory toward the people of Rome than that was, out of the spoils whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this present. And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they alleaged withal, how P. Scipio demanding the Province of Affrick, did preface (as it were) before-hand in his mind the final end of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed obtain this honorable victory thus fore-told, and offering (as it were) itself, by all lucky prefagings of men and Oracles of the Gods, they thought and devised some mean to transpire the said goddesses to Rome.

The people of Rome in those dayes was considered with no States of Asia: howbeit the LL. calling to mind, how long ago, upon occasion of a sickness, and to purchase health unto the people, a Consul was sent for likewise out of Greece, before it was joyned with the City of Rome in any league or society: and considering withal, that there was some friendship and amity begun already with King Attalus (in regard of the common war against Philip) and that he would be ready to do for the people of Rome, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him an honorable Embassage, to wit, M. Valerius Levinus, who had been twice Consul, and had warred in Greece: M. Cecilius Metellus, who had been a Pretor, and Servius Sulpitius Galba: likewise an Edile, and two late Quætors, C. Tremelius Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falco. For these five, they assigned five Quinquagems or Gallies of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dignity of the people of Rome, they should make a voyage into those Lands, with whom they were to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State. These Embassadors, as they held on their course toward Asia, so soon as they were put on Land at Delphos, repaired directly to the Oracle, for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of Rome, of effecting that business and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by report, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their purpose by the means of Attalus the King: advising them moreover, That when they had conveyed the said goddesses down to Rome, they should take order, that the very best man of all others in the City, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to Pergamus they came unto the King. Who having courteously received and welcomed the Embassadors, conducted them into Phrygia to Pessinus, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy Stone, which the inhabitants of the country said, was the Mother of the Gods, and willed them to carry it to Rome. Then M. Valerius Falco was sent back from the other Embassadors to advertise them at Rome, that the goddess was coming, and that they should seek out the best man in all the City, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was Q. Cecilius Metellus nominated Dictator by the Consul in the Brutians country, against the solemn election of the Magistrats. His army was disbanded and called, and L. Veturius Philo created master of the horse. Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were chosen Consuls, M. Cornelius Cethegius & P. Sempronius Tuditanus in his absence, who at that time had the government of Greece. After them were elected Pretors, T. Claudius Nero, M. Marcius Rallus, L. Scribonius Libo, & M. Pomponius Matro. When the Election was finished, the Dictator resigned up his place of magistracy. The Roman Games were thrice renewed and set forth, & the plaies Plebes seven times exhibited. The Ediles of the chair were Cn. and L. Cornetius Lentulus both. This Lucius governed

verned then the Province of Spain: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignity. The Ediles of the Commons were T. Clodius, Julius, and M. Junius Pennus. That year M. Marcellus dedicated the Temple of Verus, next the gate C. pen., the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at Clusidium in Gaul, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this year a Famine of Mars, namely, M. Marcellus in a. d. 11.

For the last two years the affairs in Greece had not been well followed, Philip therefore taking the vantage, that the Aetolians were forsaken of the Romans, the only aid upon which they trusted, forced them both to sue for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made to et cetera, than that ever needeth to accomplish in good time, P. Sempronius the Vice-Consul, returned to seek redress in the government, had utterly defeated him while he waged war with the Aetolians, considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty, all thus of war, headed with brazen pikes before a power of no small reputation. I advise you to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soon concluded, but news came to the King that the Romans were arrived at Dyrrhachium: that the Parthians and other neighbour nations upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel: and that Dionysius was already besieged and assaulted: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in stead of aiding the Aetolians, unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advice and consent, yea, and against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the King, Philip upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states retired, after he had sent Letterius his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into Euboea to visit the country, and to see in what terms they stood: yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could, Philip wasted and spoiled the territories and lands of the Ap. Ionians, and approaching the City with his whole power, he did batter to Scampronius the Roman General. But after he saw once that he kept himself quiet within the City, handling only upon his guard and defence of the walls, distrustful also his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault, & delicious withal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the Aetolians, if he could: if not, yet at leastwise to have truce with them without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, & renew cankred malice upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm.

About the fence time, the Epirots weary of long wars, after they had first founded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way, sent their Embassadors unto Philip, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come to a parly with P. Sempronius the Roman General. And soon they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into Epirus, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in Epirus, named Phœnice, where the King after communication had first with Erapus, Dardas and Philippos, Pretors of the Epirots entered into an interview also with P. Sempronius. At this solemn meeting and conference, Antiochus the King of the Athamans was present, and other Magistrats of the Epirots and Acarnans. And first Philippos the Pretor began to speak and request, as well King Philip as the Roman General to make an end of all wars, and likewise to give the Epirots leave to do the same. P. Sempronius propounded and set down the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthians, Dardani, Bærgulani and Engulani, should belong to the Seignory of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to Rome, to be annexed to the dominion of Philip King of Macedonia. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the Kings behalf, Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achæians, the Bœotians, the Thessalians the Acarnans, and the Epirots: and on the Romans the Illyries, K. Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabas the Tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans the Messenians, and the Athenians. And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingroffed and sealed, and truce made for two monthes, until such time as Embassadors were sent to Rome, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against Affrick, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto Rome for to enter his Consulship. Now when as M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius were Consuls (which was the 15 year of the Punic war) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto Cornelius, Hæspæria with the old army: unto Sempronius the Brutia with the new legions that he was to enrol. And to the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted that M. Marcius should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and L. Scribonius Libo have the jurisdiction of foreigners, together with the government of Gallia, Itreus, that M. Pomponius Matro should rule Sicily, and T. Claudius Nero sit as L. Deputy in Sardinia. As for P. Scipio, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise L. Licinius had his commission newly leased, for to have the charge of the Brutians country, with the power of two legions so long as the Consul thought it good for the Common-weal, that he should remain in the government of that Province. Also M. Lucius & Sp. Lucretius, with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended Gallia against Mago, continued still in their room for another year. Moreover Cn. Octavius remained in place, with commission, that

"informed sufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what *foer* *Loeri* was first betrayed unto *Am-
 nibal*, as also after what order the garrison of *Amnibal* was thence expelled, and the City restored
 again under your obedience. For if it may appear that the treisals of our revolt cannot be im-
 puted any way unto the publick counsel and content of our City; but contrary-wile, that our re-
 turn under your signory and dominion was not only performed with our good will, but also
 first wrought and compassed by the means of our helping hand and valour: ye have the greater
 cause to be disconcerted and duplicated with your Lieutenant and souldiers, for offering us your
 good and loyal allies such abuses, to cruel wrongs and unworthy indignities. As for the cause
 of our double revoltment and change, I think it good to deter the speaking thereof to another
 time; and that for two reasons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the presence of *P.
 Scipio*, who recovered *Loeri*; and was an eye-witness of all that we have done being at *Carthage*. I
 the other is this, that howsoever we be, yet we should not have abiden those calamities in which
 we fort as we have supported them. We cannot dissemble (my *LL.*) nor conceal, how all the while
 that we had the Carthaginian garrison within our Cattle, we suffered many foul outrages and
 shameful villanies, both at *Amnibal*'s hands (the Captain of the garrison) as also from the Nu-
 midians and Africans: but what are they in comparison of the abuses & indignities that we en-
 dured at this day? May it please you (my *LL.*) to give us the hearing of those things with pati-
 ence, that I shall utter even against my will with grievance. All the world at this day is in su-
 percence, & standeth in great doubt, whether to see you or the Carthaginians, the Sovereign Lords
 of the whole earth. But if they were to weigh and counterpoise the Roman and Carthaginian
 Empire, by those injuries which have been offered to us of *Loeri*, either from them or your garri-
 son; and which at this day, more than ever before, we fill endure: there is none but would rather
 make choice of them to be their sovereign *LL.* than the Romans. And yet consider, pray you,
 and see how well affected the Locrians are towards you: when we were nothing to hardly used
 nor so ill entreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourse unto your Captain General: and
 now that we are misused of your garrison, and put to more sorrow than if we were professed en-
 emies, yet we have run no whit with our complaints but unto your selves, either shall you (my
LL.) vouchsafe to have compassion of our miserable state, or else we see not what we have left
 wherein we should pray unto the immortal Gods, for to be good and propice unto us. *Q. Ple-
 minius* Lieutenant to the General *Scipio*, was sent with a strong garrison and power of men to
 recover *Loeri* out of the hands of the Carthaginians; and with the very same garrison was left *L.*
 there: but this Lieutenant of yours (for, the extremity of miseries and afflictions wherewith we
 are driven, maketh us bold, and putteth courage in us to speak our minds freely finding nothing
 at all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare shape and outward form; nor of a Roman citizen,
 unless it be the habit of apparel which he weareth, and the sound of the Latin tongue which he
 speaketh. A very plague he is & no better, a monstrous & ugly beast-like monster that, which some-
 times if old tales and fables be true, haunted the narrow seas between us and *Sicily*, for to de-
 stroy all passengers that sailed by. Who, if he could have been content himself alone to have pra-
 ctised & wrought upon us your allies, all mischievous acts & pranks, of wickedness, of filthy lust,
 and greedy covetousness, we would peradventure in all patience & long sufferance, have filled up
 that one gulf and pit were it never so deep, & satisfied one gorge never so unsatiable. But now
 to great a delight & pleasure hath he taken, that all lewd & licentious parts all shameful acts, and
 villanies should be commonly practised & in every place committed, that he hath made all your
 Centineers very *Pleminius*, yea, and your souldiers as bad as himself. All of them can skill now of
 robbing, rifling, spoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at forcing of dames and
 ladies of honor, at ravishing and deflowering of young Virgins, at abusing (against kind) of young-
 lings, free born and well defended, whom they pull perforce from between the arms, and out of
 the very bowomes of their parents. Daily is our City assaulted and taken: daily is it sacked and
 pillaged, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth again with the piteous shrieks and lamen-
 table plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that
 were a stranger to these things, and knew nothing, might wonder well enough, how either we
 can possibly hold out in suffering such outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be satisfied
 and full of committing so great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue utter: nor
 serve to deliver, nor needful is it expedient for you to hear every thing in particular, what
 we have sustained. But in general I will comprise and knit up altogether, I will abide by it that
 there is not one house throughout all *Loeri*, I dare avouch there is no person either one or other,
 exempt from the wrongs that he hath done. I say, & stand to it, that there is no kind of wicked-
 ness, no manner of filthy lust & uncleanness, no unsatiable avarice besides, that he hath not assid-
 ed to practise upon as many as were capable thereof, & fit subjects to work upon. Horribly can
 devise and think, whether of these two mischiefs incident to a City be more detestable: either
 when the enemies force it by assault in time of war, or when a pestilent & cruel tyrant oppresseth
 it by force & arms during peace. All calamities we endured before, that Towns woman and child
 put unto. And now at this hour, more than ever (my *LL.*) *Pleminius* hath perpetrated upon us,
 our children & our wives, all those excessive villanies, that the most inhumane, cruel & outrage-
 ous tyrants can devise to exercise upon those subjects, whom they keep down with oppression &
 tread under foot. Yet one thing there is (right honorable) whereof both sense of religion imprin-
 ted & engrafted naturally in our minds, constrains us to make particular complaint by speciality: and

A "and also our desire is, that ye should have the hearing, yea, and to avail and discharge your Com-
 mon-weal of the scruple of conscience, in case ye think it to meet and requisite. For we have ob-
 served and seen with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremonial reverence, ye not only ho-
 nor and worship the Gods of your own, but also receive and entertain those of strangers and
 foreigners. We have in our City a Chappel of *Proserpina*, concerning the holiness of which
 house, I suppose verily, that ye have heard some report and fame, during the war of King *Pyr-
 rus*, when in his return out of *Sicily*, passing along the sea side with his fleet by *Loeri*, among o-
 ther shameful villanies and outrages which he committed against our City in despite of us, and
 for our fidelity shewed toward you, pillaged also and robbed the treasure of this *Proserpina*, which
 to that day had never been touched by any man whatsoever. And when he had it done, he em-
 barked the money & sent it away by water, but journeyed himself by Land. But see what hapned
 B "to *LL.* hereupon! His whole navy the morrow after, was all even tumbled, split, & torn a pieces in
 a most hideous gulf and horrible tempest, save only those ships wherein that sacred treasure was
 belloyed which were cast upon our coast & driven ashore. Whereupon this King, as proud &
 fierce a Prince as he was, being taught by so great harms and losses, to believe that there were
 Gods in heaven that ruled all; made diligent search for all the laid monies, and caused the same
 to be brought back again, and laid up in the treasury of *Proserpina*. And yet for all that, neversted
 he well in any thing that he went about, from that day forward, Hunted he was and chased clean
 out of *Italy*, and coming by chance one night, & entering unadvisedly the City of *Syracusa*, he died
 an obscure, base, and dishonorable death. And notwithstanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels
 C "and knight Marshalls heard of this and a thousand more such instances & examples which were
 recounted unto them (nor for to amplify and set out with the highest the great religion and
 holiness of the place: but as we and our ancestors have had right evident proof, and that full
 oftentimes, to shew the manifest power and puissance of that goddess; yet were they to hardy as
 to lay their theivish and sacrilegious hands upon those treasures, that were inviolate and not to
 be touched: and so by that cursed prize and booty have polluted themselves, their houses, and
 your souldiers. Whose service take heed my *LL.* as ye tender your selves and your credit, how
 ye employ either in *Italy* or in *Africa*, in any of your affairs and wars there: before ye purge and
 expiate this foul and heinous fact: for fear lest they make amends, and pay for this detestable for-
 feir not only which their own blood, but also with some publick ills & calamity of the whole
 D "State. And even already my *LL.* the ire and duplicature of the goddess hath been well seen upon
 your Captains and souldiers both: at this present day continueth still, Sundry times they have
 been together by the ears, and scuffled one against another with banners displayed, *Pleminius* the
 Captain bare up one side, and two Marshalls or military Tribuns another. Never fought they
 more fiercely & sharply with the Carthaginians in the field, than amongst themselves in frises at
 the word point. And through their furious rage they had given *Amnibal* good opportunity and
 vantage to regain *Loeri* into his own hands: but that *Scipio*, whom we sent for, came in the mean
 time upon him. But peradventure some will say, this madnes and fury hantereth and romanceth
 the souldiers only, who are tainted with the foresaid sacrilege, and no power at all of the god-
 des hath been shewed in punishing the leaders and captains themselves. Nay I wot, in them it
 E "hath most evidently appeared. The Tribuns have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant & the
 Lieutenant again, being laid for by the said Tribuns, and caught in a train, hath not only been
 mangled all his body over, but when they had cut off his nose, and cropt his ears, was left for
 dead in the place. And afterwards, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, he
 first impioned the Tribuns: then he scourged them, & after he had martyred them, & put them
 to all exquisite tortures that might be devised against bondslaves, he put them to death: when
 they were dead, would not suffer them to be entred. Thus ye see how the goddess hath puni-
 shed and taken vengeance of them that have pillaged and robbed her Temple: & never will she give
 over to torment and harry them with all manner of furies and hellish fiends before the sacred
 money be again belloyed in the chests & cofers of her treasury. Our ancestors long ago in time
 F "of grievous and cruel war between them and the Crononians, because the Temple standeth
 without the City, were desirous to remove that treasure and money from thence, into the City.
 But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the shrine, that they should hold their
 hands off: that the goddess herself knew well enough how to defend her own Temple. And
 because upon this warning they made it a matter of conscience, & were afraid to stir the treasure
 from thence, they would needs call a strong wall about the said Temple: & when it was brought
 up to a good height from the ground, behold, suddenly at once all the work came tumbling
 down. But both now, and oftentimes besides, hath this goddess either guarded her seat & chap-
 pel, or else if it had been any way violated, the hath been grievously revenged by some fearful
 example of them that have seemed to offer violence to the same. Now for the wrongs that we a-
 bide, she is not able: neither is there any other but your selves (my Lords) to right us, and revenge
 G "our quarrel. You are they whom we flie unto, unto your protection only in all humble manner,
 we have recourse. And all one it is to us, whether ye suffer *Loeri* to be under that Lieutenant and
 that garrison, or yeeld us unto *Amnibal* in his anger, and to the Carthaginians, for to wreak their
 reeven upon us & our throats. Neither require we, that you should credit and believe our com-
 plaint of him that is not now in place, without liberty of his answer & pleading for himself. Let
 him come: hardly let him be at the hearing himself, and spare not, let him in Gods name clear
 "and

"and acquit himself as he can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left un-
 "done any mischief against us, that one man can devise to do unto another, we will be content to
 "abide and endure all those miseries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered al-
 "ready, yea & to hold and declare him guiltless of all offences done both to God and man.

When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them, whether they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered these their griefs before him, they made answer and said, "That they had sent Embassadors unto him, but he was busied in making preparation for the wars, and was either passed already over into *Affrick*, or upon his voyage ready to take the Seas within few dayes; and they had seen by good experience, in how great favour the Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how *Scipio* after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as for the Lieutenant, who was as faulty as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willed to go forth of the Temple where the Senat sat, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio* Senat sat, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio* as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* guided at him and said, That he was born even to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in Spain also we have lost more by mutinies of our own soldiers, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange and forraim manner, and according to the guile of Kings, one while he cockered his soldiers and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be over sharp and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with as heavy and sharp a sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away bound in chains to *Rome*, and there clapt up in prison, until his cause were heard, and judicially determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commended against him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscated and forfeited to the chamber of the City. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without commission and direction from the Senat, he should be called home: and the Tribuns of the Commons dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should give them their dispatch; and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of *Rome* that they were done: who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: Item, that they L. acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and so would accept of them and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsoever, their mind was that they should be restored again: Item, that enquiry should be made what sums of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpina*, and that two-fold restitution should be made and laid up there in stead of it: Item, that there should be a solemn purgatory sacrifice celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin; but so, as the college first of the Priests and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, considering the sacred treasure was disquieted, laid open and violated: namely, what manner of expiations and cleansing were to be used, to what Gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally, that all the soldiers which were at *Locri* should be transported over into *Sicily*; and in their room four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to lie in garrison there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of their difference and disagreement of minds so hotly incensed, some in favour, other in disavowal of *Scipio*. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians, they began to speak against the apparel of the General himself. "How he went not like a soldier and a warrior, nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloak, and in his slippers and pattens, as after the Greek fashion: And that he was over bookish, and set his mind too much upon reading; and took delight to be in the fencing school and wrestling place, and all his men and guard about him, as idly and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful feat of *Syracusa*. As for *Carthage* and *Amibul*, they were quite forgotten, and his whole army through loose-ness and liberty was spilled and clean lost, like to that of late at *Sacro* in Spain, and all one with them at this time in *Locri*, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore sounded all very probable; yet the opinion of *Q. Marcellus* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent unto *Maximus*, only as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. "For I can not see any reason (quoth he) how this can stand, that where erewhile the whole City chose at those young years of his, to be the only Captin for to recover Spain; of whom they made special choice to be their Consul, after that he had gotten Spain from the enemies, to end at once the Punick war: and in whom they reposed great hope, that he was the man to draw *Amibul* out of Italy, and to subdue all *Affrick*: he now should all of a sudden be called for home out of his Province, as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were another *Pleminius*: considering that even those lewd and cruel parts which the Locrians complained of, were by their own words and confession not committed, whiles he was present in place: neither could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his suzerance and com-mivency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remiss, and

A "and forbore to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponius* the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of *Sicily*, was fallen, should within three dayes next and immediately ensuing, take his journey into his province: and that the Consuls, should elect x. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senat, such as they thought good of, and send them with the Pretor: likewise two Tribuns of the Commons, and one *Edile*: that the Pretor with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found themselves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with his will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province, but in such a manner as *Scipio* were already passed over into *Affrick*; then the foresaid Tribuns of the Commons, and the *Edile*, joining unto them two of the Delegates above said (such as the Pretor seemed most meet) should sail into *Affrick*; and the Tribuns and *Adjuvants* with them *Scipio* from thence: and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the army, until such time as a new L. General succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates above said, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* these enormities were committed, then *P. Scipio* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war as he intended. When this decree of the Senat was once passed, and an act made thereof that they were in hand with the Tribuns either to agree between themselves, or else to call lots, which two of them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the college of the Bishops were consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the Temple of *Proserpina* at *Locri* were either handled polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribuns of the commons that went the journey with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *M. Cincius Alimentus*: who also had an *Edile* of the Commons to assist them, whom they might command: if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in *Sicily*, or gone over into *Affrick*, to apprehend and attach his body; and by virtue of their sacrosanct and inviolable authority to bring him home with them, And first they resolved to go to *Locri* before they went to *Messina*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two wayes. Some say, that when he was advertised what was intended and devised against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Naples* into banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates above said, and so by him was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Scipio* himself sent out one of his D Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Pleminius*, and with him the principal Authors of the sedition, and to lay them fast in irons. But certain it is that they all, were it by the commandment of *Scipio* before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in ward and safe-custody with the Rhegians. The Pretor and the Delegates being come to *Locri*, first and foremost, according to their commission, had a principal care of Religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search in the custody either of *Pleminius*, or of the soldiers, together with that which they themselves had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed again in the privy vestries where the treasure was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgatory sacrifice for the Sacrilege. After this, the Pretor assembled the soldiers together, and commanded them to carry their Ensigns out of the E City: where himself encamped upon the plain; and proclaimed that no soldier, as he would answer at his uttermost peril, should either tarry behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his own. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew to be his own: and if ought were not forth-coming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever, should without delay be restored unto them, and if any made default of restitution he should abide the smart and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and pronounced before them all, That the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient liberty, and their own laws: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against *Pleminius*, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there F give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Scipio*, namely, That the facts committed at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly against both God & Man, passed either under his warrant, or with his leave and liking, then they should send Embassadors to *Messina*, where he together with his Council and assistants would give them audience of all Delegates or Commissioners: as also to the Senat and people of *Rome*; and said, "They would go to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he did little to heart the injuries and wrongs done unto their City yet he was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to entertain his enmity. And this they knew assuredly, that so many lewd pranks, and so horrible parts there plaid, were neither by the direction nor yet with the connivency and toleration of *P. Scipio*: his only fault was that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too little. And some men (say they) be of this nature, that they will have a careful regard for to prevent sin, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heart to punish and correct faults when they are once done and past. Hereupon both the Pretors & also the Commissioners with him thought themselves well eased of no small burden and charge of making farther inquiry and sitting upon the cause of *Scipio*. But *Pleminius* and two and thirty persons more with him, they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went

also in person to *Scipio*, to be eye-witnesses and to make report at *Rome* of their own knowledge, H as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the loose, dissolute, and corrupt military discipline of his soldiers; so rise and common in many mens mouths. Against their coming to *Syracuse*, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to excuse his folly. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, and for his armada to be in readiness, as if he were that day to give battail both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteously entertained by *Scipio*. The morrow after, he shewed them all his forces, as well for Land as Sea service, not only furnished, well appointed, and in readiness; but the one fort, namely the land soldiers, running and charging one another at turney; and the Sea servants likewise within the haven, representing a naval combat with their ships. Then he led the Pretor and other commissioners all about, to see I the arsenal and armory, the store-houses the garners of corn, and all other provision and furniture for the war. At the view and sight whereof, they were stricken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully periwaded, that either by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome and conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they wished him in the name of God, without more ado to pass over into *Africk*, and with all speed possible to make the people of *Rome* to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centuries nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consul of the twain: and with fojoyous hearts they took their leave and departed thence, as if they were to bring tidings to *Rome* of a glorious victory; and not to make relation and report of a magnificent and barely preparation for war. *Pleminius* and all they that were likewise attaint and guilty, after they came to *Rome*, were immediately clapt up and laid fast in prison. At the first time when they were brought out before the people by the Tribunes, they could find no grace, no favour nor mercy amongst them, their minds were so forsalled and possessed aforehand, with the consideration of the wofull miseries and calamities of the poor Locrians. But afterwards, being produced ofner unto them, as the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, fo mens anger grew to affwage and the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, fo mens anger grew to affwage and the remembrance wital of *Scipio* now absent, gat him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judicially tried, and definitive sentence of him passed. *Clodius Licinius* reporteth in this third book of the Roman stories; that this *Pleminius* in the time of the games which L *Africanus* second time Consul, exhibited at *Rome*, according to a vow by him made, went about (by the help of some whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to set the City on fire in divers places, thereby to have opportunity to break prison and make an escape: but when his wicked purpose was once disclosed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by an act of Senat to the dungeon *Tullianum*. But as for *Scipio*, there were no words made of him, neither come he in question any where else but in the Senat: where all with one accord, both commissioners and Tribunes by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the Captain, brought it fo about, that the Senat thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed *Scipio* should over into *Africk*, and have liberty granted out of those armies which were in *Sicily*, to make choice of those whom he would himself transport over with him into M *Africk*, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

Whiles these things passed thus amongst the Romans: the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much suspicion and continual fear, hearkning to all news, and enquiring fearfully of every messenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea side, bestirred themselves likewise, and procured the society and alliance of *K. Syphax*, a matter of no small importance for the safeguard and defence of *Africk*, in hope and confidence of whole amity and friendship especially, they were periwaded, that *Scipio* intended to fall over into *Africk*. Now there had been already between *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* and the King, not only familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hospitality, since the time (as hath been said before) that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* fortune to meet at one time together in the Kings house, N when they came out of *Spain*; but also some treaty was already begun of alliance and finity, and a motion made, that the King should espouse and wed the daughter of *Asdrubal*. For the assurance of this matter, and the appointment of a certain day for the solemnizing of the marriage (for now the Damoel was ready for an husband, and marriageable) *Asdrubal* took a journey, and seeing the King burning in love (as these Numidians of all other barbarous nations are most given that way, and exceeding amorous) he sent for the maiden from *Carthage*, and hastened the wedding. And among other congratulations that passed between to the end, that besides the private affinity there should be also a public league, there was an alliance concluded between the people of *Carthage* and the King, by giving and taking their faithful promise inter: hangably and obliging themselves by a solemn oath one to the other to observe it as well offensive as defensive, O and to have the same enemies, and the same friends for ever. But *Asdrubal* remembering both the friendship begun between *Scipio* and the King, and also how fickle and variable the natures of the Barbarians are; and fearing if *Scipio* should pass over into *Africk* that this Numidian Prince was en- not be strong enough to hold the King in: took the time whiles this Numidian Prince was all-flamed with his fresh love, induced him what with reasons, and what with the fair words and allurements of his young spouse, to send Embassadors into *Sicily* to *Scipio*, for to advise him not to pass

A pass over into *Africk*, nor to rely upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimony with a Citizen of *Carthage*, the daughter of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joyed in a public league with the people of *Carthage*. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war with the Carthaginians far from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarrels; and fo while he desired to avoid the danger and hostility of one part or other, be driven at length to fight all one way: giving him more plainly to understand, that if *Scipio* would not forbear *Africk*, but needs come with an army against *Carthage*, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of *Africk*, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for the father and house of his own wife. With this B commission and direction were certain Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at *Syracuse*, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work that he had laid for his wars in *Africk*, and put besides his good hopes: gave the Embassadors letters into *Africk* unto the King, and sent them back again in all haste, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters he requested him earnestly to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship & hospitality begun with him, or of the league and society entered with the people of *Rome*: nor violated justice and fithfull promise made by giving right hands; nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But forasmuch as the coming of those Numidians could not be concealed (for they went all about the City, and were daily conversant in the Generall his lodging: and if it should have been kept secret whereabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was smothered and dissembled, the more it would break forth and come to light: and fo the army was to stand in fear, that they were to war at once both with the King and Carthaginians. *Scipio* therefore buzzed aforehand into mens heads, false devised matters, and fo withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all the time: bearing them in hand, that the C that now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the Kings, his allies and confederates, importuned him to set over into *Africk*, with all convenient speed; that *Masanesa* beforetime himself in person came to *Latinus*, grieving and complaining that the time ran thus on in delays and doing nothing; & *Syphax* now sent his Embassadors, musing much and wondering what the cause should be of fo long temporizing: and requiring that either the army without more ado, should be sent over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were changed, to certify him so much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdom. And D therefore he did them to wit and understand, that he intended now that he was sufficiently provided and furnished of all things; and considering that the impetrate might abide no farther (say,) to conduct his armada to *Lilybannum*, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the seas for a bon-voiage, and with Gods grace and favour to set sail for *Africk*. His letters he dispatched to *Marcus Pomponius* to this effect, that if he thought fo good, he should repair to *Lilybannum*, to the end they might commune and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of soldiers he should transport over with him into *Africk*. In like manner, he sent a labourer at *Lilybannum*. Now when all the ships and serviceable men in *Sicily* were assembled E way at once to *Lilybannum*, fo as neither the City was able to receive the multitude of soldiers, nor the haven contain the number of the vessels, fo earnestly minded they were all, and fo hotly set upon their voiage into *Africk*, that they seemed as if they were conducted out to fight a war, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the soldiers remaining of the Cannian army, were verily periwaded, that under this captain or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their ignominious and shameful soldiery. And *Scipio* himself made no bare account of those kind of soldiers, as knowing full well that the defeat received at *Canna*, was not occasioned by their cowardice: neither were there throughout the Roman army any soldiers fo ancient and of fo long F tinuance, or fo well experienced not only in many and sundry toughen fields, but also in the assaulting of towns and Cities. And these Legions of *Canna* were the first and fix in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into *Africk*, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having culled out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed unequal and insufficient, he substituted in their place those whom he had brought with him out of *Italy*: and fo fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions, that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of arms. He chose also out of the same army of *Canna*, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederates of the Latine nation. What power of soldiers in the whole were set over into *Africk*, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authors I find, that they G were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records again, they were more by one suite and better, namely, that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter to doubtful and uncertain, I would my self be counted for one. But *Calvus* for his part, as he forebears to put down any number at all, so he seemed for to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he saith that with a cry and shout that the soldiers set up, the very vaults of the air fell down to the ground: and

and he that had seen the multitude of them when they went a shipboard, would have said there had not been a man left behind either in Italy or in Sicily. Well how many or how few (soever they were, *Scipio* himself took the charge to see the souldiers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the sailors and mariners, who were forced below to shipboard, *C. Laelius* the Admirall of the navy, kept them still and quiet within their ships. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commission for to furnish the armada with corn and victuals: who made provision of food and sustenance for 45 daies: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dreffed, as much as would suffice for 15 daies. Now when they were all embarked, he sent about to all the ships, certain pinnaces or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and masters of every ship with two souldiers apiece, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and assembled together, first he enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their vessels fresh water sufficient both for man and beast, to hold out for many daies as their corn would serve? and when answer was made that they had water in their ships to last five and forty daies: then he charged and commanded the souldiers to keep silence and be quiet during their navigation, and without any strife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any ministry and service whatsoever, saying, that himself and *L. Scipio* would keep on the right wing with twenty strong ships with brazen beak heads, and *C. Laelius* the Admirall with *M. Porcius* the Treasurer on the left, with as many of the same sort, to wait over and guard the hulks and ships of burden: willing and requiring that there should be light in all their vessels, namely, that every brazen headed ship should have one: each Carrick twain: and the Admirall ship, wherein the Generall was, three lights, for a special mark, to be discerned from the rest in the night. And so he commanded the Pilots to steer and direct their course for *Emporia*. [The territory hereabout is most fertile and fruitful, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peasants (as commonly it falleth out in battell and plentiful lands) are cowards, and unfit for war, and it was thought they might be surpris'd and ludded before any succour could come from *Carthage*.] When these directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ships, and the next morning at the signall, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoist up sails and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime set out of *Sicily*, and the very same port: but never any voyage all the time of that war, no, nor during the former, made so goodly a shew, and was so much looked on. And so marvellous for most of their other fleets were sent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would esteem navies by the number and greatness of ships, there had been aforetime two Consuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: & in every of those fleets there were welneer as many war ships with brazen beak heads, as hulks & carricks in those that *Scipio* transported over. For besides fifty long ships of war, he had not all out four hundred ships of burden and passage to transport over his army with. But if we would compare both wars together, the second seemed unto the Romans more sharp and cruel than the former: both because it was fought within Italy, and also by reason of the great overthrow of so many armies, together with the losse and death of their Generall capitaine. Moreover great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commander and General: of this voyage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his own noble acts of cavalry, and also of a special and singular fortune that followed him in all his exploits: where: M by he grew every day more glorious then others: which caused all mens hearts to be set upon him, beside his very resolution and mind that he carried, to pass in *Africk*, which all the while of that war entred into the head of any Captaine before him: in that he gave it out abroad, That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch *Annibal* out of Italy, and to deliver and translate the war into *Africk*, and there to finish and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to see the setting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of *Lilybæum*, but also the train of all the Embassages out of *Sicily*, which were come together for to accompany *Scipio*, and to do him honour, and also attended upon the Pretor of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and besides, those legions also which were left behind in *Sicily*, went forward to bear their fellow souldiers company. So that not only the navy was a goodly prospect unto the beholders upon the land, but also the land loo overpread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleasant shew unto these passengers, that were in the ships. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall (after silence commanded by voice of the crier) praised in this wise: "O ye gods and goddesses all, that haunt and inhabit seas and lands both, I beseech and pray you to vouchsafe, that all that ever hath been done already, is now intended, or shall hereafter be enterprised, during my conduct and government, may speed well, and turn to the good of my self, the people and commonwealth of Rome, our allies, and especially those of the Latine nation: who by land, by sea, by rivers, follow the direction, command, government, and fortune of my self, and of the people of Rome, and that in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpful unto us, and advance all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victory over our enemies: and after we have subdued them, to continue safe and sound: and adorned with their goodly spoils, laden with their rich pillage to return home all together with glorious triumph: & give us the hand and opportunity to be revenged of our foes and mortal enemies: and design me and the people of Rome that power and strength, to execute upon the City of the Carthaginians those fearful examples of cruelty, which the people of *Carthage* intended to practise and bring upon our City and

The prayer
of Scipio

A "and state. After these prayers thus pronounced, he took the row inwards and partenance of the beak killed for sacrifice (as the manner is) and flung them into the sea: and with that by sound of trumpet, gave the signall of departure.

Now were they under sail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they soon lost the sight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick mist; by reason whereof the ships could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deeper sea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the same dark mist continued still. After the sun was once up it brake and dispersed, and then the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might discover land. And not long after, the pilot laid unto *Scipio*, that they were not full too leagues from *Africk*; and that he saw well and discerned the cape or point of *Moronium*: and if his will and pleasure were thither to direct their course, presently the whole armada should be in the rode, *Scipio* so soon as he was within view of land, after he had made his prayers unto the gods, to bless this first discovery of *Africk* to his own good and the benefit of the common-weal: gave commandment to sail still, and to put with the shore and ride at anchor in some bay beneath. So they made way with the same wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were mist again, and lost the sight of land. And as the fog increased, the wind fell: the night also that came upon them besides, made all things more doubtful. Whereupon they cast anchor, for fear that the ships should hit one against another, or run aground. When day light awoke, the same wind was up again, but the foggy mist scattered; and then they might see plainly all the coast of *Africk*. *Scipio* then demanded what promontory it was that he saw next; and hearing that the name of it was *The head Pelicurnum*, [or *The fair Cape*.] the name (quoth he) please me, and the preface thereof I like full well; even thither put the ships afloat, and so the armada entred the bay, and all the host was set ashore. Thus have I reported that they had a prosperous voyage without any fearfull danger, or much trouble: giving credit hereunto very many writers, as well Greeks as Latines. Only *Celms* (setting aside that the ships were not call away and drowned amid the surging waves) writeth how other dangers both of water and weather encountered them in so much as at the last the Armado was driven by tempest from the coasts of *Africk*, and fell upon the land * *Agimurum*, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct course again; and finally when the ships were at hand to link under the water, then the souldiers faring like men at point to suffer shipwrack, without silence and commandment of their Generall and without their armor, in great fear made shift with boats to recover the shore.

The Romans thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hills next adjoining. By which time the terror and fearfull fright of this their arrivall was not entred only into the Maritime coasts and territories bounding upon the sea, first upon the discovery of the fleet, and afterwards by reason of the rumor and tumult of the army, as it came ashore; but also spread forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and overpiled with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heaps together one with another; but also the country peasants drave before them whole herds of cattell: as a man would have said that had seen it, how all *Africk* was like to be abandoned at once on a suddain: in such sort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themselves, and especially *Carthage* above all others: where there was no lesse trouble and hurlyburly, then if it had been surpris'd and forced by the enemy. For since that time that *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius* were Coff, for the space almost of fifty years, they had not once so much as seen an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made some rodes into the lands lying upon the sea side: and when they had harried some prizes, such as came next hand, they ever were retired again to the ships, before the alarme could be given to raise the country. The greater therefore now was both the flight and fright within the City. And to speak a truth, good cause they had; by reason that there was neither at home in readines an army of puissance to encounter the enemy, nor a captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. *Asdrubal* was the son of *Gisco*, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and besides for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the personage by many degrees, yea, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembered very well to have been foiled, discomfited and beaten out of the field in *Spain*, by the self-same *Scipio* in divers and sundry battels. Also they made account, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and set their tumultuary power raised in halt, with the staid and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarm presently, as if *Scipio* were ready to assault *Carthage* out of hand: the gates with all speed were shut and made sure: the walls manned with souldiers: the corps de guard set: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels duly relieved and maintained. The next day, 300 light horse were sent out as espials and vancurriers to discover and scour the quarters to the sea side: and withall to impeach them that were a disbarking and coming: and who chanced to light on the Romans corps de guard. For *Scipio* had sent away the fleet already to *Vicia*, and before he was gone up into the land far from the sea, had encamped upon the next hills thereby, placed guards of horsemen in convenient places, and put out certain foragers into the fields and villages for to raise booties. These having entred skirmish with the Carthaginian cornet and horsemen, slew a few of them in the very conflict, but most of them, as they fled and were followed in chase, amongst whom was *Hanno* also the provost marshal, a noble young gentleman, *Scipio* not only walked the country all about, but

Ecc 2 also

also was a City of the Africans that stood neere it, and was of sufficient wealth: where besides other pillage, which was presently imbarked in the ships of burden and sent into *Sicily*, there were taken prisoners eight thousand polles of free and bond one with another. But the greatest joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance, and beginning of their warlike actions, was for the coming of *Masanissa*: whom some report to have presented himself with 200 horse and no more: but the most do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this *Masanissa* was of all other Kings for his time the greatest Prince and most puissant; and withall he that stood the Romans in best stead and helped their state, none like unto him: me thinks it were worth his labor, and would quit for all the paines, to digresse a little out of the way, for to shew and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was tossed, both in the losse and also in the recovery of the inheritance of his fathers kingdom.

This *Masanissa*, while he was employed during the wars of *Spain*, in the defence and quarrell of the Carthaginians; his father, whose name was *Gala*, hapned to die: and then the kingdom fell by descent, according to the custome and manner of the Numidians unto *Desalees* the late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when *Desalees* also was departed his life, *Capusa* the elder of his two sons, (for the other was a very child) succeeded in his fathers kingdom. But for as much as he the foresaid *Capusa* maintained his royall state and throne, more by reason of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and favorites, than by power and strength: there arose up in arms one named *Macesinus* (who also was defended of royal blood, but of an house that was ever of the adverse and contrarie side) and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with those who then (wayed the scepter. This *Macesinus* having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peasants of the country (with whom he carried a great stroke and was highly esteemed, by reason of the hatred that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and shewed himself in action, yes, and forced the King to come into the field, and to trye the title of the crown in a set battell by dint of sword. In which conflict, *Capusa*, together with many of his peers and nobles were slain, and the whole nation and feignory of the Massilians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of *Macesinus*. Howbeit he forbore to be called King, and contenting himself with the mean name of Tutor or Protector, gave the Kings title to the child *Laenaxus*, who only remained alive of the Kings issue and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of *Carthage*, *Annibal* his niece by his sister who had been lately wedded unto King *Desalees*, hoping thereby to enter into league and alliance with the Carthaginians: and besides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity with *Syphax*, he sent Embassadors unto him of purpose. Thus made he himself strong aforehand against *Masanissa*.

Masanissa likewise for his part, being advertised of his uncles death, and also how his cousin german was deceased, crossed the seas out of *Spain* over to *Numisania*, at what time as *Bocherus* was King of the Moors. At whose hands by humble sure and importunate prayers in most lowly manner, he obtained a power of 4500 Moores to accompany him in the journey, for otherwise to employ them in war he might not. And after he had dispatched a messenger afore-hand to those that were his fathers friends and well-willers to himself, by that time that he was come with them to the confines of his realm, there met him almost 500 Numidians. Having therefore sent back again the Moores from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was assembled together a smaller number of people than he hoped and looked for, and not so sufficient that he durst adventure upon so great an enterprise; and supposing withall, that by entering into some action, and by travell and endeavour, he should gather strength still to perform some great exploit, he encountered at *Thapsus* the young King *Laenaxus*, as he journeyed unto *Syphax*. And when the Kings company in great fear fled into the town, *Masanissa* both at the first assault won the said town, and also of the Kings train received some that yielded themselves, and slew other some that made resistance for their own defence. But the greatest part with the child himself the young Prince, got away in that tumult and escaped unto *Syphax*, unto whom at first they intended their journey. The issue of this small thing, so happily achieved in the first beginning and entrance of his affairs, caused all the Numidians to revolt and side with *Masanissa*. So as there flocked unto him from all parts of the country, and out of the villages, the old soldiers of King *Gala*, and incited the young Prince, and set him on to recover his fathers kingdom. Now in number of soldiers, *Macesinus* was a good deal superior: for both himself and the same army still entire, with which he had vanquished *Capusa*, besides, had some others that after the slaughter of the King, he had received upon their yielding: and also young *Laenaxus* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: so that *Macesinus* was fifteen thousand foot, and ten thousand horse strong. With whom *Masanissa*, albeit he were nothing so puissant either in foot or horse, fought a battell; yet achieved he the victory, through the approved valour of the old soldiers, and his own politick wisdom, being a captain well experienced and exercised both in the Roman and Punick wars. The young Prince together with his tutor and protector, and some small number of Massilians, fled and escaped, into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus *Masanissa* having recovered his fathers kingdom, and foreseeing that there remained still behind a far greater bickerment and encounter with *Syphax*, & taking it to be the best course and policy for him to be reconciled and made friends with his cousin german: addressed certain messengers both unto the child, for to put him in good hope and assurance, that if he would submit and yeeld himselfe under the protection

A of *Masanissa*, he should live in as honourable place and degree with him, as *Desalees* sometime had done with his father *Gala*: and also to *Macesinus* to give their word and promise unto him, not only for impunity of all trespasses, but also for faithfull restitution of all things that were his. By which means he persuaded both of them to take part with him: who made choice of a mean estate at home in their own country, rather than to live in exile: notwithstanding the Carthaginians impoured all that ever they could to the contrary.

A *Annibal* hapned at that time when these occurrences fell out, to make his abode with *Syphax* who finding the Numidian King *Syphax* resolved upon this point, and fully persuaded, that he mattered not, nor imported himself much, whether *Laenaxus* or *Masanissa* were King of the Massilians, replied unto him and said, that he was foolishly deceived if he thought that *Masanissa* would keep himself within those terms, that either his father *Gala* or his uncle *Desalees* held himself contented with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more to be towne and in him, far greater signs of bauty mind and forward wit, and spirit appear in him, than ever shewed in any of his house and line before him. Full often hath he in *Spain* made good proof of rare valour and singular prowesse, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians look as well about them as they can, for unless they put out this sparkle of fire betimes, and even at the first beginning, it will be their chance to be caught therewith, when it shall burn forth; and altho they shall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Mary, as yet his strength is small and slender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to maintain his state, unless as he is in his kingdom. Thus he importuned him still by reasons and persuasions, until at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Massilians and there in that territory, about the title whereof he had oftentimes not only contended by plea and words with *Gala*, but also by arms and dint of sword, to encamp himself as in his rightfull and undoubted inheritance: with this director, that if any came against him to warn him off the ground, then to trie his interest by sword: which was the only way to be taken and most for the purpose: but in case for fear of him they quit the possession quietly, then to advance forward into the heart of the kingdom: for either the Massilians would without battell render themselves under subjection, or else in a pitched field not be able to stand out against him. Upon these suggestions *Syphax* was incited and pricked on; inso much as he made war upon *Masanissa*, and in the first battell discomfited and put to flight the Massilians. And *Masanissa* with some few horsemen fled out the held and escaped unto a mountain which the inhabitants call *Balbus*. Certain wofull families and households with their sheeds and tents, together with their cattell (which is all their riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Massilians besides, did homage unto *Syphax* and came under his obedience. This mountain afore said, which the exiles that fled their country were possessed of, was plentifull of grasse well watered; and being so good for pasture to feed their cattell, it yielded sufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people that used to live upon flesh and milk. From hence they began at first to steal out by night and make roades out afterwards in open day light to rob and spoil all the country about: but above all others to fire and burn the territory of the Carthaginians: both because there were more prizes to be had from thence, than from the Numidians; & also for that it was more safe robbing and harrying there without danger. This they practised so long, so licentious, and in such scornfull manner, that now they would, carrie their booties to the seaside, and make markets & sale thereof to the merchants: and for this purpose divers ships arrived thither to traffick: yes, and other whiles there were many of the Carthaginians cut off and came short home, and more of them were either slain or taken prisoners then oftentimes in open war and set battels. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained of these ravages unto *Syphax*, and spurred him forward (disposed well enough as he was of himself to revenge) for to pursue the reliques of the war, in his own person. But forasmuch as he was not thought to stand with the royall Majesty of a King, to chase and hunt a rabble of vagrant thieves about the mountains; therefore *Bocher* one of the Kings Captains, a right hardy and valorous man, was chosen to do the feat, and to perform that service. Who had the conduct of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse: and was promised besides, great gifts and mighty rewards, in case he brought away the head of *Masanissa*: but if he could take him prisoner alive, that were alone indeed, and a peevish piece of work, of inestimable joy beyond all measure. He waiting his time when the enemies were dragging reticlessly abroad came upon them at unawares and charged them, and having singled from the guard of the armed soldiers, a huge number both of people and cattell, he forced *Masanissa* himself with some few horsemen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had sent away unto the King (as if the war had now been at point of an end) not only a great body of people and cattell, the which he had taken, but also part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion, then for to dispatch the remnants of a war, accompanied with no more then five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he pursued *Masanissa* being come down from the hill tops, and there having beset and stopped the passages at both ends, enclosed him within the freight and narrow valley. Where there was committed a great execution and slaughter of the Massilians, but *Masanissa* with fifty horsemen and not above, got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and escaped the hands of the pursuers. Howbeit, *Bocher* traced him still, and followed him at heels so narrowly, that neer to the City *Clupes* he overtook him in the plains, where he so freightly environed him about, that he killed all his company every one, save only four horsemen.

With whom in that tumult he let slip as it were out of his hands *Mafaniffa* also himself fore H wounded and loit him clean. As he fled, he had fill in his eye certain comets of horsemen dispersed all over the plain, and some of them crossing the waies overtoward to meet the enemy at every turn, and to intercept him. But he and the four horsemen with him fled forwards fill, and took the great river before them: for their fear and fright was greater then to make any stay at the bank side, but to put their horses to it, and plunge in: where they were carried with the current of the stream and born to a side: two of them in the fight of the enemies were swallowed up of the deep whirlpits: himself also was supposed to have perished with them, but he and the other two horsemen besides caught hold of certain twigs of osiers that grew under the banks on the farther side. So *Bochar* made an end of farther pursuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor believing that he had any enemy for to chase. And thus returned he to the King with false news, that *Mafaniffa* was drowned. And divers poets and curriers were sent out to *Carthage*, to report these exceeding joyfull tidings. This rumour and fame of *Mafaniffa* his death being noised all over *Africke* wrought diversly in the minds of men. But *Mafaniffa* keeping himself close in a secret cave, whiles he cured his hurt with certain herbes, lived for some daies by the foraging and robbery of the other two horsemen. So soon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he thought himself able to abide the sitting and making of his horse, with exceeding courage & boldness he set forward again to claim and recover his kingdom. And having in the way as he passed gotten together unto him not above forty horse, by that time he was come among the *Maffians*, and gave out openly who he was, he prevailed to much with them, that as well in regard of their ancient favour and love toward him, as also for the unexpected joy that they saw him alive and found, whom they verily beleieved to have been dead: within few daies there were gathered and assembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. So as not only he was restored again, and put in full possession of his fathers Kingdom, but also waited and spoiled the confederat nations of the *Carthaginians*, yea, and the frontiers and confines of the *Maffiys*, which belongeth to the Kingdom and dominion of *Syphax*. Having thus provoked *Syphax* to war, he set him down and encamped between the Cities of *Cirta* and *Hippo*, upon the ridge of certain hills, places of advantage and commodious in all respects. Then *Syphax* supposing it a greater peece of work, and of more importance then to be managed by his captains, sent part of his forces under the conduct of his son, the young Prince named *Vermina*, and gave order unto him to wheel about with his power, and whiles the enemy was amused upon himself one way, to charge upon him behind another way. So *Vermina* set forth, and took his way by night, because he was to give the charge secretly, and in secret. But *Syphax*, who was to show himself with banner displayed, and to bid the enemy battell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as he thought) was come, wherein they that were lent about to fetch a compass, might reach to the place appointed, himself also truiting as well in the multitude of his men, as in the ambush laid before at the enemies back, set his battell in array: directly upon the side of the hill, which with gentle and easie ascent ariseth, and leadeth towards the enemy. *Mafaniffa* likewise arranged his men, presuming most of all in the plot of ground, which served much better for his advantage to fight. The battell was sharp and cruell, and for a long time doubtfull. Whiles the sit of the place, and valour of the souldiers much helped *Mafaniffa*, and the number again on the other side, which M exceeded beyond all measure, and made too great odds, availed *Syphax*. This multitude divided into two battallions, whiles the one was opposed against the enemy, and the other compassed about their tail and back part, gave the victory cleer unto *Syphax*: inomuch, as the enemy thus enclosed both before and behind, had no way in the world to escape. Whereupon all the footmen and horsemen both were either killed or taken prisoners. Only two hundred horsemen of very near to many, which were gathered in a ring together about *Mafaniffa*, he commanded to cast themselves by troops and squadrons into three severall companies, and so to pierce and break through; but first he appointed them a certain place before, where they should rally and meet together again after their scattered flight. Himself in person, on one side which he had proposed to himself before, made means to pass through the very pikes and darts of the enemies, and escaped. Two of those squadrons rallied still behind, the one for fear yielded to the enemy, the other sticking to it, and making more resistance, was overcharged with shot of arrows and darts. But *Mafaniffa* winding in and out, and to and fro, deluded *Vermina*, who pressed hard upon him, and followed him self at heels: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travail and desperate pursuit, caused him perforce to give over the chase. Whiles he himself with seventy horsemen away as far as to the left of *Syrtes*, where he set up his rest, and quieted his conscience, in that he hadio often right valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: and led his life between the *Panick Emporia* and the nation of the *Garamants*, until the arrival of the Roman navy, and C. *Lelium* into *Africke*. These presumptions induce me to think and believe, that *Mafaniffa* came afterwards also unto *Scipio* with a small power of horsemen, rather then with any great aid. For that multitude was befitting the state of a Prince, established in his Kingdom, but this small number beleemed the mean condition and fortune of a poor exile and banished man.

Now to return again unto our story. The *Carthaginians* having loit the corner of horsemen aforeaid, together with their captain, and raised another power of horse, by taking new multiers made *Hanno* the son of *Amilca* commander over them. And first by messengers and letters misjive

A misjive they sent for *Afrubal* and *Syphax* one after another, and at last also even by Embassadors and Orators. As for *Afrubal*, they required him to succour his native country, beset in manner round about: *Syphax* they beought and requested to provide for the safety and fence of *Carthage* and all *Africke*.

At that time *Scipio* was encamped near *Frica*, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from the side, where some few daies, he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. *Hanno* having received a power of Cavalry, nothing sufficient and strong enough to charge upon the enemy, nor so much as to guard and defend the country from waiking and spoiling, first before all other things c it about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. And albeit he rejected none of other nations, yet he levied and waged the *Numidians* especially, the best horsemen simply in all *Africke*. Now had he gathered together upon four thousand and five, when he surprised a City named *Salera*, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when word was brought to *Scipio*, that so great a Cavalry tooked their summer standing harbour within a town; I tell you (quoth he) I pause not, if they were more then they are, so long as they have such a one to be their leader. And thinking with himself that the more slowly the enemies went to work, the lesse he was to slack his business, he sent *Mafaniffa* before with the horsemen, and gave commandment to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him forth to fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was sifted forth, and the skirmish grown to hot, that he might not well endure the charge, he should give ground and retreat by little and little, for he would himself come in due time to the battell. And laying no longer behind, than whiles he thought *Mafaniffa* who was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Roman horsemen, & marched closely under the hills (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposite between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Mafaniffa* for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right couragiously galloped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrifie the enemy, another while as it had been afraid himself, gave back; and by this counterfeit shew of feartfulness, he made the enemies more bold and venturesome, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their captain was diversly troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was faine to force and compell some that had taken their load of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepy withall, to arm themselves and to bridle their horses, and to fly others D from running out of the gates at once confusedly, without order or array, and without their colours. *Mafaniffa* caught up thole, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting out, rode venturously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equal valour on both sides and at last, when the horsemen were shod and joyaned in battell, *Mafaniffa* was not possibly able to hold out any longer. Howbeit he did not outright, but as he gave back leisurely, he received them as they violently charged upon him: so long, until he had trained them to those hills, under which the Roman Cavalry lay hidden. Then rode the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh, and environed *Hanno* and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tired out and overwinded: *Mafaniffa* likewise turned his horses suddenly, and made head again, and returned to battell afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hanno* himself the General, full upon a thousand, even as many as were in the vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. There left affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse neck: whom for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either slew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred natural *Carthaginians*, men of armes, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It rumored that the very same day when this happened, the ships which had transported over the booty in to *Sicily*, returned back charged with provision of victuall, as if they had prelagged & foretold by their arrival, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not record, that two *Carthaginian* captains of one name were slain in two battels, of the Cavalry: for fear as I verily take it, left by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and abuse the reader. Centes *Calvus* and *Valerius* report that *Hanno* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they every one deserved: but above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Mafaniffa*. And when he had placed a strong garrison in *Salera*, himself with the rest of his army made rode: and not only waded and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and won certain Cities and borough towns: and so having filled all places far and near with the terror of war & hostilities, he returned to the camp: the seventh day after he set forth, bringing with him great numbers of people, much store of cattell and prizes of all sorts, and so dispatched away the ships. Second time G freight and laden with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small rides and escape of the country towns, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Frica*: intending if he had once won it, to settle himself there, and to make it his seat from thence forward, and a sure place of defence in all his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at onetime were the sea-servitors brought from the armada, to that part of the City where the sea beateth upon the wals: likewise the land souldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh the

* *Golfo di Capo*. These *Syrtes*, as well the lesse, are in the Mediterranean sea near *Africke* full of shelves and bars: and are called *Scythae* or *Bassae* of *Babylon*. The sea coasts near the *Syrtes*, be called for their fertility, as *Ortelius* hath noted out of *Polybius*.

[illegible]

During the time of that summer, wherein those occurrences passed in Africa, P. Sempronius

During the time of that summer, wherein those occurrences passed in Africa, *P. Sempronius* the Consul who governed the Province of the *Bruttii*, astonished suddenly in a disorderd manner with *Annibal* upon the very way, within the territory of *Croton*, where the fight was maintained rather by squadrons and companies, one to one, then by any set body of a ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a turbulent scuffling, than a full fight) upon 1200 of the Consuls army they retired in great haste and terror to their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Consul dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Vice-consul, to come forward with his legions, he joynd his M power unto them, so they returned again unto *Annibal*, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any stay, to battell they went: whilst the Consul on the one side flood upon this his power redoubled and reinforced, & *Annibal* on the other side took heart for his fresh victory alreadie. *Sempronius* advanced with his legions into the vanguard & *P. Licinius* with his, kept the reerward. (The Consul at the very first flock and beginning of the conflict, showed a chappell to *Porcius*, under the name of *Primigenia*, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard; and he obtained his desire: for the Carthaginians were discomfited and put to flight, more than four thousand armed men flaine, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and 12 ensignes won and carried away. *Annibal* dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unlucky battell, withdrew his forces to *Croton*.

At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Consul, in another side of *Italy* held in awe *Heiraculus* so much by force of arms; as by rigorous punishment of law and severe justice: for all that country in manner was turned to *Mage*, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the state. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Consul followed by virtue of commission from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and feeling: and went through there withy, letting aside all partiality, nor treating respectively of favour or displeasure. In such fort, that many of the nobility of *Italyana* (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Mage*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personal appearance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty confessions, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, in stead of their bodies which were generous of the way, they yielded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and confiscate a pawns to pay for the punishment of their perions.

Whiles the Coff. was thus employed, in divers places one from the other, the Centors in the mean

A mean time at *Rome*, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* held a new choice and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once again elected the principal Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominy and disgrace, but not one of all those had fitten in the ivory chair and born office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publicans, that had the charge of the City-buildings to see them kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient reparations. They publicly gave order for a paved caufie to be made, from the beasls market unto the temple of *Venus*, and all about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church *Magna Mater* (the great mother of the gods) they cued to be built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impolent out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at *Rome* and throughout all *Italy*, talk was told at a *Sextant* by the Modus, they let and farmed this common-Burrow, he inheritance of the two *Caesars*.

Surely that reciprocal debate between the two Censors, in depraving and defaming one another
 but as a lewd and naughty part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levity and
 incontinency, was a worthy thing, and befitting the Censors gravity of that time. While the Censors
 stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bibulus* a Tribune of the Commons
 taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, ended them both and com-
 menced an action against them before the body of the people. But this deignement of his was
 for naught and came to nothing, though the general accord and content of the L. of the council, to
 the end that in time to come, no such example might be extant upon record, that the Censors
 dignity should be expoled to the variable and inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the *Britains* country, *Cornelius* had been already forced and won by the *Cos*, when as *Consuetus* and *Pandulus*, with other mean and base peepes, willingly yielded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew neerer of the election of new magistrates, it was thought good that *Cornelius* should be sent for to *Rome* out of *Tifensy*, where there was no war at all, rather then the other *Conful* out of his province: who being come, created for *Consuls* *Cn. Servilius Caelus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the chusing of *Pretours*, where

wherein were elected *P. Cornelius Lepidus*, *P. Quinctilius Varus*, *P. Aelius Pains*, and *P. Villius Tappus*. These two last were *Ediles* of the Commons when they were chosen *Pretors*. The Consul after these elections were finished and past, returned unto his army again in *Hispania*. Certain *Knights* and *Prelats* that year died, and new were chosen in their rooms. *P. Veturius Philo*, *Flamin* *Asiarius* was created, installed and inaugurated; instead of *M. Aemilius Regillus*, who deceased the year before. And in place of *M. Pomponius Mator*, who was both *Augur* and *Decemvir* there, was advanced into dignity of *Decemvir*, *M. Atridius Cato*: and into the office of *Augur*, *Tit. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very young man: a rare thing to be seen in those daies, in the bestowing of *lacedaemonian* and church promotions. In that year was let up in the capitol a chariot drawn with 4 steeds, all of beaten gold, by *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Ediles* of the chair for the time being. The *Roman* games also were exhibited & renewed again for a daies: likewise the *plais* & *pastimes* called *Plebei*, for other 2 daies by the *Ediles* of the Commons, *P. Aelius* & *P. Villius*. I And for the great honour of those games, the feast of *Jupiter* was solemnly kept and celebrated.

The thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the thirtieth Book.

IN Affrick, Scipio by the help of Malanilla in sundry Battels vanquished the Carthaginians, together with the afore-said Syphax King of the Numidians, and Adrubal. He won and sacked two camps of the enemies, wherein there perished by fire and sword, to the number of 40000 men. By the means of C. Lelzius he took Syphax alive. Malanilla whom he had taken prisoner queen Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax and daughter of Adrubal, by and by fell in love with her, and by way of marriage took her to wife: but being chafed and rebuked therefore by Scipio, he sent unto her a cup of poison, which she drank, & thereof died. By manifest victory of Scipio it came to pass, that the Carthaginians driven to despair, were faine to call for Annibal out of Italy, to save the main chance, and defend their towne & state. Who, in the 16 year of the war, departed out of Italy, sailed over into Affrick, & assailed by means of conference, to make peace with Scipio. And when they could not agree about the conditions & capitulations thereof, he fought, & was overthrowen in the plain field. The Carthaginians at their faint strength had peace granted. And when Gilgo dissuaded that peace, Annibal struck him back with his hand, & after some excuse made of his rudeness, in that behalf himself spake for peace. Mago who had fought with the Romans in the country of the Insubrians was grievously wounded, & being sent for home in to Affrick by certain ambassadors, in the way died of his hurt. Malanilla was fully restored to his kingdom. Scipio being returned to the City of Rome, had the glory of a most honourable and noble triumph: whom, Q. Terentius Colles, a Senator, followed with a cap [of freedom] upon his head. Scipio was surnamed *Africanus*: but doubtful it is, whether he came by that title through the favour of his soldiers before, or the general applause and affection of the people. But this is certain, that he was the first general that ever was intitled in his title, with the surname of a nation by himself conquered.

The thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Vhen Cn. Servilius Caelio, and C. Servilius Geminus (Cons. in that year, which by computation was the 16 of the 2^d Punic war) propoed unto the Senat, concerning the affairs of the State, the managing of the wars, and the government of the provinces: the LL. ordained and gave order, that the Cons. should either agree between themselves, or else call others whether of them should go into the Brutian land against Annibal, and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of *Hispania* and the *Ligurians*: with commission for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of *Bruttii*, to receive the army from *P. Sempronius* the Consul; and the said *P. Sempronius* (for he also as Vice-consul was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the room of *P. Licinius*, who was to return home to *Rome*. This *P. Sempronius* among other commendable parts (wherein no Citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himself) was taken also for a brave warrior and man at arms. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, and wealthy in substance. In his usual personage he excelled, for strength of body he far surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the bar, or occasion offered either in Senat house or before the assembly of the people to persuade or dissuade, to give counsel one way or other. In the Pontifical canon and laws, he was singularly well learned and skillful. Besides all these positive worthy qualities (Livy) his Consulship had given him experience also in military affairs, and made him a worthy soldier. The same order that was taken for the Brutians pro-

A vince, was also decreed for *Hispania* and the *Ligurians*. *M. Cornelius* was commanded to put over and deliver up his army to the new Consul: and himself to continue still in government, and to rule the province of *France* with the strength of those legions which *L. Scribonius* the Pretor had under his charge the year before. After this, the Consuls call lots for their provinces. Unto *Caelio* fell the *Bruttii*, unto *Servilius Geminus*, *Hispania*. Then the Pretors provinces also were put to the choice of lottery. And *P. Aelius* his lot was to have the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*: *P. Lentulus* to rule *Sardinia*: *P. Villius* to govern *Sicily*: and *Quinctilius Varus* to have the charge of *Arminum* with two legions, which were commanded by *Sp. Lucretius*. And *Lucretius* had his commission revived again for a longer time, to the end, that he might redifie the towne *Genoa*, which by *Mago* the Carthaginian had been rased and destroyed. As for *P. Scipio* his commission and government was not limited by any expresse time, but only with the end of the wars, and to continue until those wars in *Affrick* were fully determined. A decree also passed, that there should be a solemn procession and supplication for this effect, and in these terms, that whereas he had sailed over into the province of *Affrick*, this voyage and expedition of his might turn to the safety and good of the people of *Rome*, of himself, and his army. In *Sicily* were enrolled three thousand soldiers. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shipped over into *Affrick*: for fear lest some Armado should cut over out of *Affrick*, it was thought expedient to guard all the sea coasts of *Sicily*, with a fleet of 40 sail. And *Villius* had with him into *Sicily* 13 ships, newly built; the rest of the old ships in *Sicily* were repaired. For Admirall of that armado was appointed *M. Pomponius* the Pretor of the former year, whose government was prorogued, and he embarked the new soldiers brought out of *Italy*. The like number of ships the LL. of the Senat assigned unto Cn. *Octavius* the Pretor of the former year, with the same commission of government, for to defend the coasts of *Sardinia*. And *Lentulus* was commanded to allow unto the Pretor 2000 soldiers for to man and furnish those ships. Moreover, the sea coasts of *Italy*, because it was uncertain to what parts the Carthaginians would make out their navy (and like it was, that where they should cipy any place weak and destituted of sufficient strength and garrison, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to *M. Marcius* the Pretor of the former year, that he should scour the seas, and keep that tide, with as many ships as the other. And for to furnish that fleet of his, the Consuls by order from the Senat enrolled three thousand soldiers, and reserved two legions besides, against all doubtful chances of war.

D whatsoever. As for the two provinces of *Spain*, together with the armies there, and the whole government they were appointed to the old Generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. So the Roman war for that year were maintained with 20 legions in all & with a hundred and sixty ships of war. Then the Pretors were commanded to take their journey into their several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the City, to exhibit those great Games, which *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Dictor had vowed against the 5 years end, if it be the Commonwealth remained in the same good and fortunate estate, during that time.

Now there entered into mens minds new doubts and strange scruples of conscience, by reason divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For believed it was that certain ravens not only pecked and raled with their bills, but also eat and devoured the gold in the Capitoll. At *Antium* the mice and rats gnawed a crown of gold. About *Capua*, a huge number of locusts (but from whence they came, no man knew for certain) overfed all the grounds, and filled the fields. At *Reate* there was a horie-colt foled with five feet. At *Anagnin* were seen in the element, at the first divers fire-lights shooting and flashing here and there; and afterwards a mighty blasing comet burning. At *Fusina* a certain arch compassed the sun with a thin circle like a line: and afterwards a greater circle of the sun enclosed the said rundle from without forth. In the territory of *Arpi*, the earth in a plain champaign field settled and sunk down and made an exceeding great chink. As one of the Consuls killed the first beast for sacrifice, the liver thereof was found headless. These monstrous tokens were expiat and purged with sacrifices of the bigger sort: and the collidge of the Priests and bishops shewed unto what gods the sacrifice should be made. These things once done and performed, the Consuls and Pretors went forth into their provinces: yet so, as all of them had a special regard of *Affrick*, as if it had been their own province fallen unto every one of them by lot; either because they saw that therein reposed and consisted the whole importance of all affairs, and the main fate of the war: or else because they would gratifie and currie favour with *Scipio*, whom now the whole City made count to, and chiefly respected. And therefore not only out of *Sardinia* as before said, but also out of *Sicily* and *Spain* there was transported thither raiment and corn: yes, and armour also out of *Sicily*, and all kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the army. And albeit it was winter season, yet *Scipio* flaked no affairs and works of war: which being many, amidst his mind at once on every tide, and kept him continually occupied. For *Vtica* he beliggied and encamped he lay opposite to *Annibal*, and even within his sight; the Carthaginians were with their ships about, and put to sea, and a navy they had rigged, furnished and trimmed, for to intercept all victuals that came. Amid these cares he forgot not to win again the love of *Syphax*, if haply now he had his fill of love-deights with his fresh wife, since he had the plentiful fruition thereof, as much as heart could desire. But *Syphax* rather tendered conditions of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, to wit, that the Romans should depart out of *Affrick*, and the Carthaginians out of *Italy*; than seemed to give any hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the war con-

asce ptable in that amidst so many continuall losses and plenteous tears of theirs, one only joy as small as it was, shining upon them beyond their expectation, cald and lightened their hearts: considering withall how neer by all likelihood and appearance the Roman armado was to a mischief and finally destruction, had not the captains of their own gallees foreflowed so much, and *Scipio* come in time to help.

It fortun'd about the same time, that *Lalius* and *Masaniissa* were come within 15 daies into *Numidia*; the *Masaniissians* rendered *Masaniissa* the ancient realm belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time desired. *Syphax* seeing his captains and garrisons diltized and displaced, kept himselfe within the ancient limits of his own Kingdome, but was not like to be long at rest and quiet. For his wives father on the one side, and his wife again on the other, set him on her forward continuall ally to make arms against the *Romans*; and so doted he on her in excessive love, that needs he must yeeld to her, there was no remedy. Besides, so mighty he was in numbers of men and horse, that the puissance of a Kingdome flourishing for many years together, offering and presenting it self daily to the eie, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not so barbarous and uncivil as he, and had some better rule and makry of his affections then himself had. When he had assembled together as many as were able for service, he furnished them with horse, and with armour, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavalry he sorted and divided into small troops and cornets, the infantry into the cohorts and squadrons, according as he had learned long since of the Roman censurers. And thus having raised an army, equal for number to the former, but standing altogether in manner, of new and untrained soldiers, he put himself on his journey against the enemies. And after he had encamped neer unto them, at the beginning some few light horsemen advanced forward from the *corps de guard*, in espiall, to see as they might with safety, but being let back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began on both sides to make out one against another, and to maintain light skirmishes; and when of any part they had taken the foil, they would again for anger return in greater number which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell between horsemen: for whiles the winners hope still of better, and the looser chafes for having the worse, the company ever concentrates on both sides. And thus now, after some few had scuffled and blowed the coals, at length the whole army of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a set battell. So long as the horse service, the *Masaniissians* were so many, as there were hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* sent them out in such great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had gotten faire footing between the cornets of their horsemen, which gave way as they came, and had suddenly sent footing and made head, and so frighted the enemy charging so free upon the spur as he did then, the Barbarians began to ride their horses more easily, and within a while gently to stand still; and in the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but also to retreat from the horsemen, who now were the more bold and hardy, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standards of the legions advanced forward, and approached neer hand. But when the *Masaniissians* were so far from receiving and enduring their first charge, that they might not abide the very sight so much, as of their ensigns and armour, so mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrowes already past, or the present fear of imminent danger. Where *Syphax*, whiles he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and squadrons, if happily for very shame, or for the perill of his own person, he might stay his men from running away, had his horse under him fore wounded, and being cast off his back to the earth, as overpressed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto *Lalius*, for to represent unto *Masaniissa* above all others a goodly shew and joyfull sight to behold. Now was *Ciriba*, the head City of all the Kingdome of *Syphax*; and thither after the fight, betook themselves a mighty multitude of people. The slaughter in this battell wasles in proportion, then the victory, because the horsemen only maintained the conflict. Not above five thousand were slain, and not halfe so many taken prisoners. And when they had made an assault upon the camp whether the frighted multitude after the losse of their King, had retired, *Masaniissa* came unto *Lalius* and said, that for the present there could be nothing more pleasing and honourable unto him, then upon his victory to visit and see his fathers Kingdome, which he had recovered and won again after so long a time. But as in adversity, so like wise in prosperity (qd he) tract of time and delays are never good. In case therefore *Lalius* would permit him and his horsemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to go before unto the City *Ciriba*, he would surprise them on a suddain, finding all out of frame and to feele by reason of this so suddain and unexpected fear: and *Lalius* with his footmen might travell fair and safely, and come after with ease journeys. *Lalius* yeilded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone afore unto *Ciriba*, he commanded the principall Citizens of *Ciriba* to be called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and so long as *Masaniissa* uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire words and perswasions untill he presented the King before them a bound prisoner. Then at so heavy an object and miserable spectacle, they lift up a pitifull cry, and made great lamentation. And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wals, and partly by a general consent to court the Conqueror, and to seek for grace and favour at his hands, they let the gates open. Then *Masaniissa*, after he had belowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wals, certain strong guards, to keep that no man should stir and make an escape, he rode a gallop to the

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A royall palace, for to be possessed of it. As he entred within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Afrabal* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and cyping in the mids of the armed train *Masaniissa* full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) she fell down prostrate at his feet, and spake in this wise: "True it is (I have quoth the) O *Masaniissa*, that the Gods above, together with your own verue and fidelity "it is given you full power and puissance, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be "lawfull for me a poor prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble "speech unto my Lord, and in whole only hands lieth my life and death: if I may be to bold to "touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours: I would beseech and pray you for "the honour of the royall majesty of a Prince, wherein we also our selves ere while were interest- "ed; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and *Syphax*, "by the domestical gods, protectors of this regal house and princely palace, who vouchsafe to "receive you into it at this present with better prels and more fortunat tokens, then lately they "sent *Syphax* out of it; to deign me a lowly supplicant this favour, and I graut me this petition, as to "determine your selfe of me your captive what ever pleaseeth you & not to suffer me to fall into the "proud hands and inhumane disposition of any Roman. If there were nothing else out this, that I "was sometime wife and Queen to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the courtie and humanity of "a Numidian, and one born in *Africa* as well as my self then of a stranger and alien. But "what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Afrabal*, may fear at a Ro- "mans hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once again I request and intreat your high- "ness upon my knees, to regard my suit: and if there be no way else to save and keep me from "the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death of her, in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she was incomparable: for years lully, and in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she held him fast by the hand, and requested his protection and honourable word, only for this, that he might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & setting her words, so well, and couching them so cunningly, that they sounded neerer to speeches for to win love, then prayers to crave pity: and see the fanie and affection of this victorious Prince: he inclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also (as all the kind of these Numidians are full of love, and have no stay of their wan- "ton lust) a conqueror otherwise though he were yeilded himself prisoner to the love of his captive: "D and after he had given her his right hand for assurance to perform her request, he went into the "lace. This done, he began to talk about with himself how he might make good his promise unto "himself, but finding no meanes else to compass and bring it about, he borrowed foolishly, rash, "and shameles counsell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all hast to pre- "pare that very day for the solemnization and marriage with *Sophonisba*, because he would give nei- "ther *Lalius*, nor *Scipio* himself, any liberty at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after the were "once the wedded wife of *Masaniissa*. The wedding was no longer due, but behold *Lalius* came, "a guest unfent for and nothing welcome: who so little dissembled how much he disliked the thing, "that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and sent her away even with *Syphax* and other prisoners to *Scipio*. But matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrate and decide unto whi- "E ber thought and importuned him to refer the matter unto him, for to mend their state, and better their for- "tune, the sent away *Syphax* alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of *Masaniissa*, wan- "and recovered the other Cities in *Numidia*, which were held by the garrisons of the King. When "news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth "as it were to behold a triumph. Himself went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidi- "an noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to let forth and amplify this victo- "rie, magnified what he could the greatnes of King *Syphax*, and the glorious renown of the "nation, in these termes: That he was the King, unto whose majesty the two most mighty and "puissant states of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that "F *Scipio* the General of the one, for to seek his amity, left the province of *Spain* and the army "there, and with two Caravals or Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, only repaired himself in per- "and *Afrabal* the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only failed himself in per- "son unto him into his Kingdome, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time "he had in his power the two grand-captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like "as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortal gods, and craved thereby their grace "and favour, so of both parties it was so great, that he expelled *Masaniissa* out of his own Realm, and "his power and puissance, it was so great, that he expelled *Masaniissa* out of his own Realm, and "drew him to this narrow point, that the best meanes he had to preclieve his life, was either the "running rumour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live "G by rapine and stealth, after the guise of savage beasts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth "that stood about him, was brought at length into the Praetorium or Generals pavilion, and there "presented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to consider the former state "and fortune of the man, compared now with his present condition: and to remember withall "and call to mind the hospitall intertainment, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and "the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise *Syphax* "took heart, and spake more frankly unto the conqueror. For when *Scipio* demanded of him

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"What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romans, but also began himself first to make war upon them: he made answer again and confessed, That he had indeed done amiss, and plaid the fool. As for his taking arms against the people of Rome, that was not the beginning of his folly, but rather the very end of his frantick fortifollies. Then it was, and never else but then, that he went besides himself and was bereft of his wits; then he abandoned out of his mind and clean forgot, as well private enmity by a hospital entertainment, as all public alliance by solemn covenants; when as he received into his house a Carthaginian lady for his wife: then his royl court and palace was set on fire & burned with those nuptial torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent dame, that by all kind of picaunt alluring baits, and flattering enticements possessed my mind, drew away and alienated my heart; and never relted till, until with her own hands she laid upon my body impious and ungodly assault against my owne guest and loving friend. And yet as desperate and as wilful as my case is, in all my miseries and calamities, this one thing doth me good and enjoyeth my heart, that I see the same pestiferous fury, that fiend of hell, and him of the Devil, gotten into the house and family of him, who is the most deadly and mortal enemy that I have in all world. Neither surely will Masinissa demean himself more wisely, soberly and cautiously then Syphax: nay, considering his youthful years, he will be as apt to be misled by love, and more subject to the temptations of a woman. Certainly in this adion of espousing her, he hath bewed more folly a great deal, and want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spitefull hatred against an enemy, but also upon the new pricks of jealousie rising in his heart, seeing her whom he loved, in the possession of his concurrent, Scipio was driven into no small dumps, and with not well what to make of it. And as he began to be suspicious of Masinissa for this marriage, so, to speak a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him; for fear that another day by the suggestions of the lame woman, he would play false, and treaspas as well as Syphax. The marriage was so huddled up as it were in the mids of war and hostility, without the advice, without the privacy, and without the expectation of Lelius his company. Such hath he made all on the head, & without advisement, the very same day that he let eye first upon the queen his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, and in the very house of his greatest enemy consummate and consummulate the complements of sacred wed-lock. Moreover to aggravate these matters and make them seem more foul and shameful, Scipio knew full well, that Masinissa during the time that he remained in Spain a lusty young gentleman, it was never known that he was enamoured upon the lovely beauty of any captive woman. As he toiled and revolved these things in his mind, Lelius and Masinissa chanced to come in place. And after he had welcomed them both alike, and shewed them a loving and gracious countenance, yeas and honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a frequent audience and court, he within his lodging took Masinissa into a secret place apart, and began to speak unto him in this manner: I suppose Masinissa, that you saw in me some good part, for love whereof both at the first you were induced to come into Spain and contract amity with me; and afterwards also in Africa, you repented our self and all your hopes in my fidelity and protection. But of all those virtues, for which I have seemed worthy of your affectionate love, there is not one wherein I may so much glory and take joy and take comfort, as in temperance, continency, and the bridling of carnall delights, and fleshly pleasures. This virtue Masinissa, I wish that you also would have joyned unto the rest that are in you so rare and excellent. For our ages (truly we truly) standeth not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those earthly pleasures that compasse us on every side. And he that by his sobriety and governance hath been able to rule and tame the same, hath won himself more honour, and gotten a greater victory, then we have done by the conquest and subduing of Syphax. What valiant exploits and worthy acts you have achieved in mine absence I have willingly reported, and still remember. For the rest I had rather you would consider of them by your self, then change colour and blush at my rehearsal of them. Syphax through the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of Rome, is vanquished and taken prisoner. And therefore himself, his wife, his realm, his lands, his towns, the inhabitants thereof, and finally all things else whatsoever that belongeth unto Syphax, are become a booty to the people of Rome. The King himself, and the Queen his wife, in case he had not been a citizen born of Carthage, in case we had not seen her Father to be at the great Captain of our enemies, ought by right to have been sent to Rome; that the Senat and people of Rome might passe their censures, award and judgement of her, who is reported to have alienated a confederate King from us, and to have caused him rashly and inconsiderately to take arms against us. Strive then to rule and master your humors and affections, take heed you stain not many good virtues with one bad vice. Marre not the grace, deface not I say, the thank of many worthy deserts, by one fault; and trespass greater indeed, then the subject cause and occasion thereof. Masinissa, whilst he heard these words, not only blushed as red as fire, but also began to water his plants. And when he had promised for his part to be overruled and set down by the Generall, and requested him withall, so far forth as possibly the case would permit, to tender and regard his promise, wherein rashly and inconsiderately he had entangled himself, (for given his faithful word he had, that he would not deliver and betray her into the hands and power of any other) he departed out of the Pretorium or Generall his court, all dismayed and exceedingly troubled in spirit and betook himself to his own pavilion. Where all solitary and alone by himself, after he had passed over some time, with

A with fetching many deep sighs and sobs, so as he might easily be overheard by them that stood about his tent, at the last he gave one grievous groane above the rest, and with that called for one of his truly grooms, who had under his hand the keeping (as the manner was of Kings and Princes) of a speciall poyson, against all doubtfull chances, that might happen. Which he commanded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to Scipio, and withall to tell him thus much from him. "That Masinissa would have been most willing to perform his pledged troth and lift promise, which a husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since that the superiour powers, and those that were mightier than himself, had bereft him of their puissance and liberty, he was ready and able yet to accomplish a second behest, namely, that he should not come alive into the hands of the Romans: and therefore he advised her, that in remembrance of her father a noble warrior and Commander, of her native country, of two Kings to whom she had been married, she would provide for her self, and save her own honour. This credence and message, together with the poyson, the servant when he was come unto Scipio, delivered unto her. Whereat, I accept (quoth she) this marriage present, and welcome be it to me, if this be the best token that a husband could find to send unto his wife. Yet thus much signifie unto him from me again, that better content I would have been to die, if my marriage had not stood too neer to my grave. She spake not the word to floutly, but she did the deed as resolutely: for she took the cup in hand, and shewed no sign at all of fear, she roundly drank it off. When tidings hereof came unto Scipio, for fear lest the hot, humorous, and passionate young Prince, might do him self some mischief, he presently sent for him. One while he gave him good & comfortable words; another while he gently rebuked him, so that he would seem to make amends for one folly with another, and to play a more cruel and tragical part then there was need. The next day after, to the end that he might withdraw his mind away from this present ill of troublesome fancies, he mounted up into his Tribunal seat, and assembled an audience. There first, he openly styled Masinissa by the name of King, and honored him with singular praises and commendations: which done, he gave him a golden crown, a fair cup likewise of gold, a chair of estate and a scepter, both of ivory, a rich long robe imbroidered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle work, representing the Date tree. These honourable presents wanted no words to tell them out. For as (quoth he) there is nothing among the Romans more stately and magnificent than triumph, so they that ride in triumph, have no ornaments more rich and luscious then this, which the people of Rome esteeme. Then Masinissa only of all strangers and aliens to be worthy of. After this he gave Lelius also his due and deserved praises, and bestowed upon him a coronet of gold. Other martial men likewise according to the service which they had done, were rewarded with lundry gifts. The King having these honours done unto him, was quietted and contented in mind, and conceived some assured hope, now that Syphax was displaced and rid out of the way, shortly to compass and enjoy the whole kingdom of Numidia. Then Scipio having sent C. Lelius with Syphax and other captives unto Rome, accompanied also with the Embassadors of Masinissa, returned himself with his power again to Tarent, And there what fortifications and works he had begun afore, now he finished perfectly and brought to an end.

The Carthaginians who were filled with a kind of joy that was not only short, but also in manner vain and foolish, grounded upon their late assault of the Armado, which (considering their present state) was fortunat enough; after they heard that Syphax was taken prisoner, in whom they had reposed more hope (well neer) then in Asdrubal and their own army, were mightily affrighted and daunted, and would give no more ear to any that pertwaded war, but as one orators to sue for peace, thirty of their principall ancients; and they amongst them were (as one would say) their privy councill of state, and had the greatest power and authority to sway and overrule the whole body of the Senat. Who being entered into the Roman camp and the Generall his lodging and pavilion, fell down prostrate (after the manner and guise as I take it, of the country) from whence they were first descended like those that worship & adore the gods. And to this their humble reverence, their language was suitable and correspondent; not extolling themselves and their fault, but transferring the beginning and occasion thereof, upon Asdrubal and his favorites about him, and footed him and bare him up in his wilfull pride and insolent ambition craving pardon for their City of Carthage, which twice already had been subverted and overthrow by the inconsiderat folly of her own citizens: yet once again you would gladly be faved and stand upright by the meannes and goodnesse of their enemies: for as much as they knew full well, that the people of Rome fought not the utter extermination and destruction of those whom they had vanquished by force of arms, but only the sovereignty and rule over them: promising fealty and homage to them ready to serve in all loyalty, and to perform whatsoever it should please them to impose and lay upon them. Scipio made them this answer again, and said, that as he came into Africa upon hope to return home with conquest and not with peace; so that hope of his the prosperous and happy successe of his war is hitherto, was much bettered and augmented. However although he assured himself of the absolute victory, as if he had it fast enough in his hand, yet a good accord he would not refuse: that all nations of the world might know, that the people of Rome can both begin wars rightfully, and also end the same as justly. My will therefore (quoth he) and pleasure is, that the conditions of peace shall be these. Imprimis, that the Carthaginians shall reitore and deliver back all the prisoners that they have taken in the wars; with all the renegates and fugitives that have fled to their side from us. Item, that they remove their forces

"T. Livius
bella Roma pueri,
clavata pueri-
les, sic palmaria,
toga pueri re-
spicere. Cato
in Sig. De
tudis lib. 3.
cap. 19.

"Tym in
Theodora.
Where, like as
in these con-
vices of As-
drubal, the people are
most fervent
and very in-
dulgent to their
Princes.

rest that year, he together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horse, spent in per gresse and visiting all the Cities of *Italy* which in time of war had shaken off their allegiance, and in taking due knowledge of all their causes and reasons severally.

During the time of the truce, there let forth all out of *Sardinia* from *Leontius* the Pretor, an hundred hulks laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty gallees of war, and sailed over into *Africk*, both from the danger of the enemy, and also from the perill of tempests by sea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from *Sicily*, with a fleet of two hundred hulks and thirty strong gallees, had not the like good speed. For as he sailed (well near) within the kenning of *Africk*, first he was calmed; then the wind turning South, troubled and disordered his ships, yea, and scattered them over the sea one from another. Himself with his gallees of war wrought against the wind and the current, and with exceeding toil and labour of the oare-men, I doubt led the point of the cape of *Apella*, &c. there in the bay rode at anchor; but the hulks for the most part fell with the lland *Egmontus* (which shuteeth upon the foreland, and lieth in the very mouth of that creek from the sea wherein *Carthage* standeth) almost ten leagues from the City: and some were driven by wind to a place called the *Hotwaters*, over against the City. All this hapned within the sight of *Carthage*. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great running to the market place. The magistrates assembled the Senat; the people at the entry and porch of the Council house, called upon the Senators and cryed out, that they should not let slip to great a booty out of their eyes and hands. Some alleged against them, the fidelity of tresting of peace: others also objected the faithfull promise of truce (the terme whereof was not yet expired.) But at last when both Senat and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it was by a general consent, that *Asdrubal* with a fleet of fifty sail, should cut over to *Egmontus* and so forth thence rally and gather together the Roman ships dispersed along the coasts and the havens. And the hulks (abandoned of their mariners that were fled, first from the lland *Egmontus*, and afterwards from the *Hotwaters* aforesaid) were drawn and towed as it were at the tails of their own ships to *Carthage*. As yet the Embassadors were not returned from *Rome*, neither knew they what the resolution of the Roman Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignity to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who fought both for the one and the other; presently dispatched an embassage to *Carthage* *M. Bebinius*, *L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concourie and running together of the people, meet to a shrewd turn and mischief: and foreseeing their return like to be dangerous, craved of the magistrates (who saved them from violence) to send certain ships to wait them. So they were allowed two gallees called *Tiremes*, which having conducted them until they were arrived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were within sight of the Roman camp, returned back again to *Carthage*. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the rode before *Pica*. From thence there made out three gallees of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon some secret direction from *Carthage* to do so, or that *Asdrubal* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his own head adventured to foul an action (the state having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and espying the Roman Gallies of five banks of oars past the point of the cape, suddenly assailed her from the main fea. But neither could they invade and strike her with their beak heads, making her good way, and shifting to well by reason of her swiftness; neither could the armed souldiers from out of their lower vessels board her being so tall a ship over them. And right valiantly she defended her self as long as (shot lalled); which when it once failed, and that she had no other means to help her self, but only the nearness of the land and a number of souldiers who from the camp were run to the shore, with the losse only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtles broken with one wickedness coming in the neck of another, *Leontius* and *Fabius* came in the very nick from *Rome*, together with the Carthaginian Embassadors; unto whom *Scipio*, having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of arms, in abusing and evil intreating the persons of the Embassadors, yet himself would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of the people of *Rome*, or unifying his own manner and custome, dismissed the Embassadors, and made preparation for war.

When *Annibal* now approached the land of *Africk*, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the malt to discover the coast, and to give what part they were directed to: and when he made answer and said, that the prow made head upon a place called, the *Ruinat* (sc. *scapellato*); he mistaketh the omen and preface of that place, and commanded the pilot to passe by, and leave it: and so he put his fleet within the bay of *Leptis*, and there set his army ashore. And there were the affairs of *Africk* for that year. The acts ensuing, reach to that year, wherein *M. Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horse, and *J. Claudius Nero* were made Consuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Embassadors of the confederat Cities of *Greece* made complaints, that their territories were waited by the Kings garrisons: and when they sent their Embassadors into *Macedonia*, for to demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were four thousand armed souldiers transported over into *Spain*, under the conduct of *Sopater* to aid the Carthaginians: and certain summes of money likewise lent with them: the Senat gave order, that Embassadors should be addrest unto the King, to give him to understand, that

At that the LL. of the Senat took all this to be done against the tenure and form of the league. So there were sent *C. Terentius Varro*, *Cn. Manlius* and *M. Aurelius*. And three gallees of five course of oars they were allowed.

This was a year of special note, for a great scare-fire, whereby the publick cliff was burnt to ashes down to the ground: also for much abundance of rain and many floods, and exceeding cheapens of victual. For besides that all *Italy* was open by reason of a general peace throughout, *M. Valerius Falto*, and *M. Fabius Buteo*, Ediles of the chair, divided the great store of corn that was sent out of *Spain*, among the people, street by street, and let the price at four Asles the *Modius*. The same year *Q. Fabius Maximus* departed this life, a man of great years and exceeding old, if that be true which some writers report, that he was Angur 42 years. But certain it is that he was a man worthy of so great and honourable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himself. He surpassed the dignities of his father, he was equal in honor to his grand-father: *Rullus* his grand-father, I must needs say, had more tides of victories, and of greater battails: but one enemy of his, *Annibal*, may countervail them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more wary and advised, than hardy and forward: and as a man may well doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take leisure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the wars properly then in hand; so verily nothing is more certain than this, that as the Poet *Ennius* saith:

*This only man by wife delay,
Restor'd our fate full'n to decay.*

His (on *Q. Fabius Maximus* was invited or installed Angur in his place, and for Bishop in his room (for two sacred dignities he had) *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* was chosen. The Roman plaies were exhibited one day, and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renued by the Ediles *M. Sextus Sabinus* and *Cn. Tremelius Flaccus*. They both, were made Pretors; and with them *C. Livius Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. The solemne election of the Magistrates for that year, whether *Cn. Servilius* the Consul held, or (because of important busines in *Tuscan*, about the examinations of the conspiracies there of certain great men, by commission from the Senate, which might keep him there) *P. Sulpicius* the Dictator by him nominated; it is uncertain, by reason of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the year next following, *M. Servilius* and *T. Claudius*, after they had assembled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And for asmuch as both of them desired *Africk*, they were willing that *Africk* and *Italy*, should be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the especial travail of *Q. Metellus*, the Province of *Africk* was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Consuls were commanded to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, that if they thought fit good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in *Africk*. So all the tribes in general gave their voices with *P. Scipio*. Nevertheless, the Consuls (for to the Senat had decreed before) cast lots for the Province of *Africk*. Thus *Africk* befall unto *T. Claudius*, namely, that he should sail over thither with an armado of fifty ships, all gallees of five ranks of oars, and be joyned in equal commission with *Scipio*. And *M. Servilius* had *Herronia* allotted unto him. In the same Province *Cn. Servilius* also was to continue in government, in case it pleased the Senat to stay the Consul in the City. Of Pretors, *M. Sestius* by lot had the rule of *Gallia*, with order, that *P. Quintilius Varus* should make over unto him the Province and two legions. And *C. Livius* took the charge of the Bruttii with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by *P. Sempronius* the Vice-consul. *Cn. Tremelius* was appointed to govern *Sicily*, and to receive of *P. Villus Tappulus* the Pretor of the former year, that Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that *Villus* as Propretor, should keep in obedience and defend the coast of *Sicily* with twenty ships of war, and a thousand souldiers; and that from thence *M. Pomponius* should in the twenty ships behind embark one thousand and five hundred souldiers, and transport them over to *Rome*. Unto *C. Aurelius Cotta* was the civil jurisdiction of the City assigned. All the rest continued still in their government, and had their commissions newly signed, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with sixteen legions and no more, was the State of *Rome* that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterprises in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Consuls before they went out to war, should let forth those games and plaies, and sacrifice those greater beasts which *T. Manlius* Dictator, in the year that *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quintius* were Consuls, promised by solemne vow, in case the Common-weal continued for five years following, in the same good estate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Cirque or show-place four daies together, and the sacrifices slain accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

But all this while, as mens hope, for their fear all encreased daily more and more, whiles they could not certainly resolve with themselves, whether they had more cause to rejoyce, that *Annibal* after sixteen years had abandoned *Italy*, and left the possession thereof free unto the people of *Rome*; or to be afraid, for that he had passed over into *Africk* with the safety of his army. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And surely *Q. Fabius* late deceased, no vain Prophet of so great a perill and hazard, was wont to foretell, and this was ever his song, That *Annibal* would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than he had been abroad in a forraign Land. And *Scipio* should find, that he had to deal neither with

"*Syphax* (King of a rude, untaught, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies of stale H
 "grooms, and little better than water-bearers and camp-slaves to keep one place, and not re-
 "move) nor with *Adrubal* his father in law, a Captain of all others most light of foot, and re-
 "dient to run away, nor yet with tumultuary armies taken up in haste and raised suddenly, confit-
 "ing of a rabble of rustic clowns and peasants armed by the halves; but with *Annibal*, born in man-
 "ner within the camp, yea, and in the royal pavilion of his father: a most valiant Captain, bred
 "and brought up amongst armed men: who long ago was no sooner a child, but he was a soldier,
 "and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General: who growing to be
 "old in a continual course and train of victories, hath filled *Spain* and *France* from the one side
 "to the other, and *Italy* from the *Alpes* to the narrow seas, with the marks and memorable monu-
 "ments of worthy and noble exploits: and leadeeth still an army of as long standing and continu-
 "ance in warfare as himself, hardened and beate to endure all those things which hardly one
 "would believe, men could abide and suffer, embured and bathed a thousand times in the blood of
 "Romans, and carrying with him the spoils not of common soldiers only, but also of most brave
 "Generals themselves, *Scipio* should be sure to encounter and meet in battail those who with their
 "own hands had slain Pretors, and killed Consuls of *Rome*: all bedight and goodly to be seen in
 "mural and vallare coroners, for their good service in scaling of walls, and mounting over rampiers;
 "those I say who at their pleasure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the
 "Romans. Neither at this day have the Magistrats of the people of *Rome* so many bundles of rods,
 "with axes born before them, as *Annibal* hath taken from the Roman Generals whom he hath slain,
 "and can it he list he wear and carry before him, casting and tossing these doubts and fears in their mind, K
 "they themselves encreased their own care, and doubled their dread in this point also, that whereas
 "they were wont for certain years to make war in fight of home, in diverse and fundry places of
 "*Italy*, with a lingering kind of hope, without regarding any issue thereof like presently to enforce now
 "*Scipio* and *Annibal*, Captains matched together (as one would say) to make a final end & tryal of al,
 "had set all mens minds a work to expect the event now or never. And even they also who had re-
 "posed exceeding confidence, and grounded no small hope of victory in *Scipio*, the more their spir-
 "its were amited upon it, and desirous to see a speedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt
 "of the sequel. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewise affected and disquieted in mind,
 "One whiles, beholding *Annibal*, and considering his noble and worthy acts, they repented that
 "they sued for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembered, how twice L
 "they had been defeated in battail, *Syphax* slain, themselves driven out of *Spain*, chased and hunted
 "out of *Italy*, and all this by the valor and policy of one man *Scipio*: they trembled for fear of him,
 "as if he were the fatal Captain born for their ruin and utter destruction.

Now by this time was *Annibal* come as far as *Admetum*: from whence, after he had bestow-
 "ed some few dayes in refreshing his sea-fight soldiers, he was roused with fearful thoughts that
 "brought news, how all about *Carthage* was full of enemies and hostility: whereupon he made
 "long journeys till he came to *Zama*. This *Zama* is a Town distant from *Carthage* five dayes jour-
 "ney. From thence he sent out espials, who being taken by the Roman wardens, were brought be-
 "fore *Scipio*, and he caused them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marshals, with command-
 "ment, that they should be led throughout the camp: and suffered without all fear, to see whatso- M
 "ever they desired. And when he had asked of them whether they had perused and considered
 "everything to their content, and enough to serve their turn: he sent them back again to *Annibal*,
 "with a safeconduct to accompany them. *Annibal* took no pleasure at all in hearing of any thing
 "that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought news that *Masaniissa* chanced
 "that very day to come thither with six thousand foot and four thousand horse. But most of all,
 "he was troubled and cast down with the resolute confidence and assurance of the enemy: which
 "no doubt (he thought) arose not of nothing. And therefore albeit himself was the only cause of
 "that war, and by his arrival had disturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable cov-
 "enants: yet supposing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in case he lived therefore N
 "while he was entire and unfoiled, rather than after he were vanquished and overcome: he address-
 "ed a messenger or pursuant unto *Scipio*, requesting that he might confer and commune with him.
 "Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Council of the State, I
 "have no reason to set down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. *Valerius Antius*
 "writeth, That he was by *Scipio* defeated in the first battel, wherein were slain in field 12000 armed
 "men, and 1700 taken prisoners, whereupon himself in person came as Embassador, with other ten
 "Orators into the camp unto *Scipio*. But howsoever it was, *Scipio* refused not to emparle; and so,
 "both Generals of purpose advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they
 "might be neerer one to the other when they should meet in conference. *Scipio* made choice of a
 "plot of ground not far from the City *Nadagara*: which as it was handfome and meet in
 "other respects, so especially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow throw. *Annibal* O
 "took an hill four miles from thence, sure enough and commodious otherwise, but only that they
 "were far from water. In the mid way between they chose a plain, open on every side, where they
 "might disciver and see all about them, that no ambush there were laid: and after they had caused
 "their armed soldiers to retire a like distance from either party, then came together with one
 "truch-man or interpreter apiece, not only the greatest and bravest Captains of their time, but al-
 "so equal to the mightiest Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been afore them
 "in

The enter-
view of *Scipio*
and *Annibal*.

A in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they stood one beholding the other, and said
 "never a word, ravished and atonied with a mutual admiration: and at last *Annibal* began and
 "spake in this wise. "If the Gods by destinies have so appointed, that I who first levied war against
 "the Romans, and who so often have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, mult needs
 "of my self and mine own motion, come now first likewise to sue for peace: glad I am and well
 "pleased, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whose hands I should
 "seek the same. And certainly, you also for your part among many your singular and excellent
 "praises, may score up this for none of the least, namely, That *Annibal* (unto whom the Gods
 "have vouchsafed the upper-hand over so many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yielded the
 "bucklers, and given place unto your self: now that you have had the honor to end this war,
 "more notable and renowned at the first for your losses and overthrow than ours: and that
 "fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this pretty sport with me, who at the beginning took
 "arms when your father was Consul, gave him battail first of all other Roman Generals, and am
 "now come unarmed unto his son to crave peace. Verily much better it had been, and simply the
 "very best, that the Gods had inspired into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might
 "have contented your selves with the Dominion of *Italy*, and we likewise of *Affrick*. For truly,
 "*Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, are nothing sufficient to make amends and satisfaction, and it were but
 "only of your part, in recompense of so many brave fleets, so many puissant armies, and so many
 "noble Captains that ye have lost. But faults done and past may well be blamed and reproved,
 "when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedy were we on both sides to conquer
 "the Lands of others, that in the mean time we have hazarded our own. Neither had ye war in
 "C *Italy* only, or we again in *Affrick* alone: but both ye have seen the enigma and armies of ene-
 "mies liard at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewise from *Carthage*
 "have heard the noise and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have caused most
 "to detest and abhor, and you to wish above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is
 "fallen out in time of your better prosperity, and more favourable aspect of fortune unto you.
 "We again are the agents therein, whom it most flattereth upon and importeth that there should
 "be peace: and who are assured, whatsoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence
 "we come, will approve and ratifie the same. There needs no more but a willing mind, well
 "affected and inclined to those courses which tend to repose and quietnes. For mine own part,
 "one while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my country, from whence
 "D I came a child: another while prosperity and adversity both, hath schooled me, that I would
 "now rather be ruled by reason, than I wayed by fortune. But I fear me greatly, that you as well in
 "regard of youth, as also of your continual felicity and fortunat train of success, are over-hasty
 "and stout, for to yeeld unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-calleth no variable
 "chances, who never tasted of adversity of fortune. And the time are you at this day, that sometimes
 "I was at *Thrasymenus* and at *Cannae*. You being hardly come to that age which is meet for war-
 "service, had the charge and command of an army: and look what enterprises you took in hand
 "most venuously, the same you ever exploited as happily. You purified the vengeance of fathers
 "and uncles death, and wan by the calamity of your house and family a notable name and reputa-
 "tion of singular verue and piety. *Spain* full and wholly you have recovered and conquered a-
 "gain: four armies of Carthaginians you have chased from thence: no sooner were you created
 "E Consul, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keep *Italy*, you failed never
 "the less, hither over into *Affrick*: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt
 "in one hour two camps of your enemies, taken *Syphax* prisoner, a most mighty and puissant
 "Prince: wan so many cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominion: you pulled me mangle
 "my head out of *Italy*, whereof I had been now fifteen years possessed. Well may your haury
 "mind affect victory rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what spirit and stomack
 "you are, more respective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time
 "hath been, when I also had the lightome countenance of fortune lovingly smiling and shining
 "F upon me. And were we so blessed of God as to have our right wits and perfect senses in time of
 "prosperity, we would consider and think not of things only which have hapned, but of those
 "also that might happen. But if you should forget all other, I alone might serve as a sufficient
 "example & mirror of accidents of fortune whatsoever. For, whom not long since you either saw
 "or might have seen encamped between the river *Anio* and your City, and ready in manner to
 "scale the walls of *Rome*: you see me now after the loss of my brethren, two right valiant warriors
 "and most renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my country little better than be-
 "sieged, making means in humble manner to avert and avoid those dangers from mine own City,
 "with which erewhiles I terrified yours. Well, the greatest and happiest fortune is least to be
 "trusted, and never is it worle relying on her, than when she is so free & bountiful. Now that you
 "G flourish and we fade, whiles you are afloat and we sink: a peace unto you that giveth rise is glo-
 "rious and goodly matter: to us that crave it more necessary than honorable. Better it is yet and
 "safer of the twain to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in
 "your hand to effect, the other as it pleaseth the Gods to dispose. Beware therefore, how in one
 "hour you hazard the felicity of so many years. And as you consider your own threat & forces:
 "so think what upon the power of fortune: let before your eyes the alternative course of *Mars*
 "in war. You shall see armor and the edge of the sword: you shall see the bodies of men as well of
 "G g g 2 one

The Oration
of *Annibal* to
Scipio.

long, peace of service it was to besiege a City so strong and so well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himself was troubled in mind with the expectation of a succour, who should come to win the credit and honor of finishing the way which indeed was gotten by the travail and hazard of another: all their hearts were turned and inclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them: and after they had been well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treachery and warned withal, that after so many losses and overthrows which they had received, they should now learn to be wile, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven. And there an oath was to be regarded, these conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them, *Imprimis*, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws: *Item*, What Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held were possessed before the war began, the same they might keep still. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romans I from that day forward should not waite and spoil the country. *Item*, That the Carthaginians should deliver all renegade traitors, all fugitive persons, all captives and prisoners, yea, and yield unto them all ships of war with brassen heads, above ten triremes or galleys of three ranks of oars. *Item*, That they should put into their hands all those Elephants which they had already tamed and manned and should break and tame no more of them. *Item*, They should make war neither in *Affrick*, nor without *Affrick*, but by order and warrant from the people of *Rome*. That they should make restitution and amends to *Masaniissa* for all harms, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they should find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-souldiers, until their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*: yea, and tender payment of ten thousand talents of silver by even portions in fifty years. *Item*, That they should put in a hundred hostages at the pleasure of *Scipio*, and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. Last of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ships which were taken during the time of the former cessation of arms, should be restored back again, with all things else that were therein: otherwise no truce for the present, nor hope of peace hereafter. These articles and conditions the Embassadors were willed to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general assembly of the people, *Cicero* mounted up the pulpit to disswade peace, and had audience given him with great applause of the multitude: who as they were heartless and unmeet for war, so they were as preevish and unmyly and could not long continue in repose. Hereat, *Annibal* took great indignation, and was highly displeased, that in such a time, those things should either be delivered or heard: and he made no more ado, but stepped to *Cicero*, laid hand upon him and pulled him down from the pulpit out of which he spake: whereat the people were moved and gumbled in great discontent to see so strange a sight and unusual, in a free City. Then *Annibal* as he was a meer martial man and could not skill of civil affairs, nor well away with these citizens' liberty. "I went, quoth he, from you when I was but nine years old, and now after 36 years I am come again. All military skill and knowledge, which fortune sometime in my private matters, and otherwiles in publick affairs hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learneded off by many, for the rights and privileges for the laws, customs and fashions of this City and the common Hall I must be informed and instructed by you. Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuse, he discomfited at large of peace, arguing how reasonable and equal, yea, and how necessary it was, the greatest point of difficulty in all the capitulations mislaid unto them was this, That touching the things above said which were taken during the absence of arms, there was nothing now forth-coming and to be seen but the bare vessels: and no easy matter was it to seek up the rest. Now when as they that gained the peace were convinced and put down by reason, agreed it was that the ships should be redelivered, and the men likewise be fought out and found: as for all the rest that was wanting, there should an estimate be made according to the value, at the discretion of *Scipio*, and to the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Writers there be that have delivered how *Annibal* presently from the field sped him to Sea, and there finding a ship ready prepared for him, straight-ways embarked and went directly to King *Antiochus*: Also when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* should be yielded into his hands, answer was made, that *Annibal* was not in *Affrick*. After that the Embassadors were returned to *Scipio* the Questors or Treasurers were commanded to draw an exact account of their books upon records, of all such things as were in the ships, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private persons, the owners thereof were willed to declare and testify. In consideration and recompense whereof, there was a sum of money set down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of silver, and the same to be paid presently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three months: with this clause annexed over and besides, That during the said term they should send their Embassadors to no other place but only to *Rome*: and what Embassadorssoever came to *Carthage*, they should not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General be who they were, and what their message and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, *L. Veturius Philo*, *M. Minucius Balbo*, and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came such store of grain and victuals out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and thereby corn was so cheap, that the Merchant was bin to leave corn behind him to satisfy the Shipmen and mariners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at *Rome* upon the first news and alarm, that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and *T. Claudius* had commission to conduct a fleet with all speed

A speed into *Sicily*, and from thence to pass over into *Affrick*: likewise the other Consul was commanded to stay still at *Rome*, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters stood in *Affrick*. But *T. Claudius* went but slowly to work either in preparing and rigging an armada, or in putting it to sea: because the L.L. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the disposition of *Scipio* than of the Consul. Moreover, there were certain prodigions signs reported even presently before the very remour of the foresaid rising and infurrection, which caused men to fear greatly. At *Cumes*, the circle and compass of the sun appeared less: and it rained a good shower of stones. Also in the territory of *Calvus*, the earth fetled and sunk, and made huge hollow chinks, in so much as trees were quite swallowed up under the ground. At *Arivia* the market-place and the shops all about, likewise at *Phisip* the wall of the City in divers places, yea, and the gate, were smitten with lightning from heaven: and in mount *Palatine* it rained stones. This wonderous sight left rehearsed, was expiate after the ancient custom, by keeping a Novendial sacrifice and fast for nine days: the rest by blinding of greater sacrifices. Among all, there were unusual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and confidences of men: for the *Tyber* so swelled and rose so high, that by reason that the shew-place of the *Circus* was overflowed, preparation was made for the setting forth of the games *Apollinaries*, without the gate *Collina*, near the chapel of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very day when the plaies should be exhibited, it grew to be so fair weather of a sudden, that the pageant and pompous train of the shew, which was going to the gate *Collina*, was called back, and conveyed into the *Circus*: and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from thence: so the people were more joyous, and the patimes celebrated with greater rejoyce: for that the usual and ordinary place served again for the solemnity to be performed.

Claudius the Consul at last departed from the City of *Rome*, and went to sea: where between the havens of *Cos* and *Lauretum*, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempest that arose and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the *Populonia*, and there waited until the tempest was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the Ile * *Ilus*, and from *Ilus* he sailed to *Corfica*, and from *Corfica* he passed over to *Sardinia*: where, as he doubted the point was passing the race of the mountains called * *Infans*, there arose a far more cruel gull, and in places of more peril and hazard, which scattered the fleet. Many of the ships were weather beaten and sore shaken, many lost their tackling quite, yea, and some were cracked and split. Thus the Armado being much rolled and torn, arrived at length at *Carales* in *Sardinia*, where, whiles the ships were drawn up into the dock to drie Land, and there a repaiting, the winter came upon them, and they ear tumbled about. And to *T. Claudius* (as a private person, by reason that no man renewed his commission for a farther time), brought the Armado back to *Rome*. But *M. Servilius*, because he should not be called home to the City for the solemn election of Magistrates, after he had declared Dictator. *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his Province. And the Dictator chose *P. Aelius Paetus* General of the Horsemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publishing of the election, but by reason of tempests it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magistrates left their office after the Ides of *March*, and no new substituted in their room, the City was clean without any Magistrates of state to sit in the ivory chair. *L. Marius Torquatus* a Bishop, that year died. In his place was invilled *C. Salpinx Galbo*. The Roman games were there exhibited anew by *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *Q. Fabius* Aediles of the chair. The *Clarks* and *Scribes* belonging to the Aediles, together with their beades and summoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treasure and chamber of the City: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, not without some touch and discredit of *Lucullus* himselfe the Aedile. *P. Aelius Tubero* and *L. Laetorius* Aediles of the commons, for that there was some error and default in their election, resigned up their places, after they had represented the playes, and in regard thereof solemnized the feast of *Jupiter*, and for up beides in the Capitol three images made of the silver that was forfeited and raised upon the fines of the persons condemned afore said. The Dictator and General over the Horsemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called *Cereales* to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Roman Embassadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of *Affrick* to *Rome*, the Senat assembled to give them audience in the Temple of *Bellona*: where *L. Veturius Philo* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the L.L. of the Senat) that they had fought a battle with *Annibal*, (the all that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on still and related, that *Vernina* the son of *Siphax* was vanquished and subdued: which was no small increase of the other exploits so happily achieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the assembly of the people, there to impart their glad new news unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thanksgiving) all the Temples in the City were let open, and solemn processions decreed for three dayes. Now when as the Embassadors of the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for they also were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senat: the Dictator by direction from the Senat returned them this answer, That the new Consuls should satisfy their request. After this, was the solemn assembly holden for the election of Magistrates: and Consuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Aelius Paetus*: for Pretors, first *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civil jurisdiction in the City: then *M. Valerius Falso*, unto whom the Brutians countrey fell by lot to government, *M. Fabius Puteo*, whose hap was to rule *Sardinia*, and

* *Ella*.* *Maincena*,
Pictum, *Castellum*,
Medema.

and *P. Aelius Tubero*, to be L. deputy of *Sardinia*. Concerning the Provinces wherein the Embassad-
suls were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the Embassa-
dors of King *Philip* and likewise of the Carthaginians, had delivered their embassages: for as they
saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul was
inflamed with an ardent desire of the Province of *Affrick*: for if the war continued, he aimed at
an easy victory: and it was at the point of an end, he gaped at the honor of finishing the same,
and hoped to have the name, That determined it was whiles he was Consul. And therefore he
protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of *Affrick* were
assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discreet man) gave his consents for he saw
he would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him. *Q. Minucius Ter-*
entius and *A. Aelius Glabrio*, two Tribuns of the commons, gave out and said, That *Cn. Cornelius*
Claudius the Consul. For when by warrant from the Senat a bill was proposed unto the people,
wherein their pleasure was to nominate for government of *Affrick*, all the 35 Tribes gave their
voices and awarded that Province to *P. Scipio*. Much contention there passed and many bicker-
voices both in Senat-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end
they grew to this point to refer all to the judgment of the Senat. So the L. of the Senat having
taken their oath (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. First, that the
two Consuls should either agree together to have the Isle of *Italy* and who the charge of a fleet of fifty K
vines; namely, which of them should be the navy, he should sail over into *Sicily*: and if peace
fail, *Item*, to whether of them twain bel the Province of *Italy* and who the charge of a fleet of fifty K
might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to cross over into *Affrick*: where the
Consul should war by Sea, and *Scipio* by Land, by virtue of the same commission and authority
that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, that then
the Tribuns of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and plea-
sure, whether the Consul or *P. Scipio* should conclude the peace: and which of them (if the victo-
rious army after conquest obtained, were to be brought back out of *Affrick*.) should have the
conduict thereof home again. Also, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring a-
back the army likewise, then the Consul should not cut over from *Sicily* to *Affrick*. As for the other
Consul who had the government of *Italy*, he should receive of *M. Sestius* the Pretor, two legions. I
So *P. Scipio* had his commission faled out to remain in the Province of *Sicily*, with the same
forces which he there had. *M. Valerius Falco* the Pretor in the Brutians country was allowed
those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the command the year before. It was further more agreed,
that those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the command the year before, should be appointed to *M. Fabius* for
gion which *P. Lentulus* the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with
Sardinia. And *M. Servilius* the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with
his own two legions for *Hannibia*. As concerning the provinces of *Spain*, (sch *L. Cornelius Lentulus*
and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had been there for certain years, the said Consuls were to deal with
the Tribuns, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know
whether minds whom they would appoint to govern *Spain*: and that he whosoever it was, should M
take with him two armies enrol one entire legion of Roman soldiers, and of the allies of the Latin na-
tion make up fifteen cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them joyntly, keep in obe-
dience and defend the province. *Item*, that *L. Cornelius* and *L. Manlius* should bring over the
fleet of soldiers into *Italy*. Unto *Cornelius* the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be de-
cided and drawn out of two other Armadoes; the one of *Cn. Octavius* which was in *Affrick*,
the other of *P. Villius* which guarded the coasts of *Sicily*; and to choose thereof what ships he
would: and that *P. Scipio* should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case
his pleasure was that *Cn. Octavius* should be Admiral over them still, like as heretofore: then
his pleasure was to continue in government for that year as Vice-pretor: but if he made *Laelius* the
Admiral, then *Octavius* should depart and come home to *Rome*, and bring back with him those N
ships that the Vice-consul had no use or need of. *M. Fabius* likewise had ten galleies of service al-
lowed him into *Sardinia*. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enrol two legions of
citizens, that year might be managed.
Some that year might be managed. They began to debate in counsil about the Embassadors of *Philip*
the King of *Macedonia*, who were desired to come into *Macedonia* into place for to

[illegible]

To

A To these points *M. Furius*, sent of purpose from *Aurelius* out of *Macedonia*, made answer briefly in this wise, That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for fear that the allies of the people of *Rome*, wearied with rodes and incursions into their territories and other injurious oppressions, might revolt unto the King; never departed out of the confines of the allies aforesaid, and endeavoured only, that those robbers and foreragers of the country should not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for *Sopater*, he was a flatte and peer of the *realm*, and one nearly allied unto the King, who lately was lent into *Affricke* with four thousand *Macedonians* and with money to aid and assist *Antibal* and the *Carthaginians*. When as the *Macedonians* being required what they could say to these challenges, framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this forthier answer: That in the King fought war if he proceeded and went on still, he should shortly have his hands full of sorrow, as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies of the people of *Rome*, and molesting them by way of war and hostility; and secondly, in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it, that not only *P. Scipio* both did & doth well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of *Rome*, and were taken captive; but also *M. Aurelius* performed good service to the State, and a great pleasure to the Senat, in defending the Allies of the people of *Rome* by force of arms, when by right of league he could not. When the *Macedonians* had their dispatch, and were sent away with this heavy answer, then the *Carthaginian* Embassadors were called in.

When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their perionage (for they were the chief and principal men simply of their City) then every man was fully persuaded for his own part and said, That now they dailied no longer, but meant in deed and good earnest to crave & have peace. But the chief and most portly person of them all was one *Afarbul*, in his countrey and among his citizens surnamed *Hedus*, a man that ever perlawed peace, & opposed himself against the Barchine faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived the blame from the Common-wealth, and laid all the fault upon the willfulness and greedy avarice of some few. Who after he had used diverse and sundry speeches, one while exclaiming and clearing the crimes, another while confuting somethings objected, left if they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then also giving the LL. of the Senat an admonition and warning by the way, to use their prosperity and good fortune modestly and with moderation, he added moreover and said, That if the Carthaginians would have been ruled by him & *Hannus*, and had been so wise as to have taken their time and the opportunity when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wise both at once, it is a rare and special gift, and seldom to be seen. And here it is that the people of Rome (quoth he) is invincible, because in prosperity they can remember to be wise, and to take the best way for themselves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they should do otherwise. For those commonly who happen to meet with some few new good success, and have not been used thereto before, overthrow and pain themselves too much in excessive joy, which they have not the grace to govern with sobriety and discretion: whereas the people of Rome have ever been accustomed to the continual felicity of joyous victories, inasmuch as they are grown into a dislike of taking pleasure and delight in them (so common they are) and have encreased their dominion & Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, than by the very conquest of them indeed.

“The speech that the other Embassadors made, was more proud and lamentable, whilles they
 recounted before the Senat from what high estate, and to how bafe condition they were fallen:
 now but a while fince held by force of arms, as it were the whole world & had nothing left them
 now but the bare walls of the City of *Carthage*, within which they were flut up, and could fee
 nothing either by land or fea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. *Navy*, the voice
 of the City it self and their houfes, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of *Rome* is willing,
 and forbeareth to proceed by rigour and extremity against the fame, fince there is nothing else
 behind to work upon. Now when as the LL. of the Senat seemed to incline to mercy and com-
 paffion one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deep and inveterate hatred
 of the Carthaginians treachery, fpace out aloud and faid, “What Gods will they regard and feare
 by in making of a new league, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom
 they called to witness in the former? Mary (*qd. Afdrubal*) even thofe and no other that are fo
 fharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant, So when all their
 minds were inclined to peace, *Gr. Jenuhus* the Confil, who had the government of the navy, op-
 posed himfelf againft the decree of the Senat for to croll the fame. Then *M. Attilius*, and *Q. Minucius*,
 Tribuns of the Commons, preferred a folem bill unto the people, in this form: Plea-
 feth in you, and will you grant, That the Senat fhall refolve and determine, that peace may be
 concluded with the Carthaginians? Pleafeth it you to chufe and appoint who fhall be the man to
 make that peace, and who fhall bring the army out of *Africa*? As concerning peace, the tribes
 every one as they were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (*He rogavit*) that *Scipio*
 fhould conclude it, and alfo bring away the army. By virtue of this Act paffed by the people the
 Senat made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advice and counfel of ten Commiffioners, fhould con-
 tract an accord with the people of *Carthage*, under what conditions he thought good, After this

The Oratio
of *Adrius*
Hædus in the
Senat of Rome.

the Carthaginians rendred thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives aforesaid, and lay in the common goal and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and communed with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suit, to give them leave to ransom and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willing to give them their names; and when they had named fast upon two hundred, an order was granted out of the Senat, that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into *Affrick* unto *Scipio* two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him from the Senat, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransom. Now when the heralds of arms were appointed to go into *Affrick*, for to confirm and establish the peace according to the solemn order, at their own request there passed an act of the Senat framed in this form and tenor. *Imprimis*, That they should carry with them every one by himself, certain flint stones of their own, and likewise *Vervens*. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors should command them solemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor sacred herbs of *Vervens*. A kind of grafs or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from *Rome*: who being come into *Affrick* to *Scipio*, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said. And so they delivered up their gallees and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegade traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Cuncto*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soon as they were lancht forth into the deep, *Scipio* caused them to be set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every sort, and all directed and guided by oars. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavy spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if *Carthage* it self had been on a light fire. The renegade traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latin Nation lost their heads: all that were natural Romans, were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The war began three and twenty years after, whilst *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Atilius* being Consuls. Many a time after, *Scipio* by report, would say, that the willful and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the only day and let, that this war ended not in the final ruin and utter destruction of *Carthage*.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought the levy and contribution of money for to furnish out the first payment, lay heavy and sore upon them, inasmuch as in their Senat-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and piteous weeping: it is said, that *Annibal* was seen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hedus* rebuked him for laughing in that public lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of those tears, "If (qd, *Annibal*) as we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might soon perceive, that this laughter of mine, which ye so much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad and joyfull, but rather senseless, stupefied, and astoned with the exceeding griefs and calamities that have happened. Yet is not it so unseasonable and impertinent to our present condition, as these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and nothing to the purpose. Then should ye have wept and shed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with forraign nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye N bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet, if it have no enemies abroad, it findeth some at home much like unto strong and lusty bodies, which seeme fye enough against all outward accidents and causes of sickness, are overcharged with their own strength and fullness of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So much, forsooth, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth neerer to the quick, than to forgo our money, and part with our pence. And therefore when *Carthage* was conquered and deipolled of all her ancient honors, when ye saw her disarmed and stripped naked, when ye saw her forlorn of all the armed nations of *Affrick*; no man then sighed, no man grieved thereat: but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of your privat purses, ye keep a weeping and wailing, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and feel, That your weeping this day hath been for the least loss of all the rest. Thus spake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole army together, before them all, restored *Malanissa* to his father's Kingdom: and over and besides, endued him with the possession of the City *Cyria*, and other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syphax*; and were now in subjection

to

A to the people of *Rome*. Unto *Cn. Octavius* he gave order to conduct the fleet into *Sicily*; and there to make it over to *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul. The Carthaginian Embassadors he willed to go to *Rome*, that those acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the Commissioners, might likewise pass under the approbation of the Senat, and the consent of the people, and to be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus *Scipio* having obtained peace both by sea and land, and embarked his army, sailed toward *Sicily*; & arrived at *Lilybaeum*. From whence he sent away a great part of his army by sea, and himself passed by land through *Italy*, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded as the victory achieved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers also of the country peasants out of the Villages, lured all the high-ways along untill he came to *Rome*: where he entered the City, riding in the most lately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chamber 100033 pound weight of silver. He divided among his soldiers out of the spoil 4 four hundred Ales a piece. *Suprax* by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly flow and pageant in the triumph, than diminished any whit the glory of the triumph: he died at 34 year not long afore, to which place he had been removed from *Abis*: howbeit his death was not obscure, by reason that he was solemnly carried to his buriall, with the pomp of a publick funerall at the charges of the City. But *Polibius* a writer of good account, reporteth, that this King was led in the very triumph. As *Scipio* rode triumphant *Q. Terentius Cuncto* followed after with a cap of liberty set upon his head; and ever after to long as he lived he honoured him as becoming it was, and acknowledged him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *affricanus*, I cannot for certain learn whether it were the favour of his soldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and lineage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our rather daies *Sulla* was surnamed *Felix*, and *Pompeius* *Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their Images, and honoured their houses with nobilities and additions.

* Cn. Octavius
died at 40.
who lived with
to the end of
English.

D The one and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and thirtieth Book.

E The causes of the war begun again with Philip King of Macedony, which had I found, are set down to be these: In the time of the holy feast of Ceres, two young men of Acorinthia, who had not been professed in these sacred mysteries, came to Athens & danced among others of their countrymen to go into the Chapel of Ceres. For which, as if they had committed some heinous fault, in the high, if I dare, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acorinthians moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, required aid of Philip to revenge it for them: Some few months after, peace was granted to the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of Rome, when the Embassadors of the Athenians, who now were besieged by Philip, craved aid of the Senat, and they were of advice and solved to help them, notwithstanding the Commons griefs and desires, that they thought the continual troubles of so many wars were grievous and heavy unto them. Yet for to prevailed the authority of the Nobles, that the people also gave their consent to succour their confederate City. This war was committed to the managing of P. Sulpitius the Consul: who led an army into Macedony, and fought certain battles; for which he was performed by his success. The Athenians being invested and beleaguered round about by Philip, following the example of the Spartans, sent their wives and children, and their own selves after them. L. Furius the Praetor with him in a pitched field the Gauls, called *Infimbres*, that rebeld, and likewise *Amilcar* the Carthaginian began to make war in those parts, where *Amilcar* was slain, & with his five and thirty thousand men, Moreover, this book containeth: the expeditions and voyages of King Philip and P. Sulpitius the Consul, and the winning of certain Cities by them both. Sulpitius the Consul warred with the help of King Attalus and the Rhodians, L. Furius the Praetor triumphed over the Gauls.

G The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

F Till well apaid am I likewise, that I am now come to an end of the Pomick war, as if my self had been in person there, and been in my own toil and danger thereof. For albeit myself it is some (who have undertaken and professed) to holdly to write a compleat and full story of the Romans) to be wearied in the several parts of so great a work: yet when I think

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the Carthaginians rendered thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives at former times; and lay in the common goal and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and communed with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suit, to give them leave to ransom and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willing to give them their names; and when they had named fait upon two hundred, an order was granted out of the Senat, that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into Affrick unto Scipio two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him from the Senate, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransom. Now when the heralds of arms were appointed to go into Affrick, for to confirm and establish the peace according to the solemn order, at their own request there passed an act of the Senat framed in this form and tenor. *Imprimis*, That they should carry with them every one by himself, certain flint stones of their own, and likewise Vervens. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors should command them solemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor sacred herbs or Vervens. A kind of grais or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from Rome: who being come into Affrick to Scipio, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said. And so they delivered up their galleys and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegade traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Caelio*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soon as they were lancht forth into the deep, Scipio caused them to be set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every sort, and all directed and guided by oars. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavy spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if Carthage itself had been on a light fire. The renegade traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latin Nation lost their heads: all that were natural Romans were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lucilius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The war began three and twenty years after, while *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Aelius* being Consuls. Many a time after, Scipio by report, would say, that the willful and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the only stay and let, that this war ended not with the final ruin and utter destruction of Carthage.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought the levy and contribution of money for to furnish out the first payment, lay heavy and sore upon them, inasmuch as in their Senat-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and piteous weeping; it is said, that *Anibal* was seen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hedus* rebuked him for laughing in that public lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of those tears. "If god, *Anibal* as we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might soon perceive, that this laughter of mine, which ye to much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad and joyful, but rather senseless, stupified, and astonished with the exceeding griefs and calamities that have happened. Yet is not it to unreasonable and impertinent to our present condition, as these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and nothing to the purpose. Then should ye have wept and shed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with forrainer nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye bear one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet. If it have no enemies abroad it findeth some at home: much like unto strong and lusty bodies, which seeming free enough against all outward accidents and causes of sickness, are overcharged with their own strength and fullness of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So much, forsooth, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth nearer to the quick, than to forgo our money, and part with our pence. And therefore when Carthage was conquered and deploied of all her ancient honors, when ye saw her diarmed and stripped naked, when ye saw her forlorn of all the armed nations of Affrick: no man then sighed, no man groned thereat: but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of your privat purses, ye keep a weeping and wailing, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and feel, that your weeping this day hath been for the least loss of all the rest. Thus spake *Anibal* to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole army together, before them all, restored *Massinissa* to his father's Kingdom: and over and besides, ended him with the possession of the City *Cirtba*, and other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syphax*, and were now in subjection

A to the people of Rome, unto *Cn. Octavius* he gave order to conduct the fleet into Sicily, and there to make it over to *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul. The Carthaginian Embassadors he willed to go to Rome, that those acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the ten Commissioners, might likewise pass under the approbation of the Senat, and the consent of the people, and so be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus Scipio having obtained peace both by sea and land and embarked his army, sailed toward Sicily, & arrived at *Lilybæum*. From whence he sent away a great part of his army by sea, & it landed passed by land through Italy, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded as the victory at Ibeved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers also of the country peasants out of the Villages, loaded all the high-ways along untill he came to Rome: where he entered the City, riding in the most stately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chariots 16003 pound weight of silver. He divided among his soldiers out of the spoil 4000 hundred Attica pence. Scipio by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly feast and pageant in the triumph, than diminished any whit the glory of the triumph: he died at 53 but not long afore, to which place he had been removed from *Ath*: howbeit his death was not obscurely reafonthat he was placefully carried to his buriall. With the pomp of a publick funeral at the charges of the City. But *Polibius* a writer of good account, reporteth, that this King was led in the very triumph, As Scipio rode triumphant *Q. Terentius Caelio* followed after with a cap of liberty set upon his head, and ever after to long as he lived he honoured him as becoming it was, and a knowledge of him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn whether it were the favour of his soldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and lineage that contred and flattered him therewith: like as in our rather daies *Sulla* was furnished *Felix*, and *Pompeius* *Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their Images, and honoured their houses with nobilities and additions.

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whilst he was
to 53, 64,
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F All well apaid am I likewise. that I am now come to an end once of the Punick war, as if myself had been in person there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit unfitting it is for me (who have undertaken and professed to boldly to write a complete and full story of the Romans) to be wearied in the several parts of so great a work: yet when I think

The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, H was in manner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped & flatted denied. Which things, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-wearied with long and fore wars, and worn out for very irkesome of tedious travel, and painful perils: and partly *Q. Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to let them on: who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they loved the seeds of war still, and ceased not to raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senat-house with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms: and every man did his part to encourage the Consul to publish a new assembly and scrutiny, for the proposing of the same bill: to chaffice and rebuke the sloth and idleness of the people: yea, I and to open and shew unto them what great damage and loss, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delays before the war began. Then the Consul having assembled the people for this purpose in *Mars* field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: "It seemeth (quoth he) that you are ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye would have war or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, who already prepareth mortal war both by sea and land) but whether ye would rather choose to transport the legions into *Macedony*, or receive your enemy here within *Italy*. And what difference there is between the one and the other, you have had sufficient proof and experience (if ever at any time before even in this last war, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he that maketh doubt, but if we had with speed relieved the Saguntins besieged, who fled unto us for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due time assisted the Mamertins: we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war into *Spain*, which by our long driving off & lingering delays we entertained in *Italy*, to our great loss and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto staid *Philip* in *Macedony*, (who without question had combined with *Annibal* by means of letters and entercourse of Embassadors, for to have passed over into *Italy* before this time) only by sending of *Levinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make war in his own kingdom, *Dom*. Defer we then to do that now, when *Annibal* is chased out of *Italy* and the Carthaginians, as defeated; which then we did, when we had the same *Annibal* our enemy within *Italy*? Go I we will on still and suffer the King by winning the City of *Athen* (like as we permitted *Annibal* by forcing of *Saguntum*) to try and see our slackness and cowardise: we shall have him I warrant you arrived in *Italy*, not at five months end, as *Annibal* was after his departure from *Saguntum*: but within five daies, after he is disanchored once & under sail from *Corinth*. Set safe ye will not compare *Philip* with *Annibal*, no, nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians: yet I am sure ye will make them matches, and equal with King *Pyrrhus*, so far forth I say, as one man excelleth another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. *Epirus* hath never been accounted not so at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdom of *Macedony*, and of least importance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entire feignory of *Peloponnesus* is under him, and Lord he is of *Argos* it self, a City nobled as well by the death of *Pyrrhus*, as the ancient name and renown that goeth of it. Compare now again the times of our state, how much flourished *Italy* in those daies more than now? Our affairs were then much more sound and unfoiled: our Captains safe: our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the Carthaginian was afterwards consumed: yet as puissant and great as we were, *Pyrrhus* assailed us, hept us to trouble and sorrow enough, yea, and came in train of victory to shake our free hold, even well-near to the City of *Rome*. So as not only the Tarentines, and all that tract of *Italy*, which they call the greater *Greece*, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very language and the of their name: but the Lucans also and the Brutians, yea, and the Samnites revolted from us, and rebelled. And are ye of beliefe that there will be quiet and remain in loyalty and obedience, if *Philip* once were passed over into *Italy*? yes many will they there is no question: for they should fall afterwards, and continued true in the Punick war. Nay, nay, never make reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any one unto whom they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pass over into *Affrick*, in truth at this day ye should have had *Annibal* and the Carthaginians your enemies (still in *Italy*). Let *Macedony* therefore be the seat of war rather than *Italy*: let our enemies Cities and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found well by good experience, that our fortune is better, and our forces more puissant abroad in forraign parts, than at home in our own Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the Scrutiny and give your voices: and those things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do, grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye have not only the Consul author of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and benefit of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies and armadoes) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me that all shall be well, and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they went presently to deliver up their voices, and gave affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pass according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemn supplication

for

A for three daies proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chappels, and before every shrine & altar the gods were praised unto, that the war (which the people had allowed of) against *K. Philip* might be well achieved, and have an happy end. Moreover, the Consul *Salpurnius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice, Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced against King *Philip* should be intimated to himself in person: or thought it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all where he kept a garrison and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Consul should please himself, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consul was permitted by the LL. of the Senat to chuse whom he would, so he were not a Senator, for to send as a messenger or purveyor of arms: to give the King defiance, and to publish war. After this it was debated in Council how the armies should be disposed as well of Consuls as Prators. The Consuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to discharge and call the old armies. *Salpurnius*, who by a decree was to manage this new war of so great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which *Scipio* the Vice-Consul had brought out of *Affrick*, as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no case to urge any old soldier against his will. Alio it was decreed, that the Consul should allow unto the Prators *L. Furus*, *Dumpeus*, and *Quintus Minutius Rufus* 5000 men apiece of the citizens of the Latine nation, whom they should employ, the one in the Province of *Gallia*, and the other in the Brutians country to defend those parts and keep them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gellus* was himself likewise commanded to chuse out of that army which *P. Aulus* the Consul commanded, as many as had served fewell years, until he made up the number of 5000 also of the allies & Latines: which should be a garrison to keep in order and safety the Province of *Sicily*, *M. Alerius* *Fulio*, Prator the year before, and *L. deputy* of the Province of *Campany*, had his Commission signed anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prator to pass over into *Sardinia*, with direction to chuse out of the army there 5000 of the allies and Latines, such as had served least time. And the Consuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be sent to any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in *Italy* tainted and infected with the fellowship and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever since, were swelled with anger and despite against the Romans. Thus the Common-wealth that year was to use the employment of six Roman Legions.

Amidst these preparations for war, there arrived Embassadors from *K. Ptolemy*, giving intelligence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Master against *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would send into *Greece* neither a fleet of ships, nor an army of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authority and consent of the people of *Rome*. In case therefore the Romans were relieved, and sufficient withal of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to sit still and take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romans were rather disposed to rest and take their ease, he would himself be well content to send such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them easily against all the power of *Philip*. The Senat returned great thanks unto the King, with this answer, That the people of *Rome* were purposed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they stood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the King: as being assured and making full account that all the puissance and wealth of his kingdom was a sure prop and trusty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senat the Embassadors had given them for a reward a five thousand Asles apiece. Now whilst the Consuls were busie in taking musters, and providing all things meet for the war, the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings especially of all new wars, after they had performed their supplications aforesaid, and done their devotions at every altar and shrine: became nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done; ordained that the Consul whom the Province of *Macedony* fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honour of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich present beside. But *Lucius* the High Priest staid this publick vow for the time that it went not forward, alleging that it was not lawful to make a vow of an uncertain sum of money not determined: & if such money might not serve for the use of war, it ought presently to be set by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other monies: and unless that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites, albeit the thing it self and the person of the man that moved this kruptle, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consul should propound the matter to the college of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain peece of money. The Bishops set down their opinion and judgment, that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consul pronounced the vow, according to the very same form of words (as the High Priest ended and spake before him) which aforesaid they were wont to use, in making the quinquennial vows from five years to five: save only thus much, that he vowed and promised to requit the plaies, and to present oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to such a sum of money, as the Senat should set down when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate sum of money ever assigned: but these were the first that were not limited within any certain stint and compass.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a sudden when they feared nothing less than such a thing, there arose a rumour of French troubles and tumults:

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tumults:

The Oration
of P. Salpurnius
to the people
of Rome.

* Digressio.

tyrants for the Insubrians the Cenomans and Boii, having solicited and raised up by way of insurrection the *Saluti*, the Illyrians, and other States of *Liguria*, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts had taken the City, and for very dispiteous army burnt a great deal of *Placentia*; and after they had sacked the City, and for very dispiteous army burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruins there-part of chance to save themselves, crossed the river *Po*, and advanced forward to the spoil and pillage of *Cremona*. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the misery and calamity befall upon their neighbour-City, had some relief and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least wife be first besieged or ever they were forced, and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of *Rome*. *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that Province for the time; who having by order from the Senat discharged all the rest of the army but only five thousand of allies and those Latines, abode with that power in the next country to that Province, about *Ariminum*. He then addressed his letters unto the Senat, signify-ing in how bad terms the province stood, namely, that of those two Colonies, which one was won by the Punick war had escaped those great storms and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies and put to the sacage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would the forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed *Cremonians*, unless he should willingly cast a way five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies (for so many they were strong) to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in pieces; and by so great a loss and overthrow of his, to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruin, and puffed up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already. Upon the reading of these letters, there went forth a decree from the L.L. of the Senat, that *C. Aurelius* the Consul should send out precepts for the army to be ready at *Ariminum* that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Reverendissimus* in *Hetruria*: and thereafter himself in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or else write to *L. Furius* the Praetor, that when the Roman Legions presented themselves unto him out of *Hetruria*, he should send in their head his own five thousand allies for the guard of *Hetruria* in the mean time, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before *Cremona*, and to set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Embassadors into *Affrick*, who should go to *Carthage*; and afterwards to *Masaniissa* in *Numidia*. To *Carthage*, for to intimate unto them, that *Amilcar*, a Citizen of theirs, left behind in *France*, (and L. whether he were of the army of *Asdrubal* or, afterwards of *Mago*, they knew not for certain) waged war there, against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of *Rome*; and therefore, if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of *Rome*. Over and besides, they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the runagate rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to *Carthage*, and there went up and down, and conversed openly; which persons were, after diligent search made, to be attached and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masaniissa*, M. and to declare what joy they took in his behalf, namely, for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the Realm of *Syphax*. Moreover, commanded they were to signify unto him, that *Amilcar* had undertaken to war upon King *Philip*, because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of *Rome*, even at what time as all *Italy* was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, for to send their armies and their armadoes into *Greece*, and so by dismembering and dividing their forces into sundry places, was the principal cause that they were to late ere they passed over into *Affrick*: requesting him for the maintenance of this war, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers pieces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich cassock or coat wrought in palm-tree work with a royal Scepter of Ivory, also a robe embroidered before with purple, with an Ivory chair of estate. Last of all, they are willing to make promise unto the King, that if he could think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his royal estate, the people of *Rome* would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compass the same to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senat, excusing the error, and pretending the youth of the Prince, clearing him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians, promising for their King and Malice in this wife, That like as *Masaniissa* of a professed enemy, was become a sworn friend to the Romans, even so would *Vermina* do his best, and strain himself, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of *Rome*, neither *Masaniissa*, nor any other should surpass, and go beyond him; and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King of Allies and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their answer, That not only *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate friend, suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy, to the people of *Rome*; but also himself had practised already in his

young

A young years, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be inveited by them with the terms of King of Ally, and Friend: for the honour of that title the people of *Rome* were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deserved singularly well of them. Mary there should be certain Roman Legats in *Affrick*, unto whom the Senat would give order to minister and tender unto *Vermina* certain conditions of peace according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of *Rome*, To do what they thought good, And in case the King disliked ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must recourse again to the Senat, and demand the same, So there were Legats or Commissioners sent into *Affrick* with such a Commission above said, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Otavius*, and each of them had a galeace directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minucius* Praetor in the Province of the *Bruti* importing thus much, That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Lacri* was by night stoln out of her treasury; but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them directly. The Senat took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly, That sacrilegious men (still to Church-robbing, and would not give over; and that the late and fresh example of *Plautius* (so notorious as well for the heinous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to terrify them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Cos, was enjoined to write unto the Praetor into the Brutiens country to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that due enquiry and examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed, after the same precedent and course that *M. Poppo* the Praetor took three years before, And look what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be supplied and made good again. Also (if he thought meet) that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices, according as the Bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and desiling of the Temple. Moreover, there came about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the *Lucans* country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Prævernum*, while the sky was bright and fair, the sun appeared red all day long. At *Lavinium*, in the Temple of *Juno Sospita*, there was heard in the night-season a mighty great noise, Nay, and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were many monstrous and strange births seen. In the *Sabins* country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it male or female: And another likewise was found of sixteen years of age, a very Hermaphrodite of doubtful sex between both. At *Fregis* there was a lamb veined with a swines head: and at *Sinnessa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the *Lucans* country there was stoled upon the common ground a colt with five teats. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea; even as of late times when *C. Claudius* and *M. Lucius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commanded to turn over and peruse the books of *Sibyll*: to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three several quires, of nine virgins in every one; and in oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen *Juno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consul caused all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs. And as in our fathers times *Livius* composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time *P. Licinius Tergula* framed and set down a form of song which they could sing. Thus when all things were expiated, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appealing of the wrath of the gods, (or even as *Lacri* also the sacrilege was found out by *Q. Minucius*, and the money missing was raised out of the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senat, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the stock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of puissant armies, and therefore flatly denied them, and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfy and make present payment. The Senat could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian war also, which was granted in loan for the Punick war, this would be the end of it, that (one war following thus in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a curtesy and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chest of the City. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and profit: and that was this: That forasmuch as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common

grounds

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of *Rome* every way, should be granted unto them in fee farm, and the Consuls to set down an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chief rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to reitifie only that they were the Cities lands: to the end that if any man hereafter (when the City should be aforehand and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. These private Citizens (who were the foresaid creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of *Trientis* and *Tributus*, because it was let out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone money. Then *P. Sulpicius* after he had pronounced his vows above-said in the Capitoll, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Lictors and Uffers afore him, arrived at *Brundisium*; and so with the old voluntary fouldiers drawn out of the army that was returned from *Africa*, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ships choien out of the fleet of *Cornelius* the Consul: he looked from *Brundisium*, and the next day after landed in *Macedonia*: where attended him the Embassadors of the Athenians; who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their City. So *C. Claudius* went was incontinently sent to *Athens*, furnished with twenty long ships of war, and a strength of men: for the King himself in person besieged not *Athens*, but even then made not assault upon the town *Abydos*, as having already given proof of his forces in a sea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good success. But besides the ordinary routs and pride engrained in him by nature, he was aloft now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made between him and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of *Egypt*, unto which they both aspired, upon the news they heard of the death of *Ptolemeus*. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themselves the war against King *Philip*, upon a small occasion and of no importance; who of all their ancient estate and glory, retain nothing else but great heart and haughty spirit. It befell that two young men of *Acarmania*, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entered among the other multitude into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the feastival daies, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddess belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the custome of that solemnity and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soon bewrayed by their speech and language: who being convened before the Prelates of the said Temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and known, that upon an error only & oversight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the Church, yet were they put to death as fellows, and guilty of some heinous fact in the highest degree. The people of *Acarmania* complained unto King *Philip*, and informed him of this villanous part and hostile act by them committed; and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make war upon the Athenians. This army at first invaded the territories of *Athens*, and with fire and sword made waste & havock of all, and so with a rich booty of all sorts returned unto *Acarmania*. There were the first quarrels on both sides, that stirred colds and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the general decrees of both States. For when King *Attalus* and the Rhodians pursued after *Philip*, as he retired into *Macedonia*, and were come as far as *Egina*, then the said King passed over to *Pyraeum*, for to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his coming the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich vestments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entered the City: the very gods themselves in a manner abandoned their fithnes to give him entertainment. Immediately was the people summoned to a general assembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more sage advice, it was thought to stand better with the honour and Majesty of a Prince, that he should first end in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place either to blush himself in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abashed and ashamed of their grois and unmeasurable flattery. But in his letters which he sent unto the assembly, and were there openly read and published, first he made a rehearsal of the benefits that this confederate Army had received at his hands. Secondly, he discoursed of the worthy exploits which he had performed against *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himself, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans to friend them, they should put themselves in arms and begin war: as who, if they now forsook the enterprise, and let slip the present opportunity, should hereafter seek in vain to find it, which once they had so ratchelly lost. Then had the Rhodian Embassadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleasure, in recovering and sending home unto *Athens* four long foists, which newly had been boorded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with general accord they decreed to denounce and wage war against King *Philip*. But first they did King *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all measure and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech moved of adjoining unto the ten ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name should be called *Attalus*. Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of *Rhodes* had granted free Burgeoisie of their City to the Athenians, so they of *Athens* now endured the Rhodians with their liberties and franchises. This done, *K. Attalus* returned to his fleet in the rode of *Egina*. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from *Egina* sailed to *Cos*. From whence along the Islands, they passed to the *Rhodes*: and

* *Egina*.
* Called *Cyclus* in the
Aegean sea, for
it is a circle.

A and in their voyage confedered themselves with them all, excepting *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythera*, which were guarded by garrisons of the Macedonians. In *Egina* King *Attalus* made his abode a certain time, and entered into no action, by occasion of messengers whom he had lent into *Atolus*, and Embassadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the *Atolians*, & persuade them to take arms, onenting themselves with the peace that in some sort they had concluded with *Philip*: so himself, and the Rhodians (who no doubt, if they had preited and followed hard upon *Philip* might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title, that they alone of themselves had delivered Greece from servitude) by inferring him once again to cross the seas as far as *Heleponus*, and to possess himself of the commodious and important towns of *Grecas*, thereby to re-enforce his power and gather more strength, gave food and nourishment to the war, B and in the end let the Romans go away with the honour, both of managing and also of finishing the same. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and Kingly courage: who, although he was not able to match and make his part good so much as with *Attalus* and the Rhodians: his enemies, yet was he nothing at all daunted with the thundring threats of the Roman war: but sent *Philotes*, a Captain of his, with a power of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to invade and spoil the territory of the Athenians, committed his Armado to the charge of *Heracles*, to see fail for *Maronea*, and himself in person marched by land thither with another regiment of two thousand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of arms. *Maronea* he forced at the first assault. But as for *Egina*, after he had with much labour and travail laid siege thereto a long time in the end he was Master thereof, through the treason of *Gaius*, a deputed C L Governor there for King *Ptolemeus*. After this he surprized and won other Castles, as *Cyprus*, *Darison*, and *Seryhenm*. From thence he advanced forward to *Chersonesus*, where he gained *Ectus* and *Alopecomeus*, which willingly surrendered: *Callipolis* also and *Madyros*, with some other peeces of bafe account and reckoning. But the Abydens shut their gates against the King, and would not suffer so much as his Embassadors to set foot within their Cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and surely had not *Attalus* and the Rhodians forsacked the time, it might have been faved and the siege raised. *Attalus* sent thither three hundred fouldiers and no more to lie in garrison, and the Rhodians one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at *Tendos*. And afterwards when as *Attalus* himself was thither come, at what time as the townsmen could hardly hold out any longer against the siege, he made D them a shew only near at hand of some help: other relief would he afford none to his allies either by land or sea. The Abydens at first planted their engines and artillery along the walls, and with shot from thence not only distressed their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but also annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ships: but afterwards, seeing part of their walls ruinate and laid open: and perceiving besides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great haste had raised within, forthwith they sent Embassadors to the King to treat and arke about some conditions for delivering up the City. The townsmen capitulated and demanded, that the Rhodian Galley aforesaid, with all her mariners, and the garrison also of King *Attalus*, might be sent away in safety, and themselves permitted to depart the town every one with a single suit only of apparel. But *Philip* made answer again that they had no peaceto them at all, unless they would quit the place, and simply commit themselves unto his mercy. This Embassage related unto them, set them in such an heat and choler, that partly for ipight and indignation, and partly upon despair, they fell into the like rage that the *Saguntines* did in times past. All the dames and wives of the City they commanded to be shut up within the Temple of *Diana*: their young boies and maidens that were free-born, the sucking babes, together with their nurises, they caused to be bestowed within the common place of public exercise: their gold and silver they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their costly apparel and furniture, to be cast into the two Gallies, the one of *Rhodes*, and the other of *Cyzicus*, which rid in the haven: and last of all, that their Priests should be brought forth with their beasts for sacrifice and altars erected in the midst of the place. There first were certain men choien of purpose: who so soon as they perceived the battaillon of their countreimen deleated and slain, fighting before the breaches of the wall, immediately should run upon their wives and children, and kill them without mercy, cast away into the sea their gold and silver, and all the furniture above-said that was in the Gallies, and let the edifices and houses asre, as well publicke as private, in as many places as possibly they could. For the performing and execution of these premises, they were bound by an oath ministred unto them: the form whereof, with a curied malediction thereto annexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawful age to bear arms, swore likewise. That not one of them would depart out of the battell alive, but with victory. Thus remembering the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to G witness, they fought so resolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combat, the King terrified with their furious rage, first gave over the conflict. The chief and principall men of the City, whose charge was to play the more cruell and horrible part in this tragical act, seeing there remained but few alive after this skirmish, and those grievously wounded and tired out of heart for weariness: the next morning early by day-break lent their Priests with their insules and veiles of peace, to render the City unto *Philip*. Before the town was fully yielded, *M. Emilius* the youngest of those three Roman Embassadors which were sent to *Alexandria*, hearing of the

* *Andros*,
* *Paros*,
* *Cythera*,
* *Cos*.

* *Saguntines*,
* *Attalus*,
* *Philip*,
* *Attalus*.

* *Attalus*,
* *Philip*.

the straight siege of the Abydens came by the consent of the other two unto *Philip*. Where he laid open their grievances, and made complaint, That he had yarr'd upon *Attalus* and the Rhodians, and namely even then be sieged and assailed *Abydos* most forcibly. And when the King answered that *Attalus* and the Rhodians without just cause on his part offered, began first to molest and trouble him. What? (quoth *Amphilochus* again) were you molested and troubled first by the Abydens too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth so plainly, thinking this rejoinder of his more bold and malapert than to be offered to a King, "Your youthfull age, quoth he, is fair face, and above all the Roman name maketh you hardy and audacious. But I would advise you all, first to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in case ye once begin with me, and put me to it: I do you understand, that I also am fully resolved to make you feel the smart, and know, that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no less renowned for feats of arms than the Romans. *Philip* having dismissed the ambassadors, and seized upon all the gold and silver that lay on an heap together, lo! all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ransom. For the multitude of common people fell into such a fit of rage and madness, that all of a sudden they imagined those who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed: and so casting one in anothers teeth their perjury, and charging the Priests especially, that they were forsworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death; they ran at once from all parts to the pitifull massacre of their own wives and children: and when they had so done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by sword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick dispatch and clean riddance of themselves also. The King attorned to see them thus horn-mad, flaid the bloody his own souldiers, saying, that he would allow the Abydens three daies to dye in. During which term of time, the conquered Abydens exercised more fearful cruelty upon their own persons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and cholerick fury. Inasmuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but such as either fast tied with bonds, or otherwise by some forcible means were flaid from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garrison at *Abydos* returned into his own Realm. Now when this miserable calamity of the Abydens had flaid *Philip* to enterprise war against the Romans, like as *Amphilochus* afore him took heart by the wofull destruction of *Saguntum* to do the semblable: he told he was encountered with posts that brought news, how the Consul was in *Epirus* already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to *Apollonia*, and bestowed his servants at sea in *Cor-Lyra*, there to winter.

In this while the Ambassadors who were sent into *Africa* had their dispatch and this answer from the Carthaginian. First, as touching *Amilcar* the General of the army and forces in *France*, they could do no more but banish his person, and confiscat his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitors and rebels which were run from the Romans, they had sent home again unto them as many as they could search out and come by: and to that purpose they would address Ambassadors themselves unto the Romans, to satisfy the Senat in that behalf. And presently they sent to *Rome* two hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thousand into *Macedony* to the army there. From thence the Roman Ambassadors went forward to the King in *Numidia*. To King *Masaniassa*, they delivered the presents which the Romans sent, and declared unto him their commission: at whose hands they received a thousand Numidian horie, whereas he offered them two thousand: himself took order for their embarking, and so dispatched them into *Macedony*, with provision of two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embassy they had to *Verninus*, who met the Ambassadors as far as the utmost marches of his Realm, and to their disposition and discretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themselves: saying withall, that he held any peace whatsoever, that he should have with the people of *Rome* for good and just. So there were presented unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof he was joynted to send his Ambassadors to *Rome*.

Much about the very same time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Vice-Prator returned out of *Spain*: N who having declared in the Senat his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had achieved in *Spain*; and in consideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawful for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senat judged that his noble acts deserved no less than he desired: but they had no such precedent from their ancestors, that he should be allowed to triumph, who had warred, neither as Dictator, nor Consul, nor Prator: and as for *Lentulus*, in quality of Vice-Prator only, and not of Consul or Prator he took upon him the charge of the Province of *Spain*. Howbeit, in the end they came down to this point, that he should ride into the City on horseback as Ovan, But *T. Sempronius Longus* a Tribune of the Com. interposed his negative, alleging that they had as little example to shew for that; and no practise or custom at all of their ancient predecessors. But in fine the Tribune gave place to the general accord of the LL, O and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order set down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entered *Rome* in that solemnity and pomp before-named. He presented in shew of the pillage that he had got, 44000 pound weight of silver, 2450 pound weight of gold. To his souldiers he distributed out of the spoil 120000 Asces apiece.

Now was the army of the Consul translated already from *Arretium* to *Ariminum*, and five thousand Latine allies were passed out of *France* into *Etruria*. Therefore *L. Furius* departed from

* *Ardes*.* *Medii*.

* 127000 lb.
 Feil. after 6.
 lb. 10 lb. 10 lb.
 * 13200 lb.
 Feil. 22 lb.
 20 lb. 10 lb.
 * 7 lb. 10 lb.
 Eng. lb.

Ariminum, made haste by taking great journeyes to come against the Gauls who then laid siege to *Cremona*, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, if immediately upon his first coming he might have assailed their Camp: for they wandred to and fro in clattering with up and down the country a foraging, and had let no sufficient guard to the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his souldiers were weary and tired: be as the companies marched apace thither in exceeding great haste. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp and the morrow after ranged themselves in battell array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to let themselves in order. The enemies ran so suddenly and made such haste to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard, the two Roman legions in the rearward; *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Cecilius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Prator kept with him two Lieutenants, *Ca. Lellorius*, and *P. Turanius*, by whose means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppose himself against all hidden attempts whatsoever of the enemies. At the first, the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they should be able to tread down and trample under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they redoubled their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But seeing that enterprise sped not well, they endeavored to environ the corners and sides, and to compass the enemies round about: which they thought they might soon do, being so many as they were in comparison of so few: which when the Prator perceived, to the end that he also might preceed his battrellions at large, he displayed the two legions in the rearward, to as he compassed on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard and therewith vowed two Chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be so fortunate as to vanquish his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one side he should with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other side with the horie belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not suffer them in any case to enclose the battell about. Herewithal himself also, eipping the middle battailon of the Gauls to be but thin by reason they were stretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his souldiers to keep close together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the horsemen discomfited, and they in the midst repulged back & chased by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed they shewed their backs, and fled as fast as they could to the camp. The horse pursued them in the rout and chase: and anon the legionary footmen made after also, and gave an assault upon their Camp. There escaped from thence not all out six thousand: slain there were and taken prisoners above 35000, with twenty banners and ensigns, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amilcar* the General of the Carthaginians lost his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name. The Placentine captives, to the number of two thousand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory; and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to *Rome*, received there with great joy; and ordained it was, that a solemn procession should be held for the space of three daies, Or Romans and allies one with another, there died in this battell two thousand: most of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict most of all discharged their fury.

Albeit the Prator had brought the war to a good pass, and in manner finished it, yet the Consul also *C. Aurelius*, having accomplished his necessary affairs at *Rome*, made no stay but took his journey into *France*, and received the victorious army of the Prator. The other Consul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about *Apollonia*. The Roman galleys which from the Armado that lay in dock at *C. Cremona* were sent as is aforesaid to *Athens* with *C. Claudius*, were no sooner arrived at *Pyraeus*, but they mightily comforted the allies, whose hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more invasions now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* side by the way of *Megara* along into their territories: and the men of war and Pyrats ships which from *Chalcis* had made not only the less dangerous to the Athenians, but also the maritime & sea coasts, durst not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, no nor venture into the open main sea from out of the straits of *Euripus*. Over and besides, there came in to them three Rhodian galleys with four banks of oars: there were also three open ships of *Athens* well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appaid, and thought he had got enough for the present, in case the City and Territory of *Athens* might be sufficiently guarded by this fleet. But fee, there presented unto him an occurrence besides of far greater importance and consequence. Certain bidden persons of *Chalcis*, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of those that sided with King *Philip*, advertised him that the City of *Chalcis* might be easily surprised without any conflict or resistance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down because there were no enemies near at hand to fear: but also the townsmen presumptuous upon the garrison of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the assurance of their words, he set forward: and although he was arrived at *Sunium* with too good speed, that he might with ease have failed to the entrance of the straits of *Enbaeus*, yet for fear of being

* *Capita*.

Ariminum

^a Sciabo.
^b Lenz, C.

The Oration
of the Macedo-
nian Embassa-
dors.

The *Onion*
of the *Arctic*
in *Europe*
Ch. 8.

"strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man: He
 "so as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernal
 "Gods and Spirits beneath: and in the second, with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All
 "the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their
 "graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lye covered with mould. Temples
 "we had and Chappels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds,
 "hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one City,
 "and enrolled into wards and parishes, they took not a better abandoned altogether. Round a-
 "bout these sacred Churches hath *Philippus* and continued all: the holy images of the Gods,
 "lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembered among the pillars and posts
 "of the Temples thrown along on the ground. And look what old work he hath made in the
 "country of *Attica*, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havoc if he might
 "be let alone, would he make in *Attica* and in all *Greece* through out. For had not the Romans
 "come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and pitcously disfigured. For
 "with like malicious intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing
 "the goddesses *Minerva*, the patroness and protectress of our Town and Cattle: the same wicked
 "mind he carried against the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Jupiter*
 "and *Minerva* in *Pirene*. But being repulsed by force and arms not only from our Temples,
 "but also from the walls of our City, he wreaked his anger and raged against those Chappels and
 "religious houses which had nothing for their defence, but only the reverent regard of the Gods,
 "whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the *Ætolians*, to have com-
 "passion on the Athenians, and to enterprize the war, under the conduct first of the immortal
 "Gods, and then of the Romans; who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then
 "the Roman Emb. floundered in this wise. "The Macedonians hit, and after them the Athe-
 "nians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither
 "was to complain of the injuries done by *Philip* to so many Cities of our allies and allies, the
 "Macedonians by accusing the Romans first, have put me so hardly to my flouts, that I need ra-
 "ther to employ my wits in making a defence of our selves, than in framing an accusation against
 "others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious and horrible, and in-
 "human pricks of King *Philip* committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have
 "they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have laid,
 "you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Alydus*, *Ereus*, *Micones*, *Ithaca*,
 "*Paros*, *Samos*, *Larissa*, and *Messene*: whose also here of *Achaia*, complain of the same, yea, and
 "of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt, As
 "for such things as he hath laid to our charge, as he hath with *Rhégium*, with *Capua*, and *Syracuse*,
 "cannot be answered and defended. Reproached us he hath with *Rhégium*, there to lie
 "in garrison at the instant prayer of the *Rhégians* themselves, who requested us to lend them
 "this legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and possessed it
 "to their own use, for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. A vowed we (I pray
 "you) that act of theirs? Nay, punished we not by arms that lewd legion and outrageous? and
 "when we had them in our power and at our devotion forced not we them to make amends and
 "satisfaction to our allies with the smart of their back and sides, and with the loss of their heads
 "in the end? And when we had to do, restored we not unto the *Rhégians* their City, their
 "Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for
 "the *Syracians*, when they were oppressed by strange and foreign tyrants, we judging it to be a
 "great indignity, relieved and succoured them: and after we had been for three years space al-
 "most wearied and toiled out with continual siege and incessant assault both by land and sea of
 "their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified: we seeing that the *Syracians* gave them
 "made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us. Neither deny we that *Sicily* is our
 "Province: and that the Cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians, & joyntly with
 "them accorded to wage war against us are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pen-
 "sions: may we so far from not taking this upon us, that contrary-wise we would, that both
 "you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
 "time that he duly deserved. And now as touching the *Capuans*, should we repent that we have
 "chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after
 "we had maintained war against the Samnites in their quarrel and defence, for the space well near
 "of seventy years: to so small dilligence of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow, after we had
 "linked them unto us first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by
 "freedom and bourgeoisie of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first of all other
 "nations of *Italy* that villainously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto *Annibal*: and
 "then for very spite and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent *Annibal* to assail the City
 "of *Rome*. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City
 "standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That
 "they had been more hardly entreated and dealt with than they deserved? There were more of
 "them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made
 "them-

The Oration
 of the Roman
 Embassadors.

A "themselves away and so perished, than were by us executed and put to death. As for the rest, we
 "took from them indeed their Town, we deprived them of their possessions and livings, yet so as
 "we left them both lands to occupy, and places to dwell in. The *Ætolians* Town it self we suffered
 "to stand still safe and sound, that whoever at this day think it, can not find the least token or
 "shew of a City either forced or won. But what speak I of *Attica*? seeing we have afforded unto
 "Carthage (a City conquered and subdued) both peace and a liberty: I trust, as we have
 "caused rather to be afraid, left by remission and over-willingness to pardon those whom we have
 "vanquished, we give occasion to many more to be so bold to trie the hazard and fortune of
 "war against us. And thus I had to say in defence of our selves. Now somewhat I have to speak
 "against King *Philip* whose horrible murders committed upon some of his own house, enemies
 "neerest kinsfolk and friends, whose too late and unbridled lust (more naked and inhumane in
 "manner than his cruelty) ye know better that are neerer unto *Macedony*. As for you, my ma-
 "sters of *Ætolia*, we have for your sakes begun war with *Philip*, and you again with us have
 "concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that whiles we were occupied in the
 "Punick war, ye were forced and compelled for fear to take such conditions of peace at his hands,
 "who was the stronger: we likewise (pressed with greater affairs and troubles) forbore to pro-
 "secute and follow that war, which by you first was laid out and given over. At this present, seeing
 "by the grace and goodness of the Gods the Punick war is come to an end, both we have em-
 "ployed and bent all our forces against *Macedony* and ye also have good occasion and opportuni-
 "ty offered to reenter into amity and alliance with us, unless ye had rather perish with *Philip*,
 "C than vanquish with the Romans.

When the Roman Embassador had ended this Oration, the *Ætolians* generally were inclined
 and affected to the Romans: but *Damocratus* their Pretor (corrupted as the speech went with a
 sum of money received from King *Philip*, and made for him) gave allent neither to the one party
 nor the other, but said, "That in counsels of great weight and importance, there was nothing
 "more hurtful and prejudicial, than haste for repentance (qd, he) follow it never so soon, when a
 "thing is once done, yet it cometh too late and booteth not: considering, that rash counsels can
 "not be revoked, hasty and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor matters on, cap be
 "reduced again to their former state. As for the propriety of that resolution now in hand,
 "whereof my self am of advice, that the due maturity & full ripeness should be expected, it might
 "now at this present be set down and concluded upon, For seeing that by our laws & ordinances
 D "provided it is that we may not treat of any affairs concerning peace or war, but in the general
 "councils called *Panætolick* or *Pyluck*: therefore for the present, I would have you to ordain and
 "decree, that your Pretor without fraud or covin might call and hold a Diet or court of *Patria*-
 "ment, whensoever he is minded to treat of war or peace: and whatsoever then and there shall be
 "proposed and determined, it may stand in as good force, strength, & vertue as if it had passed in
 "a full *Panætolick* or *Pyluck* council. Thus the Embassadors being dismissed and sent away in
 "suspence, and nothing decided and concluded, he said, That he had performed a singular piece of
 "service to his nation and country. For now they would side and take part with those, whose
 "fortune it were to speed better in the field. This went matters in the assembly of the *Ætolians*.

E Now *Philip* with all diligence prepared for war both by sea and land. His sea forces he assem-
 bled together unto *Demetrias* a port in *Thessaly*, making account that *Attalia* and the Roman fleet
 would in the beginning of the next spring depart from *Ægina*. Over his navy and all the sea coasts
 he appointed *Theracles* Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Him self levied and gathered his
 land-forces, supposing verily that he had debared and bereft the Romans of two great means of
 aid, to wit, the *Ætolians* of the one side, and the *Dardanians* of the other: in that the narrow
 straits and passage of *Pelaginis*, was stopped and made sure against them by his son *Perseus*. The
 Consul on the other side made no preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already,
 conducting his army through the confines of the *Dardaniens*, and transporting with him out of
 his wintering harbor all the provision of grain, whereof the country yielded him sufficient to the
 F maintenance of his soldiers. The great Towns and Villages were burned unto him, partly for
 love and partly for fear: some were tormented by assault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and
 were found desolate by reason that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by,
 to save themselves: and at *Lingum* near the river *Beusis* he encamped from whence he went to pur-
 sue for corn out of the garners and barns of the *Dardaniens*. *Philip* saw well enough that the
 country all about was in an hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being uncertain to
 what place the Consul intended to march, he sent out a cohort of light horsemen as spies to dis-
 cover what way the enemies took and whither they pretended to go. The Consul likewise for his
 part was as doubtful: well he wist that *Philip* was dislodged from the places where he had wintered,
 but in what quarter he journeyed, he knew not: and therefore he also had set forth certain
 G horse in spial to scour the coasts. These two bands or troops wandered at adventure through the
 countrey in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered from divers and contrary parts
 the countrey of the *Dardaniens*. Both parts knew well by the noise they heard a far off as well of men
 as horse, that enemies approached: and therefore they had both horse & armour in readiness, before
 they were in sight one of another: for so soon as ever they were within their interview, they made
 no stay, but charged immediately and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both,
 they were equally matched, as being choice and elect men of either side: whereupon they fought

* *Panætolium*.
 A general
 council, where
 the States of
Ætolia were
 assembled.

* *Pylatium* gene-
 ralius: Another
 Diet holden at
Thermopylae,
 where the
 States of *Greece*
 or *Amphipoli-*
tes met, and
 sent each one
 their deputies or
 agents, called
Agonists.

for certain hours alike, until such time as their own weariness and the faintness of their horses parted the battal in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horsemen: and of the Romans five and thirty. And for all this, neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence to their King, nor the Romans to their Consul, of the place where the enemies were incamped. But certain fugitive traitors gave advertisement thereof: who commonly in all wars, upon a running head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and to enquire in what terms enemies stand. *Philip* imagining that it would avail somewhat both to purchase the affectionate love of his souldiers, and also to induce them more cheerfully and readily to undertake all hazards for his sake, in case he seemed to have a careful regard to bury those horsemen which were slain in the journey and expedition aforesaid; commanded their bodies to be brought into the camp, to the end that all men might see what honour he did them in their funerals. But I see how nothing is more uncertain, nor whereof a man may make less reckoning than the minds and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatsoever, even that, wrought a contrary effect and caused them to be most fearful and backward. For they who were pined to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, and to see mens bodies wounded with push of pike, galled with arrows, and pierced with lance here and there, in this or that part; after they beheld once their fellows so butcherly mangled with the Spanish cutelaxes and arming swords, the arms cut away from the body, the heads either imitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the souldiers: their panthes ript with the bowels open, and guts drawing after; with other deep wounds and broad lashes, most hideous and fearful to behold; then they saw all full well (fearful creatures as they were) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal against. Nay, the King himself was terribly afraid who had not as yet encountered with the Romans in any field. Whereupon he lent for his son to come back with the garison that he had in the streights of *Pelagonia*; thereby to increase and strengthen his own forces: and so laid open the way into *Macedonia* for *Plemaus* and the *Dardaniens*. Himself in person with a power of 20000 foot, and 4000 horse, guided by the fugitives aforesaid, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a mile or somewhat less from the Roman camp, possessed himself of a little hill near to *Anticnem*, which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encamped hard under him he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole body of the camp, with the form and order thereof in general, but also how every part was ranged and set out in several, both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the wayes for breadth and length between. And having viewed and considered every thing accordingly: "Believe me (quod he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either think or say it is the camp of a barbarous nation. For two daies since the Consul and the King (expecting one anothers attempts and enterprises) kept their souldiers close within their holds. When the third day was come the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field. But the King fearing to hazard all to foot upon a cast, drew forth 400 *Triballians* (which were, as we have said elsewhere, of the Illyrian nation) and 300 *Cretensians*, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of horsemen: and sent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants, for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whose main battal was little above half a mile off, put out against them their light armed van-cuirriers; and as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemen: to the end, that they might be equal with the enemy in number, both of foot and horse. They of the Kings part supposed verily, that they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemen should by turns, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again; sometime follow in chase, and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometimes turn and shew their back parts: that the nimblemet and activity of the Illyrians would stand in good stead to make excursions and sudden skirmishes: also that the Cretensian archers should be employed in shooting arrows aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side: but the violent charge of the Romans, no less continual and obstinate, than fierce and eager, put them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been a set battal between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soon as they had lanced and let go their javelins from them, took them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the horsemen likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either slaying their horses they fought on horseback, or else slighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmish. By this means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, because they had not been used to a fiery battle: nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their ground, and skirmish, never standing still, and withal in manner half naked for any harness they had, was able to make their parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their swords and bucklers, and were furnished with armour, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to maintain fight, but were forced to retire into their camp, and by nothing else saved themselves but by good seamanship and riding apice. These passed one day between, when the King minding to trie acquaintance with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in wait by night a number of traitors, whom they call *Pelopsia*, in a convenient place between both camps, and given Greek on a dilligence unto *Athenagoras* and his men of arms. That if they sped well in open battal in light fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the worse.

A worse, and were too weak, they should give ground by little and little, and train the enemy to the place of ambush. Well, it fell out so, that the horsemen indeed retired accordingly; but the leaders of that cohort aforesaid of targetiers, not attending the signal long enough, but raising their men out of ambush before time, lost the opportunity of playing their part, & performing a good service. The Roman Consul having both obtained victory in open battal, and escaped the danger of a covert train, retired himself into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battal array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vanguard. And this was the first time that ever the Romans had use in their wars, of this beast; by occasion, that in the late Punic war they had taken one of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that *Philip* kept himself close within his camp, he approached under the very rampiers, yea, and reproched him for his cowardice. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battal: considering also, that if he kept there a standing camp long to never unto the enemy, his provision of corn should be exposed to dangers: for no sooner should the purveyors and forragers be gone abroad into the country, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be ready at their heels to catch them in, and cause them to come home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almost eight miles off, called *Octolophum*, where he might make his provision with less danger. Now when the Romans purveyed for corn and victuals in the territory thereabout, and were come upon a time somewhat near and within danger of *Philip*, at first the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturesome, and withal, less wary and circumspect: but clyping C then once stragling aunder here and there out of order, he let forward with all his Cavalry, and the auxiliaries of the Candiot, and marched to fight, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horsemen: thus having gotten between them and home, he pitched down his ensigns betwixt the Roman camp and the forragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he sent forth to course and chase them, so dispersed as they were; giving special charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he staid himself behind, and beset all the wayes, and stopped the passages by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their camp. Soon were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one escaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this disastrous overthrow, as many as fled back chanced upon the guard that the King had set: and more were slain by them that beset the wayes, than those that were sent out to the pursuit and execution. At length some happened to escape through the midst of the Kings *corps de guard*, and in great haste and fearful manner came into the camp with a troublesome noise and tumult, rather than any certain tidings. The Consul, after order given to the horsemen, that every man should incur and relieve what way soever he could, their distressed fellows in this extremity, himself led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a four-square battailon advanced toward the enemies. The Horsemen being spread over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcries heard from a contrary part: other some met with their enemies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and sundry places. The band that guarded about the King, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their own number as well of horse as foot, a full army well-need; and also most of the Romans light upon them, because they kept the very port and roadway in the midst. In this regard also were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, because the King himself was present in person to encourage and exhort them: and withal the auxiliary Candioti wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforesaid, ranged thick and close together, and so fought against them that rode straggling abroad one from another, and without array. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the main point of the whole war. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a bloud-thirsty desire that they had of massacre, they chanced upon the Roman Squadrons which were gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels: in so much as the Illyrians aforesaid, who before fled, when they once saw the ensigns of their own infantry, reined their horse heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse neck: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battal changed and came about, and they that erewhile made pursuit, now shewed their backs, and fled again. Many of them were slain that came to close hand fight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of the sword: for some there were who plunged into bogs and marshes where both horse and man sunk in the deep mud and mire, and so were swallowed up and perished. The King himself also was in great danger: for his horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down to the ground, and hardly escaped but he had been troden under foot and murthered as he lay along. One horseman (so feared as he was) upon his own horse: who bring now on foot, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a stab and thrust fust dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was seen to fall. And the King after he had ridden in fearful sight about the fenny meers, one while where there was some way, and otherwhiles where there was none at all to be seen, chanced at length to come to his camp, when most men were in despair that he could possibly escape in safety. In this skirmish there were 200

others within their camp without any *corps de guard*, swilling and sleeping all night and day long, H and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he ap- proched: then *Damocritus* and the rest of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about noon-tide of the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full lode of wine and vi- ands, lay along fast asleep. Then they fell to awake and raise one another, and to give the alarm: anon they sent out every way to call in those that were preading abroad in the fields. So much they were astonished, that for half many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and most of them forgot to put on their cuirasses. Thus being led out in post halt, and hardly in all foot and horse together, able to make up the number of six hundred, they light upon the Kings Caval- ry, for number, armour, and courage much better than themselves: And therefore at the first they were discomfited: for before they were well entred into skirmish, they fled shamefully a- way toward their camp. Some of them came forth thither, and were either slain or taken priso- ners, even as many as the Kings horsemen overtook, and gat between them and their other com- panies. *Philip*, when he saw his men approach near unto their camp, commanded to found the retreat: for both horse and man was weary, not so much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horse- men by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons should water their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward; by reason they were heavily armed at all pieces: who being come, they also were enjoined to pitch down K their ensignes, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short-bait and hasty pittance, sen- ding two or three at the most out of every band for to water the horses. All this while the horse- men, together with the light armed souldiers, stood well appointed and in readines, if haply the enemy would have given any attempt. The *Ætolians* bestowed armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications, for now by this and so time they also that were scattered over the fields, had retired themselves in a sure hold, long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not stir, and were themselves in a sure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very lusty: but after that the ensignes of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battel well appointed, close unto their trench L all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the back part of their camp, and fled to the foresaid hill, where the *Æthamians* were encamped. Many of the *Ætolians* were likewise in this hasty flight killed or taken prisoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the *Æthamians* also might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind: but the day being spent already first in the skirmish, and afterward in the lackening of their camp, he let him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforesaid, intending very early the next morning to assault the enemy. The *Ætolians* feared as much now, as they were before when they quit their own camp, fled scattering away the night following. Here *Aminander* flood them in very good stead, by whole good guidance and direction, the *Æthamians* being skillful in the coasts of the country, conducted them into *Ætolia*, over the high mountains, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-ways. Some few of them M happened in this confused and scattered flight to lose their way and stumble upon the Macedonian horsemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had sent to cut off the tail of the enemies, so soon as he perceived the Dardaniens as they returned into their country, and at the first put their rearward in disarray. But afterward the Dardaniens turned head again, and embattelled themselves: so they fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor lost on any side. The Dardaniens began not so soon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horsemen and light armed souldiers came upon them afresh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no such means of help, and were besides furcharged with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great advantage to those of the Kings part. Very few were slain more of their ranks and armies for a little, and upon small occasions; but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip* having restrained these two nations by two brave exploits, which were as happily performed as bravely enterprises, recovered the losses again, by him received in the Roman war. There happened besides another occurrence, which diminished the number of his enemies the *Ætolians*. For *Scopas*, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being sent from *Alexandria* by King *Ptolemaus*, with a mighty mass of gold, caried away with him into *Egypt*: six thousand footmen and certain horsemen, waged for money to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and yonth of *Ætolia*, if *Damocritus* had not chastised and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them at home: making remonstrances unto them, one while of the war that was toward, and another O while of the desolation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeal and care that he had of his country, or only to cross *Scopas*, because he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs passed between *Philip* and the Romans for that summer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to Sea from *Coryra*, together with the Lieutenant *Aspurgus* passed beyond the point of the cape *Malen*, and joyned

A joined with King *Attalus*, near *Seylleum* in the territory of *Hermione*. Then the whole City and State of *Athens*, upon hope of present aid and succour, brake out and poured forth at once all the hatred and malice which they had conceived against *Philip*, and which a long time for very fear they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable terms with him. Now in this City there never want prompt and ready tongues to stir up and provoke the common people to a commotion. And as in all free States generally such kind of men are entertained and born out by the favour of the multitude, so in *Athens* especially, where eloquence is in most re- quest, and beareth greatest sway. Presently therefore an *As* was put up and proposed into the common people, and by them granted and confirmed, That all the Statues and Images of King *Philip*, together with their titles and titles, likewise of all his progenitors and predecessors, as B well men as women, should be defaced, pulled down, and destroyed. Item, That all the festival daies, the sacrifices and sacrificers, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor of him, should be profaned and unhallowed again. Item, That the very places, wherein ought had been erected, or inscriptions graven to his honour, should be held as detestable and accursed: and that from thence forward, it might not be lawfull to set up there any of those things that ought to stand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place. Item, That the publick Priests of the City, in all their prayers, and so often as they prayed for the good estate of the people of *Athens* and their allies, for the preservation of their armies and armadoes: should detest and curse by name King *Philip*, his children and realm, his forces both by land and sea, with all the race and name of the Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward, C would prefer and propound any thing that might tend to the disgrace and infamy of *Philip*, the whole people of *Athens* should approve and allow the same whatsoever, and make an *As* there- of. Contrary-wise, if any person lay or do any thing for honour, or to impeach and check his dis- honour, whosoever should happen to kill the said party, he should be deemed and reputed, that he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was comprised within the decree, That all things ordained in times past against *Pigistratus* his line and progeny, should be observed and stand in force against *Philip*. Thus verily warded the Athenians against *Philip* with letters and words: wherein they are right valiant, and to say truth, good at nothing else. But *Attalus* and the Romans, having from *Hermione* shaped their course for *Pyræum*, arrived there. And after they had sojourned some few daies in *Athens*, and were laden with a number of decrees, where- D in the Athenians recounted the praises and commendations of their allies beyond all measure, like as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice against their enemies: they set sail from *Pyræum* to *Andros*. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called *Gurelone*, they sent certain men to sound the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they would chuse to yeeld the Town willingly, or rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who answered again, that the Kings garrison being possessed of the Castle, and keeping it for *Philip*, they were not their own masters. Whereupon the King and the Roman Lieutenant for their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines and artillery in for an assault, approached the City divers waies. The Roman standards and their arms, not seen before in those parts, the resolute courage also of the souldiers, who so lustily and nimble came near to scale the walls, terrified and amazed the Greeks, much more than any thing E else. Therefore immediately they fled into the Castle, and the enemies were LL of the City. Now, after they had for two daies space held out in the fortres, presuming more upon the strength of the place than the force of their armour and weapons: they and the garrison together, compounded upon the third day to quit the place, so they might be brought with a convoy to *Delium*, a Town in *Boeotia*, and every man to have one single suit of apparel. Then the Romans leaving the bare City unto King *Attalus*, snatched it themselves, and took away with them all the pillage and ornaments that beautified the same. And to the end, that the Isle should not lie waste and desart, *Attalus* perswaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain also of the Andrians, there to remain. Afterwards, they also who by composition were transported to *Dium*, were by the fair promises of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit F to the sooner, for the love of their native country, the miseries whereof they might hardly brook. From *Andros* they crossed to *Cythera*. There they spent certain daies in assaulting the City, to no purpose: and seeing the gains would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Near unto *Præse* (which is a place of *Attica* within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty pinnales of the *Illyrians*, who were sent to rob and spoil the territory of the *Carylians*: the rest of the fleet remained at *Gerysum*, a noble rode and port of *Eubœa*, until such time as the *Illyri* were returned from *Carysum*. Then all together they made sail, and passing the mids of the main sea, they fell with the Isle of *Jens*, near unto *Seyrus*. There they were laid for certain daies, by reason of the raging Northwind, which being once laid and the sea calm again, they passed to *Seychus*: a City lately pillaged and snatched by K. *Philip*. The souldiers ranged over the country, and brought G com with them to their ships. And whatsoever else was fit for mans food, other booty neither was there any nor deserved had the Greeks to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course for *Cassandrea*: first they rode at anchor near unto *Mende*, a village situate by the sea side, and be- longing to that State. From whence having sailed beyond the cape, & desirous to come about with their vessels for to approach the very walls of the City, there arose a tempest & suddain gulf: wherein they had like to have been cast away: but scattered they were alinder: & having for the most part lost the tackling of their ships, they escaped with much ado to land. This tempest at sea was also

out of his Province to *Rome* against the solemn election of Magistrates, complained, not as men made reckoning he would have done, (That the Senat expected not for his coming, nor that the Consul was not permitted to debate the matter with the Prætor) but found himself grieved, "That the Senat had decreed a triumph, for as the party only was suffered to speak who was to triumph, and none of them might be heard who were present at the battell, And whereas our forefathers ordained, that Lieutenants, Colonels, Marshalls, and Centurions, yea, and in one word, the soldiers should bear a triumph: for this end and purpose, that the truth might appear to the world, of all things achieved by him unto whom to great honour was to be done: Was there any one (quoth he) of all that army which fought with the Gauls, I say not a soldier, but so much as a lackey or horse-boy following the Camp, of whom the Senat might enquire, whether the Prætor spake true or false? This done and said he published the day of assembly for the election aforesaid: wherein were created Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. After them were Prætors chosen *L. Quintus Flaminius*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *C. Cebius Pamphilus*. Grain and other victuals that year were cheap. Great store of corn was brought out of *Africk*, which the *Ædiles* of the chair distributed to the people, at two *Afles* a Modius. They also set forth the Roman games and paltimes right sumptuously; yea, and represented them one day more than ordinary. Moreover, of the silver raised by fines and forfeitures, they made seven brazen statues, which they set up in the treasure-house of the City. The Plebeian plaies likewise were thrice renewed all over by the *Ædiles* of the Commons *L. Terentius Maffellota*, and *C. Cebius Pamphilus* Prætor elected. Finally, the funeral games that year were four daies together exhibited in the common place of the City, occasioned by the death of *M. Valerius Lavinius*: and celebrated they were by his two sons *P.* and *M.* who also shewed unto the people a brave spectacle of fencers at the sharp: wherein there were five and twenty couples that entered the lists and performed combat. *M. Atr. C. Cotta*, one of the Decemvirs, that year departed this life; and in his place *M. Agilius Glabrio* was subordinated. In the solemn assembly for electing *Ædiles* of the chair, it chanced that those two which were chosen might not immediately enter into office: for *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was created in his absence, while he governed the Province of *Spain*. And *C. Valerius Flaccus*, who was present at his own election, might not be sworn to maintain the laws, because he was the Flamin or Priest of *Jupiter*. For lawful it was not for any Magistrate to exercise his place above five daies, unless he were sworn to the laws. Then *Flaccus* preferred a petition that he might be dispensed with: whereupon the Senat ordained, That if the *Ædile* would find one to swear in his name at the good pleasure and discretion of the Consuls, then the Consuls (if they thought it meet) should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, to propound it unto the people that it might pass under their grant. So *L. Valerius Flaccus* (the Prætor elected for the year following) was preferred to take the oath for his brother. Then the Tribunes put it to a canvass before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother should be of the same validity as if the *Ædile* himself had taken it in his own person. Concerning the other *Ædiles* also there passed an act of the Commons. For when the Tribunes propoised unto the people, which two they would have to go into *Spain* as *LL.* deputies, with command over the armies: the people ordained, that *C. Cornelius* the *Ædile* of the chair might come home to bear his office, and *L. Manlius* also after so many years, depart out of his Province: the people ordained, that *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Stertinius* should have the conduct and government in *Spain*, in quality and title of Pro-Consuls.

The two and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and thirtieth Book.

Many strange and prodigious fights, as they were reported from divers countries, are here related and set down: among which, this is one, that in *Macedony* there was a bay tree sprung up of itself in the poop of a galley. *T. Quintus Flaminius* the Consul fought fortunately against *Philip* in the Straights of *Epirus*: and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom. Himself with the assistance of the *Ætolians* and *Atthamans*, infested sore and plagued the Thessaly, which bordered upon *Macedony*. *L. Quintus Flaminius* the Consul his brother, by the aid of King *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, made conquest by war at sea, of *Eubœa* and all the sea-coast. The *Achai* were received into amity. The conspiracy of slaves, that completed to deliver and set at large the hostages of the *Carthaginians*, was detected and took no effect. The number of Prætors was encreased to six. The Consul *Cornelius Cethegus* defeated the *French Insularians* in battell. League and amity was concluded between the *Romans* and the *Lacedæmonians*, with their tyrant *Nabis*. Over and besides, there is contained in this book the winning of many Cities in *Macedony*.

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The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When the Consul and Prætors were entered into office upon the 1st Ides of *March*, they call loss for the government of the Provinces. To *L. Lentulus*, fell *Italy*; and to *P. Villius*, *Macedony*. As for the Prætors, *L. Quintus* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*, and *C. Cebius* the government of *Ariminum*; *L. Valerius* ruled *Sicily*, and *L. Villius* his lot was to command *Sardinia*. *Lentulus* the Consul had order given him to levy new legions, and *Villius* to receive the army of *P. Sulpicius*, with commission and licence to take up as many soldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which *C. Arnelius* Consul had in charge, were assigned over to *Babius* the Prætor, with condition to keep them with him, untill the Consul were arrived in *France* with a new army; and so soon as he came, to discharge and dismise all the soldiers home to their homes except 5000 allies: forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about *Ariminum*.

The Prætors of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. *Cn. Scævus* was enjoined to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those soldiers who had served many years together in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sardinia*. And *Q. Minutius* had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the *Britannian* country, upon which he had siven already as Prætor with great fidelity and diligence: and also to send unto *L. Lælius* for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attained and convicted of sacrilege, he had sent bound to *Rome*. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Temple of *Proserpina*, to be restored thither again, with an over-embrace, to make satisfaction and to raze out the wicked part committed. The Latine feasts and holy-daies were solemnized again by virtue of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion. That certain Embassadors from *Eda* complained in the Senat, how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts aforesaid in the mount *Alba*, according to the old custom. News came from *Suffex*, that two of their City gates and all the wall between was smitten with lightning. Messengers also from *Formie* reported that their Temple of *Jupiter* was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of *Offia* brought word of the like mischance with them in the Church of *Jupiter*. And from *Vetula* tidings came of the like mishap, fallen upon the Temples of *Apollon* and *Sanguis*. And that in the Temple of *Heracles* there sprung up a bush of hair. Letters came also from *Q. Minutius* the Pro-Prætor out of the *Britannian* country, that there was a colt sold with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apiece. After all this, *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Prætor sent letters from out of *Macedony*, containing among other matters this news, that there was a Laurel tree grew of it self in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigions sights, ordained, that the Consul should sacrifice greater beasts unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Sooth-sayers that pry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-house; and by direction of their answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go into procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great devotion.

The *Carthaginians* this year came to *Rome* with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and forasmuch as the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawfull, and being brought to triethal, was found too light by one fourth part, walled away those *Carthaginians* were constrained to take up money of the bankers of *Rome*, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver aforesaid. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat that it might stand with their good pleasure to deliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendred back, and good hope there was of the rest, so be they continued loyal and fast in their allegiance. And when they made a farther request in behalf of those hostages which were not delivered that they might be transported from *Norba* (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to *Signis* and *Ferentinum*. In like sort, the *Gaditans* made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the *Romans* accapain to govern *Gades*, any thing to the contrary in their covenant (concluded with *L. Marius Septimius*, when they yielded themselves under the subjection of the *Romans*) notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of *Narنيا* made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain strangers entermingled among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Citizens: therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies or Commissioners, called *Trimvirs* for to reform this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose *P. Publius* and *Seftius* *Ælius*, who had both of them the surname of *Pærus*, and *C. Cornelius Lentulus*. This that was granted to them of *Narنيا*, was denied to the Embassadors of *Cassia*, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be encreased.

The affairs thus finished at *Rome* that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their several Provinces. *P. Villius* to soon as he was arrived in *Macedony*, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the soldiers, which long afore being kindled, was not well quenched

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at the first beginning. These were those two thousand, which after the defeat of *Annibal*, were sent out of *Africa* into *Sicily*; and from thence, a year after almost, transported into *Macedony* for voluntary souldiers: but they themselves stood stoutly to it, that it was no voluntary act of theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason, that the time of their souldiery should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alledging, that for these many years they had not seen Italy; that they waxed old men under their hands, having born arms in *Sicily*, in *Africa*, and in *Macedony*; that with toil and travel so tedious, they were weak and feeble; and after to many wounds and hurts received, they had no more blood to lose. The Consul made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the handling; and meet he thought it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it in modest terms: but neither it, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny and sedition. Therefore, if they could be content to keep to their colours, and be at command as loyal souldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the Senat, as touching their conge and dismissal: for be they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behaviour, than by any such stubborn, forward and willful demeanor.

At the same time *Philipp* sailed the City of *Thaumaci* with terraces & mantelets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden arrival of the *Ætolians* enforced him to intercalate his enterprise: who by the conduct of *Archidamus*, having passed through the midst of the *Macedonian* guards, & entered the town, never ceased day nor night to make ladders forth, one upon their standing watch, otherwises upon their K fabricks & engines. The natural situation of the place yielded them good help and vantage: for the town of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to amass thinking, as he goeth from *Pyle* & the gulph of *Malaca* by the way of *Lamis*, & sheweth it self almost seem to overlook & command the straight passage of the torrells called *Cal*. Again, when one reacheth over the craggy places, and the crooked water, entangled with to many windings in the sides of *Thessaly*, and is approached once near to the City, all on a sudden he may discover before him a mighty large and open plain, as it were a wide and vast sea: so that a man shall have much ado to reach with his eye to far as these downs lie over every way under him, and see all over them. And hereupon by reason of this stance and marvellous prospect, the City is called *Thaumaci*. Over and besides that the high ground affordeth it security, it standeth also upon a huge rock, divided into divers crags and broken cliffs. These difficulties forced *Philipp* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed withall, that the town it self when it was won, would not quit the painful labour, and pay for the danger about it. Besides the winter was now at hand, when he departed from thence, and retired his forces into *Macedony* there to harbor. Where, when all others during the time that they could catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and disports: *Philipp* only how much respite forever he had, either of intermission, or remission from continual labour of marching in journey, and fighting in battell; to him he retired, & he had in his mind whilst he couled and discoursed with himself, what the total and finall issue might be of this war: whilst he stood not only in fear of the enemies, which persecuted him by sea and land, but also in doubt, as well of the heats of his allies, as of the affections of his own subjects: lest the one in hope of the Romans friendship should revolt, and the other (even the *Macedonians* themselves) desire novelties and long for a change. Therefore he dismissed his Embassadors into *Achaia*, both to exhort on the one the *Achaians* for their allegiance (for they had capitulated in the accord and agreement made yearly to swear fealty unto *Philipp*), and also to deliver in to their hands, *Orekomus* *Heracles* and *Triphila*. And when they demanded also *Aliphera*, the Embassadors answered, that the City never pertained to *Triphila*, but that of right it ought to be restored unto *Philipp*: as being one of them which in the general council and assembly of the *Arcadians* were assigned and set out for the building of *Alceopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firm alliance with the *Achaians*. As for the *Macedonians* he gained their hearts unto him, by occasion of *Heracles*: for seeing that by means of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceit, and that he was charged with many grievous crimes, he cast him in prison to gratify his own subjects: whereas the people took great joy and hearts content. Then made he preparation for war, with an earnest endeavor, as at any time before: he exercised as well the *Macedonians* as mercenary souldiers in pay, namely, to wear their armor and handle their weapons; & in the very prime of spring, he sent all his foreign aids and light armed souldiers, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Chonia* by the way of *Ephesus*, to lie upon the straight passage near to *Antigonis*, which the Greeks call *Stena*. Himself a few daies after followed with his main army more heavily appointed. And when he had well viewed & considered the situation of the country, and how it lay, he judged that the quarter consisting upon the river *Asus* was the meetest place to fortifie and encamp in. This river between two hills the one by the peasants of the country called *Eriopus*, the other *Asinus*, runneth within a narrow vale, and yieldeth but a small passage upon the bank side. He commanded *Athenagoras* to go in and fortifie *Asinus* with his light armed souldiers: himself encamped upon *Eriopus*. And took what way as the hill was fenced with broken and cragged rocks, there he kept a small guard of some few souldiers: but whereas there was more danger, and easier access for the enemy he fortified with trench rampiers and bulwarks. He planted also and disposed in convenient places a great number of engines to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keep the enemies aloof,

The sight of the City Thaumaci.
* Admirable, or wonderful.

A aloof. The royal pavilion of the King himself was pitched before the rampier upon a bank in a most conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his own men, when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul ad, entized by *Chionops* the *Ægypt*, what passages the King with his army was polluted of, after he had passed the winter in *Corepra*, himself likewise in the beginning of spring, went up into the main land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being ad, aned almost within five miles of the Kings camp he left his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himself in person forward with certain lightly appointed in espial to discover the quarters, and the morrow after held a consultation, Whether he might do better to assay to pass through the place, which the enemy kept (notwithstanding he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his army about and fetch a compass the same way, whereas the year before *Salpurnius* entered into *Macedony*. This deliberation he did him self over and over in even business and impudence, until news came unto him that *T. Quintus* was created Consul, and having the Province of *Macedony* allotted unto him made haste thither, and was already passed to *Corepra*.

Valerius *Antius* writeth how *Vellus* was entered the pass aforesaid & became he could not take the straight and direct way (b, reason that the King and his forces had betel all places) followed the valley along, through the middle whereof the river *Asus* runneth, and having made a bridge over it, in great haste passed over to the bank, whereas the King was encamped, and there fought a battell: wherein the King was discomfited and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that 12000 enemies were slain in that conflict, 2200 taken prisoners, 132 ensignes won and carried away, besides 236 horse. Also that during the combat there was a Temple vowed unto *Jupiter*, in case the Consul should well in the battell. But all other writers both Greek and Latine, at leastwise whose Annals I have read, report that *Vellus* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul *T. Quintus* who next succeeded took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

Whiles things thus passed in *Macedony*, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at *Rome*, held a general assembly for the election of *Censors*: And among many famous and noble persons who sued for that dignity, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Atilius* *Pacrus* were created *Censors*. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected *Senat* without detaining any person; and also framed out the toll for portage of all things that went to and from *Capua*: from thence they set to farm let the toll for portage that way where the camp stood and where now D there is a town built: and enrolled three hundred *Centurions* (for that number was limited by the *Senat*) to be in habilit. They sold also the land of *Corepra* lying under the hill *T. f. a.*

About the same time *L. M. Aemilius* *Ased* departed out of *Spain*, and was proclaimed by *M. Porcius* *Lucas* a Tribune of the *Commons*, to enter it his return into the City with the solemn pomp of an Ovation, notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the *Senat*. So he came into *Rome* as a private person and brought into the Chamber of the City 100 pound weight of silver, and thirty pound weight well near of gold. The same year *Cn. Rabirius* *Tasophilus*, who had received the Province of *France* from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former year, engaged himself rashly within the marches of the French *Indians*, and was encompassed and enclosed round about, both he and in manner his whole army. He lost above 6000 men, see what an over-blow was received in a war, whereof there was no reckoning made, and from whence no danger was feared any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the City of *Rome*, who being arrived into a Province full of trouble and tumult, after he had received the charge of a frightened and dismayed army, gave the *Prætor* a great check and rebuke, & took him up solemnly with reproachful terms, yet commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to *Rome*. Neither performed the Consul himself any exploit worthy of remembrance, by reason that he was called home to *Rome* for to hold the solemn election of *Magistrates*: which also was staid by *M. Fulvius* and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the *Commons*: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quintus* *Flamininus*, having been but *Quæstor*, for to stand for a Consulship. "Now daies, lay they, the dignities of *Ædiles* and *Prætors* are sought for by, and not worth the seeking for: and these noblemen will needs mount into the Consuls place, not by steps and degrees of other offices, wherein they should make proof and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping over those in the midst, joyning the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in *Mars* field in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the *Senat*. And the *LL.* ordained that *fortissimus* as he who himself sued for that dignity, was by law capable thereof: it was reason that the people should have plenty and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever else they pleased. So the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the *Senators*. And for *Consul*, were elected *Sextus Aelius* *Pater*, and *L. Quintus* *Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of the *Prætors*. In which were created *L. Cornelius* *Mentulus*, *M. Claudius* *Marcellus*, *M. Porcius* *Cato*, and *C. Helvius* who had been *Ædiles* of the *Commons*: By whom the *Plebeian* plays were renewed; and a solemn feast made in the honour of *Jupiter* in regard of those places. The *Curule* *Ædiles* likewise *P. Valerius* *Flaccus*, who also was the *Flamine* *Dialis* or *Priest* of *Jupiter*, and *C. Cornelius* *Cethegus*, exhibited the *Roman* games with great magnificence. The great Pontifices or Bishops *Servius* *Sulpicius*, and *L. Gall* died that year: In whole places were entailed *M. Aemilius* *Lepidus* and *Cn. Cornelius* *Scipio*. Now when *Sextus Aelius* *Pater* and *Titus* *Quintus* *Flamininus* the *Consul*, were entered into their Magistracy, they assembled the *Senat* in the Capitol: where the *LL.* gave order, that concerning the two Provinces of *Macedony* and *Italy*, the Consuls should either

Æt. Vll.
Quid d. Mæti.
Purg. Nigro.
navis ablu.

either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should govern the one or the other: And that he, whose hap was to have the charge of *Macedony*, should enroll of Romans three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: Also of Latine allies five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, for to supply and furnish out the legions. And for the other Consul it was decreed, that he should have an army all entire and new. *L. Lentulus* the Consul of the former year, continued still Governour in the Province, with express commandments, that neither himself should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Consul were come with the new legions. So the Consuls referred themselves to the direction of the lots. To *Ælius* fell Italy: and *Macedony* to *Quintius*. As for the Prætors, who all were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*. *M. Claudius* governed *Sicily*. To *M. Porcius* was allotted *Sardinia*, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be *L. Deputy in Gaul*. After this they began to take musters. For over and besides the Consular armies, the Prætors also were charged to levy soldiers. To *Marcellus* were assigned four thousand footmen of Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen to go into *Sicily*. And for *Cato* three thousand foot of the same kind of soldiers: with two hundred horse to serve in *Sardinia*: upon condition, that when both these Prætors were come into their Provinces, they should discharge all the old soldiers there, as well footmen as horsemen.

Then the Consuls granted the Embassadors of King *Attalus* leave to come into the Senate-house: where having audience given them, "after they had declared how their King and Master had assisted the State of *Rome* with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewed himself cheerful, ready, and obedient to this present day for to execute and perform whatsoever the Roman Consul had enjoined him to do; they showed, that they much feared lest from henceforward he would not be able to do the same, by reason he was impeached of garillions. For *Antiochus* taking his vantage, and finding the realm of *Attalus* disarmed of garillions, and unprovided of horse both by sea and land had invaded the same. For which occasion *Attalus* beought the Council of the Senate there assembled, that if they minded to use his navy, and employ the means that he could make, i. the service of the *Macedonian* war, they would then send him a sufficient garrison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his request was to permit himself to return with his fleet and others for, to the defence of his own. The Senate gave order to return this answer unto the Embassadors: "Whereas King *Attalus* had succoured the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senate accepted thereof in the best part. But as touching *Antiochus* the King, ally and friend of the people of *Rome*, they neither would send any aid against him: nor yet detain the aids of King *Attalus* in any service of theirs, longer than the King himself should think it good with his own commodity. For the manner of the people of *Rome* hath alwayes been to serve their own turn with the help and assistance of others, but yet at the good pleasure & discretion of others. And whosoever were willing to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would themselves. Howbeit they purposed to address their Embassadors unto *Antiochus* to advertise him and let him understand, that the people of *Rome* employed the help of *Attalus* by his ships and soldiers against *Philip*, a common enemy: and the Senate would take it kindly at his hands, if (for their sakes he forbate the Realm of *Attalus*, and abtained from war, for meet and reason) it was that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of *Rome*, should likewise entertain peace and amity among themselves.

T. Quintius the Consul made haste to be gone into his Province: and when he had levied and mustered his soldiers so, as that he had enrolled those old experienced levitors for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of *Spain* and *Africa*, he was detained so long, that some by occasion of certain prodigious signs reported, until he had taken order for the appeasing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning forked and blasted the great port way from *Fest*: the Common Hall likewise of publick assemblies, and the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Lavinium*: also the Temple of *Heracles* in *Ardas*: the walls belides and turrets of *Capua*, and the Temple there with is called *Alta*. At *Artemium* the sky appeared to be on a light fire. *N. At Velia* the earth leted and sunk down. Leaving a great gaping chink for the compals of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought, that in *Suessa Aurunca* a lamb was yeared with two heads: and in *Strutha* a porker with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Consuls intended devoutly to their facifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. *Ælius* together with *C. Helvius* the Prætor went into *France* and gave unto the said Prætor the army which he received of *L. Lentulus*, and should have dismissed and discharged of their service: because he purposed himself to employ in his own wars the fresh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Consul *T. Quintius* having taken the sea, and departed from *Brundisium* sooner than other Consuls were wont, arrived at *Corycæ* with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. From thence he crossed the seas with a galleace of five ranks of oars, directing his course for the nearest coasts of *Epirus*: and by great journeys made haste until he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licensed *Villius* to depart, and baid there some few daies, until his forces which were at *Corycæ* could overtake him, he called his Council together to resolve, Whether he should keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any such

A such attempt (which could not but carry with it great pain and peril) fetch a compas about with safety, and to enter into *Macedony* by the way of the *Dall-reians* country, and *Loquis*. And verily this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hand: if the King haply were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the dets and fortels, that he should spend all the long summer and do no good. Therefore come what would of it he resolved to assail the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not to ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they late till and spent to try daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to ally a peace, by the means and intercession of the Epirot nation. And after consultation had there were certain agents chosen for that purpose to wit, *Pausanias* the Prætor, and *Alexander* general of the horse: who brought the Consul and the King together for to parlay into a place whereas the river *Aous* is narrow, and the banks nearest together. The demands of the Consul in him were these: That *Philip* should remove his garillions out of the Cities. *Item*, That whole territories or town he had pillied and spoiled, he should make restitution again unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer again, "That all those peeces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he would be content to let them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors and predecessors, he would not forgo the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had warred made complaint, that they were ever endamaged by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would themselves, and stand to their award: if they were neutrals, or in peace as well with the one side as the other. The Consul hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needfull to refer themselves to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that he hath done the wrong who first took arms? And that *Philip* before ever that he was molested and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After when it was debated what Cities should be free, the Consul named first of all *Thebes*: whereas which word the King was in such a heat of choler that he cried out aloud, "What harder condition O *Quintius* would you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, hebing away in a chase from off the place of meeting and interview and wound no longer parlay. And much did they both sides to hold their hands from throwing one at another, for the river ran in the midst between them that they could not try it out by the ears. The morrow after there passed many light skirmishes between the corps de guard on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plain that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the Kings men retired themselves into the narrow straight and rough rugged places the Romans of an ancient desire to be fighting, entered thereon after. The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintain a skirmish in a close battle. The enemies again for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the help of sundry engines to cast forth shot afar off (as ballists and catapults) planted and ranged almost upon every cliff and rock as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slain on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battell the night at length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these terms, there happened a certain herdman sent from *Charopæa* a Prince of the Epirots to be brought before the Consul: who gave him to understand that he kept cattell grazing in that forest (which then was overspread with the Kings pavilion) and knew all the cranks, all the windings, turnings, and blind waies of those mountains: promising, that if he would send out a band of soldiers with him, he would conduct them thorow a place that was neither dangerous nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they should be over their enemies heads and able to command them, and their things (quoth he) you may surely trust upon: for *Charopæa* would me to make declaration. That he could with you the Consul were Master of all rather than any other, the Consul was desirous to be convinced, but durst not credit him. And thus being troubled in spirit, whilst he entertained in his heart both joy and fear together, at length the authority of *Charopæa* induced him to resolve and give the adventure of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following he never ceased to assail and provoke him, setting companies of armed soldiers in every place, to charge upon him, and ever sending them with fresh ment to succeed in the place of the wearied. After this he delivered to a Tribune or Colonel four thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen: with this direction, to lead forward the Cavalry, as far as the ground would give leave: and when they were come on to a place where the horsemen could not pass nor march farther, then to plant them in some pain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on in the guide should lead them and point out their way: but after they were mounted above the enemies heads according as he undertook and made promise, then to give a sign by smoke, and not to shout and to set up a cry until one might give that upon signal of battell by him given, the battell was begun. And the Consul gave commandment to march by night (for as good hap was, the Moon was at full, and shone all night long) and take their refreshment and sleep in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid,

he made unto him many fair and large promises, if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman General travelled and endeavoured to much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while, the Romans that were sent out with the Colonel, marched forward: and upon the third day, when they had given token by smoke, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and held it till: then the Consul divided his forces into three squadrons, and entered the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to re-encounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hot desire of conflict, it fell out, that the Roman souldier had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, more skilfull, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings souldiers, where of many were wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man, the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsiderately were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could not retire with ease. And surely they had not returned back again unpunished for their rashness, but that the Kings men bearing first an outcry behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were allonied at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away: others that made a stand and tarried still, for that they rather wanted ground to flee than had heart enough to fight it out, were environed by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. K But the straight and roughness of the waies hindered the hotness and the weight of armor cumbered the footmen. At first the King rode a main with bridle in horie neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before & guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not possibly make way after: he retired upon a certain mount and lent his people all abroad over hills and dales, to rally his souldiers together that were disperied. Thus with the loss not all out of two thousand men, the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a Rendezvous, upon some signal given, & so marched with a great train into Theffaly. The Romans pursued them as far as they might with safety, killing them, and rifling the dead, yea and ransacked the Kings camp, which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult weels unto it, they had much trouble to win: & that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Consul made pursuit after the enemy along the straight, whereas the river runneth among the valleys. The King came the first day unto the hold or camp of Pyrrhus (a place so called) in Triphalia, belonging to the territory of Aetolia. From whence the morrow after he marched a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he must go that fear drives) & approached the mountain Lingo. These mountains are in Epirus, situate between Macedonia and Theffaly. The side that lieth to Theffaly regardeth the East: that which butteth upon Macedonia hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overpiled with abundance of woods: yet so as the very tops do afford open plains and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, casting and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to return immediately into his own kingdom, or possible M to retire himself into Theffaly. In sum, his resolution was to bring down his army into Theffaly. And so to Tricca he marched the next way he possibly could. From thence he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The towns he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own goods: all the rest fell to the souldiers share. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he practised among his own allies. And Philip himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at his heart: but he could do no other: yet his desire was, in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy to save the bodies at leastwise of his associates. In this manner were ransacked & spoiled these towns following, Phoenice, Iressa, Eubadium, Eretia, & Palapatus. Against N his coming to Pheate the gates were shut upon him. And because it would ask some time to win that town by assault, and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, & passed into Macedonia: for the brut were that the Aetolians also approached, Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river Aous, first wasted and ransacked all the country near unto Sperchia and Marra Come (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into Theffaly, won Cymines and Angas with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they took at Metropolis, whiles they harried the fields about it by reason that the townsmen ran together to the defence of their walls. After this they gave the attempt upon Callithera, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies: but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they drove the enemies that issued forth within their walls, and contenting themselves with that victory, they departed thence seeing no great hope to force the town. Then they won and pilld two villages Theumia and Calubani. Asiet Acharra, it was surrendered by composition. And upon the like fear Xynia also was abandoned of her own inhabitants. These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garison which was a leading into Athamania, for the better guard of the forragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell-mell together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was bewain peeces by

A by the armed souldiers, and Xynia was sacked, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this the Aetolians won Cyphara, a fort and town of strength, well seated for to encompass and command D. L. g. oblecta, pia. These exploits performed the Aetolians halitly all in few daies.

Neither telled Amintander nor the Athamians quiet and still, after they heard the news of the prosperous battell which the Romans had fought. But Amintander, reporting into the same his own souldiers, craved of the Consul a small supply of other officers: and as he had led tow, d. m. p. is he surprised forthwith and torced a town named Theffaly, situate between Gonph and the mountains that divide Theffaly from Athamania. From thence he advanced before Gonph, and attacked a town which was defended right valiantly for certain daies: but after that he had collected strong ladders against it, he forced the townsmen within, for very terror to yield and render all to his B hands. The surrender of this City terrified the Theffalians exceedingly in such sort, that the Citizens of Argenta, Pherrina, Thumia, Lissus, Stimos, and Lymphum, one after another submitted themselves, with other peeces thereby of small importance.

Whiles the Athamians and Aetolians (secured from all danger of the Macedonians) made spoil and raised again to themselves by the victory of others: whiles Theffaly was pilld and attacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust: the Consul passed over into the country of Epirus by the way of the streights which he had opened and made clear by sea on that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Epirots in general went, and with whom they had sided, excepting only Prince Charopus, yet because he law them not only careless to make amends and restitution, but also willing and

C forward to do whatsover he commanded he esteemed and regarded them by their present hate, more than by their demerit pally, and so by shewing himself inclined to mercy and clemency to pardon a fault, he won their hearts and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to Corcyra, to wit that the kiuks and ships of Corcyra should put into the gulph of Ambraia, whiles himself travelled by easey journeyes: and the fourth day arrived he with his tents upon the hill Ceretius: and thither he sent for Agintander to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, so as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journey: for Theffaly. Most of the Epirots also, for the same intent were recruited, who vaine the offered their help and assistance. The first City that he assaulted in Theffaly was Phaleria, wherein he relayed a garison of two thousand Macedonians. Who at first fled out and relied himself in the bay, and as much as either armor or the walls were able to do, defended the mulch. But the force & battery continuing unflantly both night and day, overcame at length the courage and redre the valour of the Macedonians. For the Consul made this evening that upon this point he desired the hearts and dispositions of all the other Theffalians, in that it should not be able to bring the violence and force of the Romans. Phaleria was no longer won, but there am ambassadors from Metropolis and Pira to render up their Cities into his hand, who saved and maintained it. Phaleria was burnt and sacked. From thence he led forward to Ambraia, and being come to a place defensible with any small garison and in manner impregnable, he bestowed some multitude of darts upon the next camp de guard, and turned his army to ward the country again. G. p. y. and from thence he marched down into the Plains of Theffaly. And he saw his army, which consisted of nine centuries (for that he had lostron to make spoil in the territories of the Epirots): E after he had sent out espials afore, to discover whether the harks above could be a rivard at Lencina or Ambraia, he sent out his companies one after another to Ambraia, to purvey corn and victuals. The way between Gonph and Ambraia, as it is cumbersome and hard for passage, to again, it is but short and very perpendicular. So that within few daies he had transported certain companies of victuals from the port of Ambraia, whereby the camp was stored with plenty of all provision. From thence he passed to Rhagea, a town almost ten miles distant from Larissa. The Citizens thereof are defended from Perriphasia, and the City is self seated upon the river Peucea. The Theffalians were nothing afraid at the first coming of the Romans. As for Philip, like as he durst not himself in person march forward into Theffaly, so having taken a place within Tempis, which he held with a standing camp, he espied into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and ever as he could find opportunity and advantage, sent underhand succour and relief thither accordingly.

Much about the same time that the Consul first encamped against Philip in the streights of Epirus, L. Quintus also, the Consul his brother, who by commission from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all sea-coasts, sailed beyond Corcyra with two Gallies of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navy was departed from thence seeing also there was no staying there, he made sail after pace, and having overtaken them at the Isle Zanama he dismissed Apsinus, in whose place he succeeded: from thence he went fair & softly haling after him the most part of the ships which followed with the provision of victuals, until he came to Melia. From C whence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could after him, he went with three Quinquemes lightly appointed, and arrived before at Pyracum, where he received the other ships that L. Apsinus the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of Arleus.

At the same time there were two Armadoes set out of Asia, the one conducted by King Antiochus, consisting of four and twenty sail of Quinquemes: the other were of Rhodians, and stood of twenty covert ships with decks and battes commanded by Agsimbratus the Admirall. These

* Albania,

* Golfo del
* Strada fishy;
* a new part of
* the main
* arriples.* A City in
* the bay of
* Metropolis
* the bay of
* the bay of
* the bay of
* the bay of* Salamis, in
* the bay of* The pleasant
* meadows and
* fields along
* the river Peucea.

These fleets joining together about the Island *Andros*, crossed the narrow seas from thence to *Euboea*. And first they tormented the territory of the Carytians: afterwards (seeing *Carystus* strong enough against them by reason of a garrison sent to them in all haste from *Chalcis*, they approached to *Eretria*. *L. Quintus* having intelligence that King *Attalus* was come, repaired thither also with those vessels which had been at *Pyraeum*, & gave commandment, that as many ships as arrived thither belonging to his fleet, should bend their course for *Euboea*. Now was *Eretria* by all forcible means assailed, for not only the vessels of three joyned navies had brought thither all sorts of engines and artillery devised for to shake and batter the walls of Cities, but also the fields and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The townsmen from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall overthrown by the ordnance and engines of the enemy, inclined to yield: but they had amongst them a garrison of Macedonians, whom they feared no less than the Romans. Moreover, *Pholotes* a Captain under the King sent messengers unto them from *Chalcis*, assuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thus hope and fear together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Pholotes* had a repulse by the way, and in great haste and fear was retired and fled to *Chalcis* again, then immediately they sent their Embassadors unto *Attalus*, to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to seek peace (whereof they had some hope) and forelacked the affairs of war-service, opposing their *corps de guard* on that side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, *Quintus* in the night-season gave a camellido in that quarter which was least expected, and with scaling ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Cattle, which also afterwards was rendered up. As for money, gold, and silver, there was no great store to speak of: but Images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought, and such like ornaments, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bigness, or other wealth besides, of such a City as that was. From thence they set sail once again for *Carystus*, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into their fortresses: from whence they sent their Orators unto the Roman General, humbly craving their merciful protection. The townsmen presently had their lives and liberties granted them. But the Macedonians were put to their ransom and they compounded to pay three hundred silver for service apeece, and to give up their armour and weapons, and so to depart: With this sum of money having redeemed themselves they were sent out disarmed unto *Baetia*. These forces at sea having in few days gained two noble and renowned Cities in *Euboea*, coasted about *Samium*, a promontory or cape within the territory of *Attica*, and arrived before *Cenchreae*, a town of merchandise and traffick belonging to the Corinthians.

The Consul all this while had a longer and more dangerous piece of service in the siege (of *Rhodes*) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have least of all suspected. For he supposed verily that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battering down the wall, & making some breach. For thus he thought that if he had once opened way for his armed soldiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be slain as if fallen out commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were got over at the breaches & ruins thereof: then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toil afore. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were many in number, and those approved and select soldiers, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of sword, rather than by the strength of walls, had ranged themselves in a battell within, strongly marshalled into many ranks and files close together: and when they perceived the Romans were mounting over the breaches to enter the City they repelled and beat them back in that place of great disadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themselves. The Consul hereat was much displeased, and vexed in himself: and making this account, that such a foul foil and disgrace was not only an occasion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City: but also material and important for the main purposes and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly dependeth upon the occurrences of slight matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleansed the place which was choked up with the ruins of the half-broken wall lying there upon heaps, he reared a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, consisting of many stories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drove the same upon wheels and rollers close to the wall. Moreover he sent out certain engines one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close battailon of the Macedonians (which they themselves call *Phalanx*). But the place being so freight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the form of battell wherein they were ranged. For when the Macedonians standing close one to another with a continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romans neither with their darts could hurt them afar off, nor with their swords drawn come near them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes in two: and if it chanced that they whipt off or snapt any alunder, yet the steel and truncheon thereon

A thereof being sharp still at the point (headless though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an hay or palisade. Over and besides that part of the wall that stood whole and sound still, was a sure defence unto both flanks of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to fetch their beat, and so give a violent charge, which is the thing that usually breaketh and disordereth ranks. Moreover, there chanced one thing by meer fortune that encouraged them within: for as the tower afore said was in driving over a terrass or bank whereof the floor was not flat and soundly hardened with the rammer, one of the wheels hapned to sink in and make a deep rout in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded so forward that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armed soldiers standing upon it within, quaked for fear, and were put well-near besides their wits.

B Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Consul was vexed at the heart, to see himself so over-matched in soldiers, in armour, and in manner of service: and withall he considered, that he had no help to force the City and to win it in any short time, nor could make means to pass the winter in those parts so far from sea, and left naked already and waste by those calamities that follow wars. Whereupon he raised the siege: and because there was no haven in all the tract and coast of *Acarnania* and *Etolia*, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulks that brought victuals for his army, and also to yield winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Isle *Anticyra* within the country of *Phocis*, which lying toward the gulph of *Corinth*, seemed to him most fit and commodious for his purpose: because they should not remove far from *Thebes*, and the territories belonging to the enemies having besides *Liponnesus* affront even over against them, divided but by a small arm of the sea: at their back *Etolia* and *Acarnania*: and of each side *Locris* and *Baetia*. At the first assault, the Consul without any resistance won *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Anticyra* likewise long endured not the siege. Then *Ambrisi* and *Hyampolis* were received by composition. *Daulis* by reason that it was situate upon an high hill could neither be scaled nor torced by instruments and engines of battery. But the Romans by lancing their darts and shooting arrows against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish: and after some little scufflings to no effect, whiles one while they seemed to flee, and other whiles to pursue, they brought them to be so careless, so negligent and so little respective, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entered pell-mell with them, and so were Masters of the town. Other small forts likewise of *Phocis* yielded rather for fear than any force offered unto them. *Elaris* they kept their gates shut, and made a countenance, that unless they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor army.

I Whiles the Consul lay at the siege before *Elaris*, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely of withdrawing the nation of the *Acha* from the Kings alliance to the amity of the Romans. For they had expelled and banished *Cycladus* the chief of that faction that sided with *Philip*: and *Arifthenus* who sided the Romans and fought to be considered with them, was Prator for the time.

Now the Roman Armado, together with *Attalus* and the Rhodians, rode at anchor to the haven of *Cenchreae*, and they all were agreed in common to assail *Corinth*. But the Consul thought good, before that they should put that designment in action, to send Embassadors to the State of *Achaia*, promising, if they would revolt from the King and turn to them, to deliver *Corinth* into their hands for to incorporate into the ancient league and council of their nation. And so by the advice of the Consul, there were Embassadors addressed to the Achaeans from his brother *L. Quintus*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians and the Aethonians. And at *Sicyone* was there a Council and Diet held for to give them audience. Now the Achaeans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous an ordinary, and continual enemy of theirs) put them in a fear of one side: the Romans they had in dread and honour of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The K. himself they held in jealousy for his cruelty and treachery: and casting a proof and conjecture by those courses which he then took, and by his practices for the time they foresaw well that after the war ended he would be intolerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not only ignorant, what every man had said in the several councils of every particular State, and in the general Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions: but also uncertain and unresolute among themselves in their own minds what to will or wish. Unto men thus doubtfully disposed and unsettled, the Embassadors above said were admitted, and license was given them to deliver their message. First the Roman Embassador *L. Calpurnius*: after him, those that were for King *Attalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians spake and made discourse: and consequently, the Embassadors of *Philip* were permitted to parl. The Athenians had audience given them last of all, and were relieved of purpose to confute whatsoever should be spoken against the Macedonians. And these Athenians inveighed most sharply and bitterly against the King, for none had received either more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time (by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many Embassadors) brake up about sun setting. The morrow after they assembled again: where the Magistrates by the voice of the Beadle or public crier (after the custome of the Greeks) gave liberty to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking wistly

wisely one upon another who should begin first. And no marvel if they whose spirits were astonished in some sort within them, when they of their own accord cast and tossed in their minds things so different and contrary were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations besides that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & advising many matters so harsh, so difficult, and unpleasant unto them. At length, because the Council should not be dissolved without some speech, he and parli. *Aristobolus* the Prator of the Achaens began to speak, and said: "What is become of my Masters of Achaia of those hearts of yours and courageous stomachs, whereby at your seats and in your private meetings (when talk is ministered of *Philip* and the Romans) you can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in another's face? And now, when as your honourable Court of Parliament is published & holden for the same purpose only: when ye have heard the reasons & allegations of the Embassadors of all parts: when the Magistrates propound the matter to be debated in council: when the public crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you to open your lips: cannot the private respects and affections neither (which have enclined and carried your minds to the one side or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths? Considering especially, that no man is so gross and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is the very time or never for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himself, and as he thinketh best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once passed, that all men are bound (even they themselves that before disliked it) to defend and maintain the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prator was so far forth of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it caused not so much as the least noise or humming in so frequent an auditory and congregation of so many States together. Then *Aristobolus* the Prator began again and followed his speech in this manner. "It seemeth (my Masters and friends of Achaia here assembled) that ye are not so much to seek for counsel and advice, but ye are as short of your tongues and loath to speak. And every one here is unwilling to provide for their general good for fear lest he should incur some particular peril. My self likewise peradventure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a private person: But now being Prator, I see thus much, That either there should have no audience at all been given unto the Embassadors, or else, that they ought not to be sent away from hence without an answer: and answer them how can I without your ordinance? now seeing that there is none of you all, who have been summoned hither to this Council, that either will or dare say a word to the cause: Let us examine thoroughly and consider well in lieu of your opinions, those speeches which yesterday were pronounced by the Embassadors: let us (I say) revise them so, as if they had not demanded those things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they proposed such points they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodians, and King *Attalus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage against *Philip* they think it reason to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our society with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles, he saith he will be content that we should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is there no man here knoweth the reason, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave more than he that is our ally already? Is it neither the modesty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of M the Romans that is the cause hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of Achaia, which minister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the same from them again. From *Philip* we see nothing but only an Embassador. The sea-forces of the Romans and their fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreae*: they carry afore them in the spoils of the Cities in *Euboea*. The Consul himself with his land-army of the legions we see despoiled from us by a small arm only of the sea ranging at their pleasure all over *Phocia* and *Laecris*. Marvel now longer if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embassador of *Philip* demanded crewlike so coldly and diffidently, that we should take arms for the King against the Romans: who, if we by virtue of the same league and oath, wherewith he seemed to charge us in conscience, required of him again, that *Philip* should defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedaemonians, and also from the Romans; would he to seek not only of a garrison and power of armed men to shield us, but likewise of a very answer to shape us. And verily he would be no more ready to satisfy us, than *Philip* was himself the last year: who notwithstanding he frankly promised to levy war against *Nabis* & thereby assailed to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Euboea*, after that he saw once that we neither agreed to send him that power, nor yet were willing to entangle our selves & be interested in the Roman war, forgot soon that society that now he standeth and vanterh so much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedaemonians, to be spoiled pillaged, & wasted at their pleasures. And surely so much as I can conceive of *Cleomedon* his Oration he thinks it hangeth not well together and one peace thereof forth not well with another. He seemeth to speak of the Roman war contemptuously, as if it were a matter of nothing: saying the event & issue thereof would be like the former, which they maintained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himself away, and in his absence demandeth our help, rather than with his personal presence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans? Us, I say, his ancient allies? But what speak I of us? Why hath he suffered them to go to force and win *Evetria* and *Carsum*? Why endured he, that so many Cities of *Thessaly* should be lost? How could he abide *Laecris* and *Phocia* to be over-run so as they are? And *Elatia* now at this day

A "day so freightly besieged, and hotly assaulted? Why quit he the treights of *Epirus*, and abandoned those impregnable holds upon the River *Joas*, by force, or fear, of his own accord, or howsoever? and when he had forgone and delivered himself of that pais which he held, why retired he into the inland parts of his realm for his safety? Is willingly and of his own accord he abandoned to many of his allies, and left them to be spoiled and snatched by the enemy, what can he alledge or say for himself, why those allies abroad may not provide for themselves the best they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewise if we be afraid. But if he were vanquished by force of arms, and therefore retired back, first, we, good *Cleomedon*, sustain and endure the Roman puissance and their mighty armies, against which ye Macedonians were not able to stand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war was at this present, either with greater numbers or stronger forces than they have done heretofore, rather than trust our own eyes, and that which daily we see before our faces? In those daies they succoured the Aetolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct nor with the army of a Consul. The maritime Cities of the confederates of *Philip*, were then in trouble, and tumult: but all the mediterranean parts within the continents, were to be sure and fortified from the Roman forces, that *Philip* spoiled and foraged the Aetolians, impairing and feebling for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finished the Carthaginian war, which for sixteen years space they supported in the very heart and bowels of Italy, have not sent a garrison to succour and maintain the Aetolians in their wars, but are come themselves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred upon *Macedony*. And this is the third Consul of theirs, who at this present maintaineth mortal war upon it, to the uttermost of his power. *Sulpicius* hath encountered the King in the midst of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, discomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waste and desolated the wealthiest quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintus* lately hath driven him out of camp and field, notwithstanding he were possessed of the straight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himself boldly and confidently upon the natural situation of the ground, of his strong defences, and force of a complete army: and having pursued him as he fled into *Thessaly*, hath taken the Cities of the King, and in manner within his own fight, won by mere force his confederate garrisons. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians ere while have alledged concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the King, be not true, but supposed standers: admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, against the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal spirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much less pertinent, than those outrages which the Eleutians and the Abydens so far remote from us, have endured. Forget we our selves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and losses that we have received, the murders the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Messenia* in the midst of *Peloponnesus*. Likewise, how his friend and host *Garricus* at *Cyperissia*, was killed against all Law of God and man, even in a manner sitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing also of *Attalus* the father and son, both Sicyonians, who were cruelly massacred and yet he was wont to call the filly and wretched old man, Father. Alas forbeare you to speak of the sons' wives, who were carried away into *Macedony* to make her his harlot and concubine and to abuse her at his pleasure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip* for fear of whose cruelty ye were all so mute, and could not open your mouth, for what other cause of silence had ye, being called hither to this council? Let us put the case, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that most mild and just Prince, at whose gracious hands we have received to many favours and pleasures above all other Kings: would he demand of us, that we should do that which he possibly then could not be done? *Peloponnesus* is a demy Island, joined to the firm continent and main land, by the narrow freight or link of *Isthmus*, lying open and exposed to nothing more than to Sea-forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches, and fifty lighter vessels which are open together, with thirty Brigantins or boats of *Iffa*, should come to pill and spoil our sea coasts, and begin to assail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very strand and Sea banks; should we retire our selves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why? what else? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with intestine war, which lieth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedaemonians by land, the Roman navy by Sea shall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how should I call upon the Kings society, or for the help of the Macedonians? Or shall we of our selves, by our own strength and means save our Cities which shall be assaulted against the puissance and power of the Romans? For in the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyme*. We have examples enough of the fearful calamities and losses of others, that we need not to make our selves examples unto others. Take heed (I beseech you) how you settle and disdain, that the Romans have of their own motive offered their friendship and alliance, which indeed ye were to win for, and seek all that every ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a strange land to flie unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly shroud themselves under the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and sustained by your victual and provision. No, no, Lords, they are first of the seas who can deny it? there is not a land they set foot into, but immediately it is their own, and in subjection unto them, whatsoever they seem to request, they can command if they list. And because they are willing to spare and forbear you,

and fought to the last man, in case their Captain would have stuck to it, and not relented. But *Enepidamus* for fear left together with the City, the flour of all the youth of *Achaia* should perish, capitulated with *Philotes*, that they might be permitted to depart and go their way: but himself kept his ground still in his armour, with some few of his followers and vassals, and removed not a foot. Then *Philotes* sent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he was he would live and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and shot at him, and so both he and the company about him were slain every one. Thus after the accord of alliance between the Achaeans and Romans, two most noble and famous Cities (*Argi* and *Corinth*) came under the subjection of the King. These were the acts achieved by the Romans as well by Land as Sea this summer.

In *France* there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Aelius* the Consul, notwithstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained still with him, which by order he should have discharged, and was the same that had before been commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Pro-consul, and now by him was committed to the charge of *C. Aelius*: the other, that he brought himself with him into the Province. So that he employed the whole year almost in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to return into their Colonies, from whence by sundry casualties of war they were chased and dispersed. As *France* that year was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the City of *Rome* there had like to have been a commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at *Setia*, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles and Princes of *Carthage*) a mighty train and retinue of servants. The number of them was the greater by occasion of the late African war; during which time and presently after, the *Setians* also themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port to le with the rest of the prizes. These having conspired together, sent out certain of their own company to solicit also the other slaves that were in the territory of *Setia*, and so forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circii*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided aforehand, they should upon the very day of the solemn games and plaies (which shortly were to be exhibited and set forth in *Setia*) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were busy in beholding the spectacle and shew represented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and when they had by massacre in this kind hurlyburly possessed themselves of *Setia*, then to go forward and surprise *Norba* and *Circii*. This horrible complot and conspiracy was detected, and information given at *Rome* to *L. Cornelius Atrina* Pretor at that time of the City. For two bondslaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their safe custody at home within his own house, called the Senate together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these informers had revealed, he was commanded to go abroad to search out and repress this conspiracy. Forth he marched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he tendered unto them a military oath, and constrained them to arm and follow him. Thus in this hasty manner of levy, he armed well near 2000, and with them all together (who knew not whether he meant to go, nor to what piece of service he led them) to *Setia* he came. At his first entrance, he suddenly in great haste apprehended the principal heads of the conspiracy; whereupon the slaves fled out of the Town. Then were sent out certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this business there were two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the Senat gave order, that there should be paid 1000000 *Afles* in brass coin: but unto the slaves 25000 and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out of the Chamber of the City. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracy purposed to surprise *Prentia*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretor of the City, where he executed about 500 persons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to see how the hounded and captives of the Carthaginians practised such troubles. Therefore in *Rome* a standing watch was kept in every street: and the inferior Magistrats were charged to see to it and to walk the round, and the *Triumvirs* likewise (or three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the Quarry-prison. The Pretor also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doors, and not suffered to go abroad into the streets: that all captives and prisoners should have gyves about their heels of ten pound weight at least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.

The same year came Embassadors from King *Antioch*, who presented in the Capitol a golden Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senate, that King *Antioch* in regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embassadors, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The same summer two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modii of wheat sent from King *Masius*, arrived at the camp in *Greece*. Likewise out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* there was sent great store of victual and liveries for the army. In *Sicily* *M. Marcellus* was L. Governour, and in *Sardinia* *M. Porcius* Cato, an upright man and living without touch and reproach, save only he was thought somewhat too severe in restraining of

usury. He banished out of that Island all usurers: he abridged also and cut off clean, the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretor.

Sext. Aelius the Consul being returned to *Rome* out of *France* in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrats, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus*, and two daies after, the election was held for Pretors. This year first were chosen six Pretors, by reason that the number of Provinces encreased, and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And these were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volsus*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Silus*, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minucius Rufus* and *L. Aelius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Q. Minucius* being Consuls, the Roman games this year were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minucius* being Consuls, above all things were in hand with the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretors (a matter that might be decided by casting lots.) *Sergius* tell the jurisdiction of the City, and to *Minucius* the foreign, over strangers. *Aelius* was appointed to *Sardinia*, *Manlius* to *Sicily*, *Sempronius* to that part of *Spain* between *Italy* and *Iberia*, and *Cethegus* unto the other beyond the River.

When the Consuls were upon the point to call lots likewise for their provinces, namely, *Italy* and *Macedonia*, *C. Oppius*, and *P. Fufius* Tribunes of the Commons, interposed themselves and staid the proceedings, That *Ma.* was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing that had more impeached and hindered the proceeding of wars to that day than this, that in to remove parts, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were led in his affair. And when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded to follow the Macedonian war; during which time *Scipio* spent the greater part of his year in seeking after the King and his army; *Fidius*, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had effected any exploit: as for *Quintus*, he was kept at *Rome* till for the most part of the year, in attendance about Church-matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affairs of wars under his conduct were managed so well, that it either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, he might have dispatched the wars there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his landing camp and wintering harbors, the reports, that he hath brought the war to that good pass and forwardness, that unless he be not hindered by a new successor, in all likely-hood and appearance, he will make a final end thereof next summer.

With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and let down by the Senat in this behalf upon condition, that the Tribunes would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides, they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation the LL. of the Senat affirmed to both the Consuls the government of *Italy*, and continued the command of the army still with *T. Quintus*, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consul, with commission to war upon the Gauls between *Rome* and the *Alps* who had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And for *Quintus* ordained it was, that there should be sent into *Macedonia* unto him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 200 horse, and 3000 sea-servitors and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Oppius* the Tribunes should be Admiral of the navy as before. For the Pretors who were to go into *Spain*, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation, and 400 horsemen, so that they diminished the old soldiers out of *Spain*: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bounds of their several provinces, whereas the higher *Spain* and the lower should part. And for *Macedonia* there were two Lieutenants more for the army appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius*, who had been Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretors went out to their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which happened. For at *Rome* the Temple of *Vulcanus* and *Suavis* manius at *Fregelle* the wall and a gate of the City, were stricken with lightning. At *Arpinum* it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night season. At *Asculum* a Lamb was yeened having two heads and five feet. Also at *Forme* two wolves entered into the Town, and worried somewhat where they were in their way. Last of all, at *Rome* there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

C. Aelius a Tribune of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies constituted to the Sea side, and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Tiberis* and *Livernis*, one at *Puteoli*, another in the Burrough Town of *Salernum*, and to make the fifth *Paestum* was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty households sent. The three Commisaries, called *triumvirs*, for the conducting of these Colonies were created; namely, *M. Scaevola*, *Geminus*, *Q. Minucius* Thermanus, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. After the manner, and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they let forward both, into their provinces. *Cornelius* took his way directly against the Insubrians: who accompanied with the Cenomani, were entered at it at time into arms: *Q. Minucius* in his journey bare on the left hand of *Italy* toward the northern sea: and conducting his army to *Genua*, began with the Ligurians to make war. *C. Aelius* and *T. Sulpicius* Towns both of the Ligurians, likewise the two States of the same nation, the *Celaenis* and the *Cerdiciates* surrendered unto him: inasmuch as all the country on this side the *Po*, were in subjection to the

Romans, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Illuats among the Ligurians. By report H there were fifteen Towns containing twenty thousand men, which yielded unto them. From thence led the legions into the territory of the Boians. The army of the Boians had passed over the Po a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cænomans: for hearing that the Consul would war jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the bruit being blown abroad, that once of the Consul invaded and fired the country of the Boians, presently there arose a tumult. For the Boians demanded, that they all in general would help them in their distress. The Insubrians refused and said, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they distanced. The Boians went to the defence of their own country, and the Insubrians with the Cænomans, sat them down upon the banks of the River *Mincius*. Five miles beneath that place, the Consul *Cornelius* also encamped himself near the said River: from whence he sent certain messengers all about the villages, and to *Brissia*, the head City of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and consent of their ancients; and that the Cænomans joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by virtue of publick counsel and authority: he sent for the principal persons among them, and began to labour and deal with them, that the Cænomans would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their engines advanced, either to return unto their own country, or turn to the Romans. This they could not bring them to: howbeit they assured the Consul, that in the field they would either fight till and do nothing, or else, if any good opportunity was presented unto them, they would aid the Romans. The Insubrians knew nothing of this complot: and yet, some doubt and suspicion they had, that their allies had, and were not K. found of all four: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not truit with either of the two wings and points of the battel, for fear if they retreated like false brethren, they should hazard the main chance: but placed them behind the engines in the rearward. The Consul in the beginning of the battel vowed a Temple to *Juno Sospita*, in case he discomfited the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The soldiers set up a shout, and cried aloud that they would bring it to pass that the Consul should have his desire, and therewith charged the enemy right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shock. Some write, that in the very conflict the Cænomans also suddenly let upon their back, whereby they were distressed and in danger both before and behind; and that there were slain enclosed in the midst five and thirty thousand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them *Amilcar* the General of L. the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirty engines carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the Towns that followed this revolt, yielded to the Romans.

Mimius the Consul, at the beginning made excursions into the country of the Boians, wasting and spoiling it all over: but afterwards when they had forsaken the Insubrians, and were retired home to defend and save their own, he kept himself within camp, making full account to give a set battel with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted and broken their hearts. Whereupon they forsook their leader, quit the camp, and bestowed themselves in the Towns and Villages to guard every man his own, and quite altered the course of their enemy M. war, and put him besides his account. For the Consul past all hope now to determine the quarrel in one ranged battel, began again to forage the fields, burn all buildings, and force Towns by assault. Much about the same time *Clasidium* was set on fire. And from thence the legions were conducted against the Illuats among the Ligurians, who only stood out and would not come in, and yield obedience. Which nation likewise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battel, and that the Boians were so scared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted themselves. At the same time the letters of the Consul, containing their happy affairs in France, were brought to Rome. *M. Sergius* the Pretor of the City first read them in the Senat, and afterwards by the advice of the Senate, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a procession was decreed for the space of four daies.

Now was winter come, and whilst *T. Quintus* after the winning of *Elatis*, wintered his armies in divers harbors within *Phœcia* and *Loeria*, there arose a mutiny in *Opus*. The one faction sent for the *Ætolians* their near neighbours to side with them: and the other for the Romans. The *Ætolians* came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched a messenger to the Roman General, they held the Town until his coming. The Kings garrison kept the fortresse, neither could they be brought to abandon it either with the menaces of the Opuntians, or the authority and countenance of the Roman commander. The only let and stay why it was not immediately assailed was this: Because there was come an herald from the King, requesting time and place of a parley, which with much ado was granted to the King: not because *Quintus* of him self was not detestous and wished that he might be thought to have ended this war, either by force of arms or conditions of peace: for as yet he knew not whether one of the new Consuls should be sent to succeed him, or his government continued still unto him (according as he had given his friends and kinsfolks in charge to bring that about by all the endeavour and means that he could make:) but he supposed verily, that this parley would be to good purpose for him, if it might use in his liberty to drive matters unto war if he stayed still, or draw to a peace if he departed home. So upon the third and fourth of the gulf *Males*, they chose a place near unto *Nicæa*, Thither

A Thither came the King by water from *Demetrias* with five brigantines or pinnaces, and one ship of war with a brais beak-head. There accompanied him the chief L. of *Macedonia*, and *Cycladas* a noble personage of great mark among the *Achaëans*, and one that was from thence banished. With the Roman General were King *Aminander*, *Dionysidorus* an Ambassador of King *Attalus*, and *Agessibrenis* Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, *Phœneas* the chief and principal Magistrat of the *Ætolians*, and two *Achaëans* *Arifthenus* and *Xenophon*. The Roman General in the midst of these, advanced himself forward to the edge of the very shore, even to the bank side, whilst the King came forward to the foredeck of his ship standing at anchor: and thus he began and laid unto the King: "Sir, you may do better to come ashore that we may commune and confer together, the close, and both speak and hear one another more easily. The King refused to do so: and why not quoth B. "Quintus, who is it that you fear if a man may know? Then with an haughty spirit and kinglike: I fear none (quoth he) but the immortal Gods; but I trust not the fidelity of all that I see here about you, and name's, the *Ætolians* least of all other. Why (saith Quintus again) this is the common care of all them that come to parly with enemies; namely, to be in danger once of another. Yea marry, quoth the King, but by your leave *Quintus*, the price and recompence of treachery and falsehood (if it should come to that) is not all one for killing *Philip* and *Phœneas*: for the *Ætolians* should not find it so hard a matter to substitute another Pretor, as the *Macedonians* "to create another King in my room. This said, there was not a word more to the point: while the Roman General thought it reason that he should begin who sought for a parley; and if the King supposed it meet that it was his part to speak first who should give conditions, and not for him C. that stood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then *Quintus* began and said, that his speech should be plain and simple: for he would say no more, but propound only those points, which if they might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. First, that the King must withdraw his garrisons out of all the Cities of Greece. Item, That he is to deliver up all the prisoners and luggage reverts that he hath, unto the allies of the people of Rome. Item, That he restore again to the Romans all those pieces in *Illyria*, when after the peace concluded in *Epirus*, he had seized upon. Last of all, that he surrender unto *Prolemæus* King of *Ægypt*, all those Cities which he possessed himself of after the death of *Prolemæus Philopator*. These (saith he) are the conditions, that I must the people of Rome do demand: but meet it is besides, that you hear the demands about you. Then the Ambassador or agent for King *Attalus* required, that the Ships D. and captives which had been taken in the Sea-fight before *Chios*, should be rendered, and that *Niocepharus* and the Temple of *Pennus*, which he had pillaged and spoiled, should be restored as good and entire, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claim to *Persea* (a country in the continent right over against their Isle, and an ancient appurtenance of their Seignory) and demanded whither, that the garrisons should quit *Lysia*, *Bargylla*, and the City of the *Eurocedonians*, and about *Hesperonius*, likewise the Cities of *Sesio* and *Aydos*. Item, that *Tanapolis* should be restored unto the *Byzantines*, with the ancient charter of their franchises and liberties. Finally, that all the Merchant Towns and Ports in *Asia* might be freed from paying custom. Then came upon him the *Achaëans*, and challenged *Corinthus* and *Argi* as their own. After them, when as *Phœneas* (the Pretor of the *Ætolians*) had demanded in a manner the same that the Romans had before; E. namely, that the Kings forces should depart out of Greece, adding moreover, that those Cities should be rendered unto the *Ætolians* which in times past belonged to their dominion and jurisdiction: then one of the heads of the *Ætolians* named *Alexander*, an eloquent man among them, as any other, presently inferred and said: "That he had a long time listened still, and opened not his mouth, not because he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or conclusion, but for that he would not interrupt any of his allies in their speech. And as for *Philip*, quoth he, he doleth not foundly and bona fide in treaties of peace, no more than ever heretofore: he hath managed his wars with virtue and true valour. For in all these parleys and conferences he layeth trains, and lieth to catch advantages: in war he never striketh a battail in plain field, nor cometh to close fight hand to hand; but in his retreats and flights, burneth and sacketh Cities and fortresses: and thus bring himself vanquished, spoileth and maketh havock of that which by right is the due reward and recompence of conquerors. But the noble *Macedonian* Kings in old-time, took no such courses. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to spare Cities and Towns, all that ever possibly they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wealthy and puissant. For what kind of policy is it, for him to ruin and destroy utterly that about the "possession whereof he is in question, and relieve nothing for himself but only war? This *Philip* "the year past hath laid desolate in *Theffalie* more Cities of his allies there, than all the enemies have done that ever *Theffalie* had: and hath taken more from the *Ætolians* themselves, while he was a confederate friend with them, than all the time that he was their professed enemy. He hath seized upon *Lysimachia*, expelled their Pretor, and chased out the garrison of the *Ætolians*. G. *Chior* also, a City under his own subjection he hath raised, inverted and quite destroyed. By memorable falsehood and deceit he is possessed of * *Thebes* in *Phœbia*, *Ecberrum*, *Larissa*, and *Phœnada*. *Philip* hath led and galled at these words of *Alexander*, commanded that his ship should approach nearer to the bank, to the end that himself might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter invectives against the *Achaëans* principally, *Phœneas* cut him off, saying, That the quarrel was not to be decided by word, but with the sword: and either he must win it by mere force, or yield obedience to the mightier. That is true, quoth *Philip*, and so evident, that a blind man may see it: telling;

* For distinction sake, the word *Thebes* is used, to signify the City of *Phœbia*, and not the City of *Theffalie*.

jetting merily at *Phœnæ*, who was troubled with a pair of bad eyes. And given he was by nature H
to be pleasantly conceited, yea, and fuller of his frumps, I wot than beleemed the Majesty of a
King: so as many times even in treaty of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not
forbear but make himself merry and laugh a good while. "Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and
"indignation, that the *Ætolians* should take upon them like Romans to command him out of
"Greece, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set down the bounds
"of Greece & limit how far it reached. For almost as the *Agreï*, the *Apodotes* and *Amphiloichi*,
"of Greece & limit how far it reached. For almost as the *Agreï*, the *Apodotes* and *Amphiloichi*,
"which take up a great part of *Ætolia* are not within Greece. And what just cause (quoth he) of
"complaint have they, in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves
"hold this old custom for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take arms and serve against
"their own allies, so they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very I
"often a man may see *Ætolians* in contrary armies, & come to aid as well the one side as the other.
"As for *Chim*, it was not I that forced it: I did no more but aid *Præfius* my friend and ally, in the
"siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lysimachia*, I defended it against the *Thracians*: but
"for almost as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this war, the *Thraci-*
"ans now hold it. Thus much by way of answer to the *Ætolians*. Now concerning *Atalua* and
"the *Rhodiens*, by right I owe them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the war.
"Howbeit, for the honor that I bear to the Romans, I will make restitution to the *Rhodiens* of
"Pera, and restore I will to *Atalua* the ships and the captives as many as are forth coming
"may be found. As for the restitution and making good again of *Nicephorium* and the Temple of
"Venus, what answer should I return to them that demand it, but this, that I will endeavour and K
"be at charge of planting new trees (which is the only way and means whereby groves and
"woods that are cut down and fallen, may be recovered again) seeing that ye will needs have it,
"that Kings (forsooth) must commune and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In
"the last place, he framed his speech to answer the *Achaïans*: wherein, first he began with the
"benefits and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation: then, of the favours and good
"turns they had received from his own self: and with all he commanded their decrees and edicts
"to be read, containing all kind of honors as well divine as human: adding moreover the late
"and fresh revolve of their army from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloy-
"alty and treachery, yet he promised to render *Argos* unto them, as for *Corinth*, he would con-
"fer and consult with the Roman General, and demand of him, whether he thought it reason L
"that he should depart from those cities which he won by arms, and held by right of conquest, or
"dispose himself of those also, which he received from his progenitors as his lawful inheri-
"tance? The *Achaïans* and *Ætolians* addressed themselves to answer those points: but the issue
"was wellnigh down: whereupon the conference was adjourned until the morrow. *Philip* retired
"to the harbor from whence he came and the Roman, with their allies to their camp. The day fol-
"lowing, *Quintus* at the time appointed was ready before the City of *Næves* (for that was thought
"a convenient place,) But *Philip* appeared not: nor for the space of certain hours came there any
"at all from him, not so much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repair
"thither, behold of a sudden his ships were detected. For himself he said by way of excuse, that
"considering how hard, how grievous and intolerable indignities were imposed upon him, he had
"employed all that day time until then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally
"thought among them all, that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even to-
"ward evening, because the *Achaïans* and *Ætolians* should have no leisure to answer unto him.
"And this opinion of theirs himself confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parly
"with the Roman General himself, and that all others should go aside and absent themselves: to
"the end they two might spend and lose no more time in debate and wrangling, but go briefly to
"the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted
"by *Quintus*, pretending that he would not have it seen that the allies were excluded out of the
"conference. But afterwards upon his importunitie by the advice of them all the Roman Ge-
"neral together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonel, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward
"to the bank side: the King with the other two whom he had with him the day before came a land, N
"There after they had parted in secret together a certain time, they parted. What *Philip* related
"unto his company is not certainly known: but *Quintus* made report unto his allies of their con-
"ference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quit the whole coast and tract of *Ilyri-*
"cum, for the Romans to enter upon. Item, to send back all the traitorous renegats, and as many
"captives as were to be found. Item, to redeliver unto *Atalua* the ships and the mariners taken
"prisoners therein. Item, to render unto the *Rhodiens* the country of *Pera*: but in no wise to be
"difficult of *Iussus* and *Beryllæ*. Item, to deliver unto the *Ætolians* *Phœsalus* and *Larissa*, but not
"Thebes in any case. Last of all, to part not only with *Argos*, but with *Corinth* also, for the behoof
"of the *Achaïans*. There was not one of them all well pleased at this limitation and forcing out of par-
"ticular parts, which he would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckoning & account O
"they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) he remove his forces and garri-
"sons out of all Greece throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrel. As they all
"cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voyce was heard of *Philip*, albeit he
"stood aloof. Whereupon he requested *Quintus* to refer the whole matter once more unto the next
"day: and then certainly without fail, he would either perswade him and his allies and bring them to

A to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himself to be perswaded and over-ruled by them.
The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand near *Thronium*: and thither they repaired
on both parts betimes. There *Philip* first and foremost, be sought both *Quintus* and all those that
were present, not to disturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to some effect: and in con-
clusion, craved time wherein he might lend his Embassadors unto the Senat of *Rome*: assuring
them, that if he could not obtain peace under those allies above said, he would accept of any other
conditions, which it should please the Senat to put upon him. All the rest milked hereof, sup-
posing that he sought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, whiles he might gather his
forces together. But *Quintus* inferred again, That well it might be and a truth indeed that they
alleged, if it were summer time and a season fit for war and martial exploits: but now, consider-
ing winter was at hand, they could lose nothing by granting him respite to address an embassy.
For neither (quod he) will any capitulation and composition which we should make with *Philip*
for neither (quod he) will any capitulation and composition which we should make with *Philip*
without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of neces-
sity we must for cause from war) it may be known what the Senat by their authority will ap-
prove. To this advice the chief of the confederates accorded, and therein rested. So there was a
cessation of arms for two months granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each
of them likewise should dispatch one Embassador to advertise the Senat to take heed they were
not over-raught by the subtilty and fraud of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the
truce afore said, That incontinently the Kings garriisons should void the territories of *Phœgia* and
Laecis, *Quintus* alio himself sent (together with the Embassadors of the allies) *Antiochus* King
of the *Attamans*: and to make the embassy more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his own wives sisters son) *Q. Fabius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the King.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, the Embassadors of the allies had audience given them be-
fore those that were sent from King *Philip*. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the
King: but in this one point they most of all moved the Senat to give ear unto them, namely, when
they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of the countries as well by Land as
Sea, that all might plainly see, that if the King might hold in his hands the City *Demetrias*
in *Thessalie*, *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, and *Corinth* in *Achaïa*, Greece could not possibly be at liberty, con-
sidering that *Philip* himself was wont to term them (no less truly than tauntingly.) The shackles
and fetters of Greece. After them were the Kings Embassadors permitted to enter into the Se na-
tional: and having begun to make a long Oration, their speech was cut off with this one brief and
short interrogatory, Whether *Philip* would quit those three Cities afore said, or no? Where-
unto they made this answer, That they had no express warrant in their commission touching that
matter by name. So the Kings Embassadors were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and
Quintus had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by
this, that the Senat was not weary of war, and being himself more desirous of victory than peace,
he would never alter grant *Philip* any more parties, but gave him to understand, that he would
admit no other embassy from him, but that which should bring him news of his departure
quite out of Greece.

Philip seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a main bat-
tail, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed most of all for
the Cities of *Achaïa* (a country far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of *Argi*
than *Corinth*: he thought it best policy to make it over (as it were upon trust) into the hands of
Nabis the tyrant of the *Lacedæmonians*, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, *Nabis*
should deliver it up unto him again: but if ought should come to him but well then *Nabis* him-
self to have and hold it as his own. Unto *Philotes*, Governor of *Corinth* and *Argi*, he dispatched
his letters, That he should himself in person commune with the tyrant above-named about it.
Philotes, besides that he came now with a present, added moreover of his own head (for the
better assurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King) That *Philip* would give his
daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his sons. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that City,
unless he were sent for, by a decree of the *Argives* themselves to come for to aid the City.
But afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequent assembly there, they not only rejected him, but
also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abomination: supposing
now that he had a good occasion and quarrel offered to make a spoil of them he willed *Philotes*
to deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the
night season, without the privacy and knowledge of any person: and by break of day he seized up-
on all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few of the principal heads in the begin-
ning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses ransacked
and their goods piled: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them:
besides, great sums of money were imposed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and
were not long about it, but tendered ready coin, were let go without any outrage or hurt done
unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled
and tortured like bondslaves. After this, he assembled the people together and published
two Laws: the one, for crossing all debt-bonds and cancelling obligations: the other, for divi-
sion of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to set their turn that seek for
change and alteration in a State: enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chief
of a City.

When the City of *Argos* was thus brought in subjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remitting at whole hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent Embassadors to *Elatis* unto *Quintus*, likewise to *Atineus* winning then in *Egina*, certifying them, That *Argos* was in his hands and as his devotion; and if *Quintus* would repair thither to parle with him, he doubted not but they two should agree well enough in every point. *Quintus* granted to come thither to the end, that by this means he might disfigure *Philip* of that garrison: and he sent likewise to *Antiochus*, willing him, that he would depart from *Egina*, and meet him at *Sicyone*: himself looked from *Antiochus*, and with ten Galeaces called *Quinquereines*: which (as hap was) *L. Quintus* his brother some dayes before had put to sea out of the winning harbor of *Corycia*, crossed over to *Sicyone*. Now was *Atineus* there already, who making remembrance unto *Quintus*, That it behooved a tyrant to come unto a Roman General, and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced *Quintus* to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of *Argos*. Not far from the City is a place called *Mycon*, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintus* came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. *Atineus* was guarded with his Princely and Royal train. *Nabis* the Pretor of the Achazans repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliary souldiers: and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guard likewise armed he advanced himself into the midst (well near) of the plain that lay between. *Quintus* unarmed came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King *Atineus* likewise between the Pretor of the Achazans of the one hand and a courour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speech with an exorde. That being in arms and attend with a guard of armed men, he presented himself to a parle, seeing the General of the Romans and King *Atineus* unarmed: and said that he stood not in fear of them, but of certain exiled persons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of amity, *Quintus* the General demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with the Achazans: the other, That he would lend with him certain aids against *Philip*. And verily to send incurr he granted: and in lieu of peace he was content there should be a truce, until the war with *Philip* was dispatched. Also about *Argos* King *Atineus* began to enter into some question saying, That having the City treacherously betrayed unto him by *Philetes*, he would bid by force of arms, but he answered again, That he was sent for by the Argives themselves, for to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereof. The King replied again, that the assembly should be free, and at their liberty to speak, and to that effect the garrisons were to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedemonians intermingled among them: to the end that the Argives might frankly speak their mind. But the tyrant stoutly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no conclusion, and the conference brake up, after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 6000 Candians, and a truce made for the term of four monthes, between *Nicias* Pretor of the Achazans, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. From thence *Quintus* departed to Corinth, and appeared the gate with a Regiment of Cretenians, that it might appear to *Philetes* the Kings Captain, here that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philetes* also entered into a parle with the Roman General, and when he was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yeeld the City, he returned him an answer unto him, that he seemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From Corinth *Quintus* crossed the Sea to *Antiochus*, from whence he sent his brother to found the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Atineus* departed directly from *Argos* to *Sicyone*. Where the City not only encreased the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new: but also the King over and besides that he had purchased for them in time past the sacred land of *Apollon*, with a great sum of money, because he would not item now also to pay by this sacred City allied unto him, without some royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them six talents of silver, and 10000 Medims of corn: and to returned to his ships at *Cenchrea*. *Nabis* also having strengthened the garrison in *Argos*, returned to *Lacedemon*: and after himself had robbed the men of their money and goods, he sent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who sending for the honourable and worshipful dames of the City, inviting them one by one to their house, and otherwiles many together at once, such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatening gat from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end stripped off their apparel also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

The three and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and thirtieth Book.

It was *Quintus Flaminius* the Pro-consul, Lendeth the war with *Philip*, after he had vanquished him in a pigon field near *Cynocephalus* in Thessalie. L. *Quintus Flaminius*, brother to the said Pro-consul.

A consul having forced *Leucas* the head City of *Acarnania*, received the *Acarnanians* upon their submission and surrender. C. Sempronius Tuditanus the Pretor was slain, and his army defeated by the *Celebrierians*. *Attalus* being fallen suddenly sick, was removed from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, and there departed this life. Peace was granted to *Philip* upon his suit, and liberty restored to Greece. L. Furius and C. Claudius Marcellus, the two Consuls, subdued the *Bonari* and *L. Iulians* in Gaul, Marcellus triumphed. Annibal having practised in Africa to raise wars, but to no effect, was thereupon turned into the Romans, by letters sent from the principal of the adverse faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had dispatched their Embassadors to the *Carthaginian* Sea, about him, he fled into *Antiochus* King of Syria, who also prepared them to make war upon the Romans.

B The beginning is not extant in the Latine.

adjoining in those quarters to *Acarnania*. There was a straight pass or gullet there, half a mile almost in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this straight standeth the City *Leucas* planted against an hill that turneth to the East, and looketh toward *Acarnania*. The balle Town is built upon a plain, reaching along the sea that divideth *Leucas* from *Acarnania*. Whereupon the City, as well on the land side, as by sea, is easily to be forced. For the floods of the water resemble a standing lake rather than a Sea, and the whole soil is a light earth, minable and easy to be wrought into, so that in many places at once the walls either undermined or shaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the Town itself was assailable, so the hearts of the Townsmen were invincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the shaken wall, to fill up the open breaches and runs to make head intilly and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to save themselves by strength of their walls. And surely a longer siege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped but that certain banished persons, *Italians* born, dwelling in *Leucas* let in and received armed souldiers on the Cattle side. Howbeit, the *Leucadians* embattelling themselves in their market place, encountered them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battle with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in divers places were faced with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of stones that lay at the breaches, entered the Town. And now by this time the Lieutenant in person, with many companies environed them as they fought: some slain in the midst, others flung away their weapons, and yeilded to the conquerour. After few dayes, upon the news of the held fought at *Cynocephalus*, all the States of *Acarnania* came in, and submitted themselves to the Lieutenant.

At the same time, whiles fortune turned thus about, and bare down a tide all at once, the *Rhodians* also sent out *Panfilatus* their Pretor with 300 footmen of *Achaia*: & about 1900 souldiers well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regain and recover from the country of *Peres*, lying in the main and firm land, which had been held some time, and possessed by their ancestors. And these aids were compounded and mixed of French Nilites, *Piutes*, *Tanians*, and *Aracons* of *Affrick*, and *Lardicans* of *Achaia*. With these forces *Panfilatus* encamped in the territory of *Syracena*, and there he seized on a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, unwares to the Kings company that had hidden the same. Thither came also to aid them in very good time, a Regiment of a 1000 foot and a 100 horse of *Achazans*, levied for that purpose, and were commanded by *Democritus*. *Democritus* a Captain under the King, willing to recover the said hold again, first pitched his tents, and against the enemies camp. But afterwards he removed to another fort in the territory likewise of *Syracena*, which they call *Agrion*: and having rallied together all the garrisons dispersed alunder in divers places, and sent for the auxiliary bands also of the *Thessalians*, even from *Syracena*, he took his way and marched toward *Aladada*, where the enemies were. The *Rhodians* likewise for their part were ready for battle, and after they were encamped of both sides neer together, immediately they entered into the field to fight it out. *Democritus* placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the *Agrians* he put in the left in the main battle, he bestowed all those that he had gathered together out of the garrisons belonging to the forts above said, who for the most part were *Carians*, the points he flanked round about with his cornets of Horse. The *Rhodian* cohort was marshalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candians and *Thracians* kept the right point, the hired souldiers (and they were a power of elect footmen) stood in the left, in the midst were the aids (a mixture of many nations:) the Cavalry and all the light armed souldiers that were, compassed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies stood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some loose shot discharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and struck a battail exceeding the proportion of their numbers: for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even matched not in number only and armour, but also in equal courage and noise alike. The *Achaz* first passed over the said brook, and charged upon the *Agrians*: afterwards the whole army ran as one would fly, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful, The *Achaz* being of themselves in number a thousand, disordered some four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat, and afterwards the entire right point of the battail began to shrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians so long as their battail called *Phalans* kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be stirred or removed; but after their left side was laid naked, and they began

* In token
that they were
by him freed
from captivity.

that place, yea, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned personages, he would triumph, and aske them no leave, in the mount *Alban*. But *Cn. Cornelius* whilst he was still in office triumphed over the *Inibrians* and *Cænonians*. He carried in pomp before him a number of military enigns: he caused great store of French spoil and pillage to pais in a pageant upon chariots taken from the enemies. Many Noblemen of *Etræce* were led in a shew before his own triumphant chariot: among whom (as some write) was *Amilcar* General of the *Carthaginians*. But above all others, the goodliest sight was, a number of Coloners and inhabitants of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, who with their bones or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 237500 Selveires, 79000 Bigats of silver coin. He divided among his horiemen seventeen *Asles* apiece, to every horfman he gave double, and to each Centurion trebble so much. *Q. Minucius* likewise triumphed in mount *Alban* over the *Ligurians* and the *Boians* in *Gaul*. The honour of this triumph as it was less, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his acts, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common Chest or Chamber of the City: so for number of enigns, of chariots and spoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equal, and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well-near as much as *Cornelius*: for of brals coin he had in shew 254000 *Asles*, of silver coin in Bigat peeces 53200. To common souldiers or footmen, to Centurions and horfmen, he gave as much as his Colleague. After this triumph there was a general assembly held for the election of Magistrates: wherein were created Consuls, *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after these Prætors were chosen, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *M. Atilius Glabrio*, *L. C. Calpurnius Piso*, and *C. Calpurnius*.

In the end of that former year, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battell ranged with King *Philip* within *Theffaly*, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. These letters were first read in the Senat by *Sergius* the Prætor, and then by order from the LL. in the publique assembly of the people. For this happy success, it was ordained, That there should be solemn processions for five daies. Shortly after, there arrived Embassadors both from *T. Quintius*, and also from the King. The Macedonian Embassadors were brought without the City to the place or hamlet called *Vila publica* where they were appointed their lodging: rich presents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themselves and their train. In the Temple of *Bellona* the Senat was assembled, where they passed not many words by reason that the Macedonians promised, That the King should perform whatsoever the Senat would set down. So (according to the ancient custome and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegates, by whose advice and counsel *T. Quintius* the General, was to present and tender unto *Philip* articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of Delegates, *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Valerius* should be comprised by name; who when they were Consuls governed the Province of *Macedony*. The same day, the Consuls demanded and made suit, That the number of their Coloners or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon an order was granted. That there should be a thousand new enrolled to the former: with this proviso, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who after the Consulship of *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* had been enemies to the people of *Rome*. The Roman games and plaies were that year exhibited as well in the *Circus* as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the *Ædiles Curule* *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*: which, as they were let out with more state and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy, contentment and pleasure, in regard that all things fell out so fortunately in the wars; and they were renewed and replenished all thrice over. As for the plaies called *Plebeis*, they were let forth no less than seven times one after another. *Atilius Glabrio* and *C. Calpurnius* exhibited those plaies: who also of their silver that arose of fines and forfeitures, caused three cast images of brals to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*, *Libera*, and *Libera*.

Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entred into their Magistracy, and after question made concerning their Provinces, the Senat passed a decree, That both of them jointly should govern *Italy*: they requested that they might call lots for *Macedony* and *Italy* together. *N. Marcellus* more desirous of the wain of the Province of *Macedony*, alleged, that the peace was not found but counterfeited, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the King would take arms and war again, in case the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senat into a deep study and suspence, what to do, or to think of it. And haply the Consuls had obtained their request, but that *Q. Marcius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two Tribunes of the Commons, protested, that they would oppose themselves and crois it by their negative voice, unless they might first propose unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleasure was to enter-tain peace with King *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitoll before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, *Ut rogassent* [i.e. So be it as ye demanded.] And to the end, that all men might have more cause to rejoyce that peace was confirmed with *Macedony*, there came heavy news out of *Spain*, and letters were divulged abroad concerning the same much, That *C. Sappianus Tuditanus* the Vice-Prætor in the hither Province of *Spain*, was vanquished in battell, that his army was discomfited and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark slain. That *Tuditanus* himself was carried forth of the conflict grievously wounded, and soon after died. The Province of *Italy* was assigned for both the Consuls with those two legions which the former Consuls had in charge, and order

A order granted, that they should levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two should be sent whither it pleased the Senat to appoint, And *T. Quintius Flamininus* was commanded to rule his Province till with the same army, and his Commission of longer government was renewed. After this, the Prætors call lots for the parting of their Provinces. *L. Apulcius Fullo* obtained the jurisdiction of the Citizens of *Rome*, and *M. Atilius Glabrio* was Chief Justice between Citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the bair or farther *Spain*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither *Spain*. To *C. Calpurnius Piso*, and *Sardinia* to *S. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the Provinces in *Spain* befall, the Consuls should out of those four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apiece, which they thought good and of allies and of the Latine nation, four thousand footmen besides, and three hundred horfmen to either of them. And these Prætors were enjoined to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The war in *Spain* began afeish, in the fifth after that the former together with the Punick war was ended. But before that these Prætors went forth to this war: (which may be counted as it were new, in regard that the *Spaniards* now first, and never before, waited in their own proper name, without either leader or army of *Carthage*.) and before that the Consuls themselves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old custome they should provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported. *L. Fulvius* he rode on horseback into the Sabins country, was both himself and his horle under him smitten dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territory of *Capena*, was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the Temple of *C. Moneta*, the Iron heads of two peares were sent to burn on a light fire. A Wolf slipped to enter into the City at the gate *Esgulma* and ran through the most populous part thereof as far as unto the market place, and so forward to the Tufan street, and from thence through the *Mælum*, and paid forth again at the gate *Capena* unto the sea, and in manner without taking any harm.

These prodigious signs were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the Province of high *Spain* before *Tuditanus*, entred the City by order from the Senat in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in billion 20000 pound weight: and in coin 34550 deniers. *L. Stertinius* from the nether *Spain*, brought into the treasury 50000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles won from the enemies, he caused two arches to be erected in the beast market, even before the Temple of *Fortuna* and the goddess *Munat*: and one besides in the grand Cirque or shew-place. And upon these arches he set up gilded Statues, These were all the affairs, to speak of that passed this winter-season.

There wintered at that time in *Athen* *Quintius*. And among many other suiters that came unto him with their petitions, the *Bæotians* exhibited a request, and obtained the same, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the wars under *Philip*, might be restored and sent home again unto them: which was easily granted by *Quintius*, not so much, for that he thought them worthy of that favour, but because he was to win the love and affections of the States in *Greece* unto the Roman name, now especially that he had some doubt of King *Antiochus*. They were not delivered to soon, but seen it was, how little the *Bæotians* would be beholding to him for it. For they sent presently unto *Philip*, and gave him thanks for the rendering of those men, as if they had been delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the Romans. And in their next assembly generally for their solemn election, they chose one *Bæulius* for their Bæotarches, or Lord governor of *Bæotia*: for no other reason, but because he had been the Colenell of those *Bæotians* that bare arms for the King: but they passed by *Zenippus*, *Phlegon*, and others, that had perswaded to make a league with the Romans. This wrought discontentment in these persons for the present, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, If they would do thus while the Roman army lay encamped near to their gates, what should become of them when the Romans were departed into *Italy*, and whilst *Philip* was so near at hand to assist those that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they conspired and concluded in the end to make away *Bæulius* the head of the Kings bend, whilst the Roman forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpose, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publique solemn feast, accompanied with certain pleasant and effeminate persons who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast: as he was tormented and beset with six armed men, whereof three were Italians, and three *Ætolians* and so murdered. His train that attended him ran away, and raised hue and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were elapsed out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number assembled in the Theater, being called together by the voice of the common Bædle. as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even those filthy wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed *Zenippus* the author of the murder. For the present it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they should be examined. Whilst search was made for them, *Zenippus* came forth into the assembly with the like intent to avert all suspicion of crime from himself, saying, that men were much deceived to think, that so horrible and strange a murder was committed by such weaklings & persons as they were.

M m m :

This

This he argued and discouraged by many likelihoods and probabilities to the same effect; by which means some were very perfwaded, that if himself had been guilty of the fact, he would never have offered and preiented himself in the face of the assembly, or broached any words at all of the murder, especially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were again, who made no doubt, but by this impudent face his drift was to prevent an accusation, and to turn away all suspicion from himself. The innocent and guileless creatures within a while after being examined upon the rack and tortured, knowing what was the general opinion and conceit of men, made their uie of the fame for to bolt out and reveal the fact; and so they named *Zenippus* and *Pisistratus* for the principals; without any presumption or light given how they should seem to come to the knowledge of any thing. Howbeit *Zenippus* accompanied with one *Stratonidas* fled by night to *Tanagra*, fearing the remorse and prick of his own conscience more than the appeaching and information of those persons who neither were party nor privy to any thing. But *Pisistratus* making no regard of those accusers, remained still at *Thebes*. Now had *Zenippus* one bondslave, (whose hand was in all this action, and had been a courier between) whom *Pisistratus* feared that he would betray him, and by that very fear caused him to open and declare the whole matter. He dispatched therefore his letters unto *Zenippus*, advising him to rid that slave out of the way, who was privy to their dealing; advertising him, that in his conceit he was not to meet to conceal the thing now done, as he was a fit instrument at the time to execute the same. The bearer of these letters he straightly charged to deliver them unto *Zenippus* immediately with all speed. But he, because he could not pay a convenient time to meet with him himself, gave the letters to the very same slave, whom he supposed to be most fait and truly to his Master: adding moreover, and saying, That they came from *Pisistratus* unto *Zenippus*, and imported matter of great consequence. The bond slave promised to deliver them incontinently, but being touched in conscience, he was so bold as to break them open; and when he had read them through, he fled back in great fear to *Thebes* (where he betrayed *Pisistratus*). *Zenippus* troubled in spirit for the flight of his bondman, retired himself to *Athens*, supposing it a place of more security to live in, as a banished man. As for *Pisistratus*, after he had been divers times examined upon the rack, was put to death in the end. This murder wondrously estranged the Thebans and Boeotians, and let their hearts against the Romans; in so much as they hated and detested them to death, taking great indignation that *Zenippus* (a principal and chief personage of their nation) had committed so foul and heinous a fact. To rebel in open terms, they had neither force sufficient to maintain them, nor a principall head to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next cousin to plain war, even to thieving and robbing by the high waies side, in such sort, as they surprized as well some soldiers who lodged near unto them, and were their guests, as others that wandered and ranged abroad from the garriſons in winter time, and travelled about their affairs, who otherwhiles were caught up by the way, and came short home. Some passengers were killed in the port-road-waies, by those that lay in wait for them in notorious thievery corners; others were trained and led deceitfully through by-lanes into desert places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdered. At length they plaid these pranks, not only of malice unto them, but also for greedy desire of booty and spoil, by reason that commonly these wandering men went about their trade and merchandise, and therefore had some charge about them, and carried silver in their belts. Now when as at first there were some out of the way, and every day more than other many men missing, and no man knew what was become of them, all *Boeotia* began to have an ill name, and the soldiers were more afraid to travell there, than in the enemies country. Then *Quintus* sent certain Embassadors to all the Cities for to make complaint of these robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the mear or lake *Copis*, where their carriages were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawn out of the standing water, tied and fastned as they were to heavy stones or some great vessels, that by their poise they might be plunged, and sink to the bottom. Many such like outrages were found to have been committed at *Acræpea* and *Coronea*. *Quintus* at the first demanded to have the offenders delivered unto him, and for five hundred soldiers (for so many were caught up by the way and murdered) he enjoyed the Boeotians to make payment of five hundred talents of silver. But the Cities would do neither the one nor the other: only they paid with bare words, and excused themselves in that nothing had been done by publick warrant or counsell from the State. Whereupon the Embassadors were sent to *Athens*, and into *Achaia*, to make protestation unto their allies, that they would pursue the Boeotians with open war, upon good ground and just cause offered. And so after he had given commandment unto *P. Claudius* to go unto *Acræpea* with one part of his forces, himself with the other let him down about *Coronea*, and planted siege untire. But first the territory was laid waste, all the way as the two armies marched from *Elania* in divers quarters. The Boeotians plagued with these losses and calamities, seeing nothing but fear and flight in every place, sent their Embassadors unto him: but when they could not be admitted into the camp, the Achæans and the Athenians were fain to come with them. The Achæans were of greater credit, to entreat in their behalf: for unless they might obtain pardon and peace for the Boeotians, they determined also to enter into the quarrel, and to make war themselves. By whose mediation the Boeotians had access unto the Roman General, and audience granted. Who after they were enjoined to deliver up the offenders and malefactors to Justice, and to pay thirty talents for amends and satisfaction, obtained peace: and so the siege was raised.

After

A After some few daies, the ten Delegates or Committees from *Rome* were arrived, by whose advice and counsell peace was articulated and capitulated with King *Philip* upon these conditions: *Annexum*, That all the Greek Cities, as well in *Europe* as in *Asia*, should enjoy their liberty, and live under their own laws. *Item*, That *Philip* should withdraw his garriſons out of as many of them as had been in subjection under him. *Item*, That he do the like by those which were in *Asia* to wit, *Ewromos*, *Pedasa*, *Bargylla*, *Iaffus*, *Myrina*, *Nidus*, *Teaffus*, and *Perinthus*: all which the Romans required to be free. As concerning the liberty and freedom of the *Cyades*, it was covenanted, That *Quintus* should write his letters to *Prusias* the King of *Bithynians*, giving him to understand the advice and pleasure of the Senat, and the ten Delegates, to wit, *Item*, That *Philip* render all the prisoners and fugitive traitors to the Romans, and yield up all the covered ships with hatches: and over and besides, one huge royall Gallie or Argosley, which by reason of the exceeding bigness was unweildy and of little uie, and was directed with sixteen bales of oars on the side. *Item*, That he should not have above five hundred men in arms, nor one Elephant at all, *Item*, That he should not war (but by leave and permission of the Senat) without the marches of *Macedonia*. *Item*, That he pay unto the people of *Rome* a thousand talents, the one half in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the term of ten years. *Valerius Antias* writeth moreover, that there was imposed upon him a tribute of four thousand pound weight of silver yearly, for ten years: and besides, twenty thousand pound weight presently. The same author faith that expressly it was capitulated, that *Philip* should not war at all with *Eumenes* the son of *Attalus*, who was newly come to the crown. For the assurance of these covenantes, there were received hostages, and amongst them *Demetrius* King *Philip* his son. *Valerius Antias* hath written moreover, that the Island *Aegina*, and certain Elephants were given in pure gift to *Attalus* in his absence: and that upon the Rhodians was bestowed *Stratonicea* a City in *Caria*, with other Cities also which *Philip* had possessed. To conclude, that the Athenians received of free gift these Isles following to wit, *Paros*, *Ambrós*, *Delos*, and *Seyros*.

When all the States of *Greece* approved and thought well of this peace, only the *Ætolians* secretly muttered & found fault with this order let down by ten Delegates above-aid giving out, that they were but bare letters and vain words, shadowed with a counterfeit appearance of liberty. For to what end, say they, should some Cities be delivered to the Romans, and those not named? others again be named, and yet order taken, that they without delivery should be free? but only for this purpose, that those Cities which are in *Asia* should be set free, because they be far off, and therefore in more safety; but those that are in *Greece*, being not precisely named, should be seized upon by them to wit, *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Oreum*, with *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*. And to lay a crutch, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivolous, and without occasion given: for some doubt there was of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: because in the order and act of the Senat, by vertue whereof those ten Delegates aforeaid were sent from the City, all other Cities of *Asia* and of *Greece* were doubtless in plain terms freed: but as touching these three before named, the Delegates had in commission to take order, as they should see it stand with the good of the Common-wealth, according to their own judgment and discretion, and the trust that was committed unto them. For well they wist that King *Antiochus* would pass over into *Europe*, so soon as ever he could bring his affairs about to his mind, and unwilling they were on any hand, that these Cities so commodious for his designs, should lie open and ready to his hand for to lieze upon at his pleasure. So *Quintus* together with the ten Delegates sailed from *Elania* to *Antiochia*, and from thence to *Corinth*, where they held their Council and consulted of their affairs. *Quintus* would very often say unto them, That all *Greece* might be delivered and set at liberty, if they could refrain the tongues of the *Ætolians*: if they were willing that their good affection should be deemed sincere, and the majesty of the Roman name maintained among all: finally, if they would pretend and make it known abroad, that they were called the seas to let *Greece* free, and not after they had taken off the signory of *Philip* to translate it unto themselves. The other again contradicted nothing as touching the liberty of those Cities: howbeit, they made remembrance, that it was the later course for them, to remain awhile under the protection and safeguard of the Romans than that instead of *Philip* they should receive *Antiochus* for their Lord. In conclusion decreed it was, that *Corinth* should be rendered to the Achæans, but yet so, that there should be a Roman garriſon in the highest quarter of the City called *Acræopolis*. *Item*, That *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be retained still, untill such time as they were no more in fear and doubt of *Antiochus*.

Now approached the ordinary solemnity of the Isthmian games, unto which at all times naturally there was great recourse of people, as well in regard of the natural disposition of that nation (desirous to see such sports and pastimes, wherein was represented the trial of matters in all kind of arts, in all sorts either of mere strength or of agility and nimbleness of the body) as also in respect of the commodious seat of the place: whereunto from all parts of *Greece* they repaired thither, by two divers and sundry seas. But being amused in expectation to know what the effect of *Greece* and what their own particular condition would be hereafter, divers men not only devoted directly with themselves, but also gave out and whispered in their speech and talk. Well, the Romans were set to behold this solemnity: and the publick Crier with a trumpet went forth into the midst of the Cirque or show-place, from whence the manner was to proclaim the sports and games aforeaid in a solemn form of words: and after he had by sound of trumpet

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made

made silence, he pronounced with a loud voice in this manner: "Be it known unto all men, that the
 "Senat of Rome, and T. Quintus the General of their army, having vanquished King Philip and
 "the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phoenicians, and the Locrenians, be all
 "free, and delivered from all taxes whatsoever, and to live according to their own laws, *Item*, That
 "the Ille *Eubæa*, the Magnesiens, the Theſſians, the Perthebians, the Acheans, and Phthiotis do enjoy the
 "like freedom and immunity. And consequently hereafter all the nations which had been in
 "subjection to Philip. Upon this proclamation of the beadle there was such joy, that men were
 "not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man looked upon another wondering at the
 "thing which he witnessed and desired more to hear: one looked upon another wondering at the
 "matter, as if it had been a vain vision or illusion of some dream; but enquired of them that stood next
 "to them. The Crier was called back again: such a desire had each one not only to hear the glad
 "tidings, but also to behold the happy messenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but
 "once again he must publish and pronounce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed,
 "they set up such a shout, and followed it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the fame so often,
 "as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome
 "unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in such haste, that neither
 "the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the sight thereof; who wholly
 "had that one joy possessed them and foretold the fence of all other pleasures and delights. But
 "when the pastimes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman General, in such
 "fort that his person was in some danger of the multitude, crowding to hard upon him alone, for
 "desire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and la-
 "bels of sundry colours upon him: but being a man full upon three and thirty years of age, both
 "the vigour of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act,
 "afforded him strength enough to abide the press of the people. This gladness of all men shewed it
 "felt not only for the present, but continued also for many daies space, entertained not only in
 "thankful minds, but expressed also in joyful discourses: namely, "That there was one nation yet in
 "the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their own pain and perill made war for
 "the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to the neighbours and bor-
 "ers only, or to those that were joyed near to them in the continent and firm land, but pas-
 "sed over the seas: to the end, that throughout the whole world there should be no unjust and
 "tyrannical government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevail most and carry
 "greatest sway. Lo, how by the only voice of one Beadle all the Cities of Greece and Asia are set
 "free. To conceive and enterprize to great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart:
 "but to effect the same is a singular virtue and rare felicity.

This done, Quintus and the ten Delegates gave audience to the embassages of divers Kings and
 Princes, Nations and States. And first of all others were the Embassadors of King Antiochus cal-
 led in: who used the times of speech in manner that they had at Rome, vinting great words without
 any ground and substance of credit. But answer was returned unto them not coverly by way of
 circumstance as aforetime (when Philip was on foot and things stood doubtfull) but openly in
 plain terms. *Imprimis*, That Antiochus must quit and abandon all the Cities of Asia, which belong-
 ed at any time either to King Philip or King Ptolemæus, *Item*, That he meddle not with any free
 City or State, and especially with those of Greece: but above all, warned he was and forbidden,
 either to pass over himself, or to send any forces into Europe. After the Kings Embassadors were
 licensed to depart, all the nations and States had a general session and meeting together, which
 was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegates all the Cities and States
 were pronounced by name. Unto the Oretians (a people in Macedonia) for that they revolted
 first from the Kings, their own lands and privileges were restored. The Magnesians, the Perthebi-
 ans and Dolopians were likewise declared free. Unto the people of Theſſaly over and above the
 grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Achaans were annexed, excepting the City of Thebes in
 Phthia and Pharsalus. As for the Ætolians who required, that according to covenant Pharsalus
 and Locris should be rendered unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded
 them the Phoenices and Locrenies, with other appurtenances adjoynd before by verue of the
 decree. *Cosiris*, *Trophæia*, and *Hærea* (which also is a City of Peloponnesus) were rendered unto the
 Achaens: Moreover these ten Delegates gave Orenum and Eræria unto Eumenius the son of Atta-
 rus: but by reason that Quintus granted freedom unto these Cities, together with Carissus,
 and had been both subject to Philip. It was ordained also, that Antiochus should hold those
 Cities still, which during the wars he had won from Philip. When the assembly was dissolved,
 the ten Delegates having divided between themselves their several charges, departed every man to
 settle the Cities of their particular regions and quarters. P. Lentulus to Beryllæ, L. Stertinius to
 Hæphæstia, Theſſus, and other Cities of Thracia: P. Villius and L. Terentius toward King Antio-
 chus, and C. Cornelius toward Philip. Unto whom after Cornelius had declared his Commission
 concerning those smaller matters, and which demanded of him, Whether he could with patience
 abide to be so onnell not only profitable unto himself, but also necessary? The King made answer
 again and said, That he would not only give him the hearing, but also yield him thanks besides,
 in

A in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he perswaded him earnestly,
 that forasmuch as he had obtained peace already, he should send his Embassadors to Rome, to crave
 league also and amity: to the end, that if Antiochus began to stir, he might not be thought to have
 attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make war. This conference and
 communication with Philip was at Tempe in Thessaly. And when he answered, That he would
 immediately dispatch his Embassadors Cornelius came to Thessaly, where a town Dicæ and at-
 temberly of all Greece is wont to be held upon certain set daies, and thither resort great numbers of
 people, which meeting is called *Pylæum*: where he advised the Ætolians especially to persevere
 constant and faithful in the amity of the people of Rome. Some of the principall Ætolians seemed
 to complain between whiles, that the Romans were not so well affected to their nation after vi-
 B glory, as they were in time of the war: but others, more sharply blamed and reproached them,
 yea, and upbraided them with this, That Philip could not have been vanquished nor the Romans
 ever able so much as to pass over into Greece, without the help of the Ætolians. Cornelius
 forbore to make answer again to those points, for fear of farther wrangling and altercation; and
 promised, that if they sent to Rome they should obtain any thing that was reason. Whereupon by
 his advice and approbation there were deputed Embassadors. This was the issue and end of the
 war with Philip.

Whiles these affairs thus passed in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, all *Tis* in manner was gone
 out and risen up in arms by occasion of a conspiracy of bondslaves. First to enquire into the troubles
 and to repress the same, there was sent M. Atilius Prætor (who had the civil jurisdiction
 C between Citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who
 were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom many
 were slain and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and round trilled up, hanging them on
 gibbets, even as many as were the principall and chief of the conspiracy: and others there were
 whom he sent home again to their Masters.

Now the Consuls were gone into their Provinces. Marcellus so soon as he was entered into
 the marches of the Boii, and had over-wearied his soldiers with marching all day long, gave him
 down upon a certain rising of a hill, and there as he was encamping himself and his men, Cora-
 datus a Prince or great Lord of the Boii, with a mighty power armed and charged him, and flew
 upon three thousand of his men. In which sudden and tumultuary skirmish, certain brave men
 D of mark were slain: among whom were T. Scipionius Gracchus, and M. Junius Silvanus two Co-
 lonels of the allies: also A. Octavius and P. Lucius two Knight Marshals or Tribunes of the se-
 cond legion. Howbeit the Romans strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly,
 which the enemies upon their fortunate victory had long assailed to no effect. And in the same
 standing camp he continued certain daies, whiles he cured his soldiers of their wounds, and recovered
 their hearts after so great a fright. The Boii (as they are a nation that of all things cannot
 endure any tedious delay of time) dispersed themselves into their towns and forts. Then Ma-
 cellus presently crossed the Po and led his army into the territory of Comum, where the Insubri-
 ans lay encamped after they had solicited and caused those of Comum to take arms. The legions
 made no more ado, but gave them battell in the very way: and at the first encounter the enemies
 E charged them so hotly that they forced the forefront of the battell to give ground. Which when
 Marcellus perceived, fearing lest being once discovered they should be repulled and discomfited,
 he made a cohort of Marsians to make head: and at once set forth all the troops of the Latine
 Cavalry against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the
 enemy, advancing forward lustily and pressing upon them in great fury: whereby the rest of the
 Roman army taking heart again and being encouraged, at the first received them manfully and
 made resistance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: inasmuch as the Gauls were
 able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran a-
 way by heaps. Valerius Antius writeth, that in this battell there were forty thousand men slain
 and above five hundred and seven military ensignes taken, with 432 chariots: besides many chains
 F of gold, whereof Claudius presented one (a very massive above the rest and of great weight) unto
 Jupiter, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The same day was
 the Camp of the Gauls forced and ransacked, and the town of Comum also within few daies taken
 by assault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted
 to the Consul. But the Historiographers agree not upon this, Whether the Consul led his forces
 against the Insubrians first, or the Boians: and whether he raised out the discomfited of a former
 foil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battell: or contrariwise, after a prosperous fight at-
 achieved before Comum, he blotted and defaced the same with a shameful overthrow received at
 the Boians hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, L. Pappus the other Consul, marched into
 G the Boians Country through the tribe *Sappina*. And when he was approached near to a Castle
 called * *Antilim*, he feared lest he should be enclosed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligi-
 rians: whereupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetching a great com-
 pany about through the open country in safety and security, he came at length to his Colleague.
 Who having joyed both their powers together, first ranged over the Boians territories, wa-
 sting and spoiling until they came as far as * *Felina*. This Town with other strong burroughs
 and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yielded themselves, save only their youth, who were
 up

Com.

* *Mutilia*,
Blundo, *Ar-
ana*, *Leandro*.* *Belgus*.

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wrest out of their hands their stolen substance: and in great malice and bitterness ceased not to provoke against *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrell to him, to seek occasion of hatred, and to find an hole in his coat, *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deaf ear unto them, and mistook the coultre: for he supposed it was not for the honour and majesty of the people of *Rome* to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to entertain the spite and hatred of men, and not to be content to have vanquished *Annibal* in war, unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libell & bill of indictment, and iware thereto *Billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categorically, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage war against them. And these three were addressed to this Embassie, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culles* who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their coming, (and all by instruction from the adversaries of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compose and end the debates between *Masaniissa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was commonly divulged and beleaved for truth. But *Annibal* found them straight and smelt this juggling, and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans feared, and howsoever peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inexorable war with him alone still. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time and yield unto fortune. And being furnished aforehand with all things requisite to take his flight, when he had of K purpose all the day long shewed himself in the publicke place of assembly very formally, to turn by all suspicion of his intended resolution, so soon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown as he went a day, and attended in the Hall, he gate him forth straight to the City gate, accompanied only with two persons, and thoe not privy at all to his purpose and designment. And having found his hories ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night untill he was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Voca*: and by the next morning, he passed between *Aeyla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a tower or fort of his own: where he was imbarked in a ship ready rigged and appointed with sail and oar to take sea and away. Thus departed *Annibal* out of *Affrica*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his own friends and kinsfolk. And the same day he fell with the Island *Cercina*: where the Carthaginians found in the rode certain hulks charged with merchandise: and when at his coming ashore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thither, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer, That he went upon an Embassage to *Tyrus*: but fearing lest any of their barks should disanchor that night, and make report at *Thapsus* or *Aeyla* that he was seen in *Cercina*: he caused a boat to be killed for sacrifice, and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper: and therewith commanded all the sails and crosis laid-yards to be had out of the vessels: to make there of a large pavilion, that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he fet out a feast and banquet: he spared no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then *Annibal*, so soon as he could espy his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed anchor. The rest were fast asleep: and when the next day they awoke and roused themselves, with their drunken and drouzy nols (and far forth day it was, and late ere they awoke) they were faine to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of *Annibal*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not to be found, all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the principall and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: or they said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falsehood and villany of the Romans; and this they sticked not to avouch. There might a man have seen sundry and divers countenances (as it useth commonly in Cities where there is siding and parts-taking) as each one is affected to his own party and faction. At last, news came that he was seen at *Cercina*. The Roman Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the L. of their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforetime, King *Philip* was by *Annibal* especially solicited and set on to make war with the people of *Rome*; and also now there hath been letters and messengers with credence sent from him to King *Antiochus*; and that he would never rest untill he had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to content and satisfie the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished: then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by publicke council or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsover the Romans thought to be reason.

Annibal this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another country of his own: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour, becoming a man so famous and renowned. After he had sojourned there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioch*: where

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his son, and conferred with him, as he was letting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies near *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship board and Sea again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering till in his mind, and unreloved what to do as touching the Roman war. But his coming of *Annibal* was no small point to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The *Stoils* likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Plaralum* and *Lecinas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

The four and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C T H Law Oppia upon: ded and enacted by C. Oppius a Tribune of the Common, in the time of the Punic war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in women apparrell, was of so much violence and debate repealed, notwithstanding that Porcius Cato laboured to the contrary that it might not be abolished. This Cato made a voyage into Spain, and by force of arms (beginning first to warre at Empirix) brought the hither province of Spain on this side Iberus to quietness. T. Quintius Flaminius levied war against the Lacedemonians and Nabis their tyrant, in which he fared fortunately, and so prevented at his made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure. He delivered Argos, and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and before before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the people: which to bring about, *Scipio*, *Elus* Pectus and L. Cornelius Cethegus the Consuls, set in foot and merced themselves to, to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens. M. Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. The wars also which fortunately were achieved against the Boii and the French in *Isabre* are here recorded. T. Quintius Flaminius, who had vanquished Philip King of the Macedonians and Nabis their tyrant of the Lacedemonians, yet, and freed all Greece from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that *Annibal* who was fled unto *Antiochus*, banded with him and combined to wage war. *Annibal* had besides assisted by means of one Antioch a Tyrian (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to *Carthage*) for to move and sollicit the Carthaginians to rebellion.

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Between the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there happened an occasion, which in itself being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard: considering the times and parts-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. M. Fundanius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law Oppia. For C. Oppius a former time when the Punic war was at the hottest, and while *L. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls had promulged a Statute, by virtue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear any habiliments wrought of undry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town nor neerer than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now M. Junius Brutus, and P. Junius Brutus, both Tribunes likewise of the Commons stood in defence and maintenance of the said Law Oppia, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be annulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spoke for the Law, and others gave aid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the exprest and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within doors; but do what they could, they bespread all the streets of the City, beiter and kept all the waies into the common place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent. That seeing the good estate of the Common-wealth now flourished, and the private wealth of every man increased daily, their wives also and mistresses might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more then other for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrates, requesting and be-

The Oration
of M. Porcius
Cato, in main-
tenance of the
law Oppia.

* LXXIII.

beseeching their favour, to stand with them, and forward the cause. But as for one of the Consuls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their prayers entreat him to incline unto their suit: who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not be revoked, spake in the frequent assembly of the people to this effect. "My Masters and citizens of *Rome*, If every one of us had fully resolved and purposed with himself to hold his own, and keep the rightful authority and preeminence that he hath over his own wife, less ado and trouble we should have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the lead at home for much, that the curiuses and threwheds of women hath conquered our liberty and freedom there; behold, here also in publick place it is troden down and trampled underfoot: and because we were not able every man to rule his own in several, now we stand in fear and dread of them all in general. Certainly, I my self thought ever until now, that it was but a feined tale and devised tale that went of a certain Island, wherein by a conspiracy of women, all the men were murdered every one, and that sex utterly made away and rooted out. But well I see now, be they creatures never so weak, so filly and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their conventicles and secret conferences, they will work mischief in the highest degree, and be as dangerous as any other. And surely for mine own part, I cannot resolve in mine own conscience and determine, whether of the twain be worse; the thing I mean in it self, or the precedent example and consequence thereof, considering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the one toucheth us that are Consuls and the rest of the magistrates the other concerneth you rather my masters and citizens of *Rome*. As for the matter in question, and proposed unto you, whether it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that relecth in you to determine and judge, who are to give your voices and suffrages. But this seditious insurrection here, of women, be it of themselves, or procured by your motion and instigation, *As Furdinus* and *L. Valerius*, no doubt it argueth and implieth a great default in the Magistrates, and I wot not whether it will be a fouler blot and dishonour to you that are Tribunes, than to us Consuls. Yours will the blame be if ye have brought women now to raise and stir up tribunitious seditions; and ours the blame if we needs must admit and accept of laws, whether we will or no, for fear of a commotion and separation of our women, as sometimes we were forced to do by the departure and insurrection of our Commons; I assure you for mine own self, when I passed erewhile into this common-place through the press and throng of these women, I was abashed & could not chuse but blush. And had I not been more respective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of some in particular, than of them all, together, because it should not be thought & said, that they had been checked and taken up by the Consul, I would have laid unto them, What new fashion is this good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open streets, to beset the passages, and to affront ye, and hang upon other womens husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at home have dealt with your own good men in the caule, and craved their help? or can ye speak fair and flatter better, can ye be more pleasant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your houses? or make love to other men, rather then to your own husbands? And yet to speak uprightly, if wives were of that modestly and womanly carriage, as to keep themselves within the compais and bounds of their own liberty, and pais no further: it were not befitting you I wot so much as at home to trouble your selves about our laws here, nor to busy your brains, to know either what new Statutes passed, or what old were called. Our ancestors in old time would not, that women in any wise should dispose so much as of their own privat matters without the advice and direction of a Governor and Overseer: and therefore in great wisdom they ordained, that they should be ordered and ruled by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands, but we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in state-matters, to govern the weal-publick, to converse with us in the common place, in publick assemblies and courts of parliament. For what else do they now in the streets in the crows waies & at all I avenues, but, some of them give their voices that the bills of the Tribuns may pais and others advise and be of opinion, that the law *Oppia* may be repealed? Let this outrageous & unreasonable nature of theirs have the head; let these unruly creatures and untamed animals have their will and bridle them notseethen how of themselves they will keep a mean and measure in their licentiousnes, unless you curb them & hold them in. Tush, this is the least matter of all that displeaseth these women: there are a 1000 things besides that they think hardly of, and are discontented to be held unto by old customs and positive laws. Liberty in all things may to speak more truly, a loose and dissolute licentiousnes, is the very thing they long after and desire. For go they away cleer with this once, what is it that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but run through and count the laws provided in this behalf for women, whereby our fore-fathers and predecessors have kept down and restrained their disorderly appetites, and with which they have sought to subject them to their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied fast, but this and that and other thing to it: if I say ye let them wrest from you one thing after another, until at length they be check-mates with their husbands, think ye that ever you shall be able to support and endure them? Begin they once to be equals they will soon be superiours make them your fellows, and straight-ways they will busy your matters. But, alas, we lay too hardly to their charge. The thing that they stand upon is no more but this. That no new Act and statute pais against them: for no equal and reasonable thing do they refuse: their desire and prayer is only that

A "that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is clean contrary: That law which ye have received and admitted, that which by your suffrages you first granted, that which by the practice and experience of so many years you have allowed and approved they would have you to revoke and abolish: which is as much to say, as by annulling that one to infringe, upraise, and diminish the authority and virtue of the rest. No law is there so well devised that is good and commodious, and agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be considered, that it may be profitable to the most part, and serve in general. For it as each person find, and in a set prejudicial, hurtful, and offensive to himself, he may be allowed by and by to undo and deminish the same to what end should all the people assemble together to the making of those statutes which they anon against whom they were enacted may abolish & overthrow? But gady woud I know the great occasion and cause, for which our dames in such trouble and upore run out into the streets and have much ado to forbear the common place, and to mount up to the scaffold to make an oration to this audience? Is it for this to redeem out of the hands of *Achilles* their fathers, their husbands, their children and brethren, whom he keepeth prisoners? Nay, that calamity is far enough off at this day, and far may it ever be I pray God from our City and Common-weal. And yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity you wot did not hearken to their piteous and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be, that it is not the natural love and kind affection, nor careful regard of their dear friends, but meer touch of conscience, and conscience of religion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation. And ready they are it may be, to receive and entertain dame *Cybele* or *Idaea*, coming from *Pessinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honest colour and shew, so much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this mutinous edition of women? May this (say they) that they may glitter in our golden jewels, and shine in purple robes to be seen a far off: that as well on work days as holy-days, we may be let up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City as it were in triumph, for the conquest and victory of a law by us repealed and dismantled: for winning from you and wringing out of your hands, manage your beards, the liberty of your voices and suffrages: to the end that we might not be blunted and gaged in our excessive expenses, in our disolute promiscuous vanities and superfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the wastall and sumptuous bravery of women: and as often have you known me to incite against the lavish spending of men, not privat persons only, but magistrates also in higher place, and how this City of ours is sick as it were at one time of two contrary diseases and maladies, to wit pinching avarice, and superfluous prodigality, two plagues I say, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great monarchies and flourishing empires. These pestilent mischiefs I dread so much the more, as our state and common-weal encreaseth to the better growth wealthy every day more than others: and as our dominion extendeth still farther and farther. And now that we are gotten over into *Greece* and *Asia*, provinces full of all enticing pleasures and alluring delights of the world, now that we are come to finger and handle the rich treasures of mighty Monarchs, I fear me that even these things have rather captivated us than we them. The goodly images, statues and pictures that came from *Syria*: *Isis* and *Antiope* (trust me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no less than so many enigms of the field displayed against it. And I hear say already, that there are many, and E too too many, that praise and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of *Carinus* & *Albinus*, and begin to make a scorn and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potters earth, only laughing much at them, where they see them standing forth of the walls. Well, for my part I had rather have these gods so propice and favorable to us as they be than such as those and so I hope they will ever be, if we can suffer them to abide still in their usual shrines and places accustomed. No longer ago than in our fathers days, King *Pyrrhus* sent his Embassador *Cyprius* of purpose, and assailed by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but also of our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then in force to bridle and keep down the colly pomp and bravery of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands, And what think ye was the cause? even the same and no other, for which our ancestors in times past, never to much as thought upon the providing of any such law. There was no pride then, nor riotousness, nor perfluity to refrain. And like as the skill and knowledge of diseases, must precede and go before their cures and remedies: even so evil desires and enormous lusts had need to bud forth & spring before the laws, which should repress and cut them down. What caused the law *Licinia* to be made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man should possess above, but the exceeding covetousnes of men, encroaching still and laying land to land? What brought in the law *Cincia* as touching gifts and presents, but this that the Commons began already to be vassals as it were and tributaries to the Senat. No marvel therefore it is, nor strange may it seem, that neither the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeasurable expenses of women, was required and thought needful in those daies when gold, when purple, were tendered and offered unto them was refused. If now at this day *Cyprius* were come, and went with such gifts round about in the City, he should find receivers enough of women standing in every street ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not devise what the cause and reason should be of many lustful desires and appetites that reign in this age. For say that if one of you were kept short and debared of that which another might lawfully have: peradventure there might rise in your hearts (through infirmity) some shame and abashment in nature, or else discontent and discontentment in reason: so being all as ye are brought within one compais of nature

"niture and apparel, and no odds at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, lest she
 "should be looked into, marked or observed, more than another, I must needs say, the shame that
 "followeth & attendeth either upon nigardie or poverty is worse of all others: but the law quit-
 "teth and freeeth you both, when you want but that only which by law yemay not have, and
 "no man will reproach you therefore. Yes many quoth some rich and wealthy dame, this same e-
 "quality and no distinction at all among us of all things I cannot abide: Why may not I according
 "to my calling, be seen arrayed in purple, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poor estate
 "of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretext & cloak of a law: so as they may be thought
 "yet (were it not for the law) that such and such things they would have: where as indeed they
 "are not able to maintain and bear it out? Would ye (in faith) my masters and citizens of Rome,
 "have your wives to strive thus, that the richer fort might deserve to have that, which no other I
 "can reach unto: and the poor again, because by that means they would not be deprieved, over-
 "strein themselves to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
 "to shame at that which is not shame-worthy, they will not abash at any thing, be it never so
 "shameful. Have it the will out of her own, so long as it lasteth: and when all is gone, to her hus-
 "bands purse she will go, Alas poor man and wo begun is that husband, as well he that is intrea-
 "ted by his wife, to stretch his purse strings, as he that is not, when he shall see another man to give
 "her that, which he would not allow himself. And even now ye see how openly in the street (un-
 "der shame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea, & that which more
 "is, they keep an intreating for to call the law & for the favour of their voices only. For of some
 "they have got the good will no doubt already, whilst themselves will not be intreated, but draw
 "misery upon thee, upon thy state, and upon thy children. Well, at the law once came to let down
 "a gage and proportion of thy wives expenses, and never think to have remedy, and to stay the
 "same of thy self with all thou canst do, Be not deceived thus, to think that the world will be ever
 "again at the same pals, as it was before this law took place. And as it is a safer course and lesse
 "dangerous to let a naughty and obdinate person alone, than he be not called into question at all:
 "than after he is once accused to suffer him to be quit and go away unpunished: even so this ex-
 "cessive superfluity, would have been more tolerable, if it had not been meddled & tempered with-
 "al, than it will be now upon the very binding, and curbing thereof: much like a wild and savage
 "beast, let loose after it hath been tamed up some time, and so made more fell and angry. To conclude
 "therefore of this opinion am I, that of no hand the law *Oppia* be repealed: and so I pray all the
 "Gods to vouchsafe for to bless and turn to good, whatsoever you do or go about. When he had
 "thus said, those Tribunes also of the Commons, who openly promised and protested to oppose
 "themselves, and to cross the passing of the law, made some brief speeches to the same effect.
 "Then *Lucius Valerius* rose up to maintain the bill by him proposed for the revoking of that law, and
 "spoke as followeth. If private men stepped forth and advanced forward either to approve
 "and perfwade, or to reject & disswade, that which by us is proposed, I my self also without open-
 "ing my mouth would have attended your will & expected the delivery of your suffrages, as think-
 "ing it had been sufficiently debated and discussed already, whatsoever might be said for both
 "parties. But now sith that the Consul *M. Porcius Cato* a man of great reputation & gravity, not
 "only by his countenance and authority, (with all alone without any word at all spoken had been
 "important enough & effectual) but also in a long premeditated Oracion framed with much study
 "and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed against our proposed ordinance, I must of ne-
 "cessity answer him again as briefly as I can, who nevertheless hath spent more words in repro-
 "ving and chastising the matrons & dames of the City, than he hath bestowed reason to the pur-
 "pose in disswading our new law: & all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whe-
 "ther the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives, or
 "seduced by us and our suggestions. As for me the protection directly of the cause I will take in
 "hand, and not busy and trouble my head in defence of our persons, against whom the Consul
 "hath rather glanced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by found reasons.
 "It hath pleased him to call this, An assembly and mutinous meeting: yea, and otherwiles he ter-
 "meth it, An insurrection and secession of women: as if the wives in open place intreated you
 "to repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the flourishing and blessed state of the Common-
 "weal, which during those troublsome daies of war, had been enacted against them. I wot full
 "well that both these words and other beides are very significant, sought out, and picked for the
 "purpose, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that *M. Cato* is an Orator not
 "only grave and earnest, but otherwiles also of a bold, art, and bitter how ever otherwise by natural
 "disposition he be of a mild spirit and courteous enough. But to the point. What new & strange
 "thing is this that our wives have done, in coming abroad and assembling themselves in compa-
 "nies, about a matter that so much concerneth and importeth themselves? What were they ne-
 "ver before now, abroad in open street? I will take the pains, *Cato* to turn over your own
 "book of Originals against your self. Listen and mark how often they have done the flemblable,
 "and likewise only for the common good and benefit of the State. And first and foremost, in the
 "very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of *C. Romulus*, when the Capitol was
 "taken and held by the Sabines: when in the midst of the Common peace, they were ranged in bar-
 "rel array and ready to fight a bloody field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict stayed by
 "the dames and wives that ran in, & put themselves between the two armies? After the KK, were
 "driven

The Oracion
 of L. Valerius
 against the
 law *Oppia*.

A "driven out and expelled, What hapned tho? When as the legions of the Volscians under the con-
 "duct of *C. Martius* incamped within 5 miles of Rome, were they not the matrons of the City that
 "turned back this army, which doubtless would have forced our City & put it to ransack? And
 "is not this likewise true, that when the Gauls were possessed of Rome and masters thereof, the
 "dames of the City and none but they, even by the consent of all men, came forth into the open
 "streets, made a contribution, and aid down that gold which paid for the ransom and redempti-
 "on of the City? No longer time than in the last Punick war (because I will not stand so much
 "upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the
 "widows stocks supplied the want of the common treasure? but also at what time as we were
 "driven to seek for new Gods, and to send for them afar off to succour us in our extremities; all
 "the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea side forth to receive the goddess Mother *Idea*?
 "The occasions, qd, he) are different, and the case is not alike. Neither is it my purpose or any
 "part of my meaning to compare causes, and to prove they are all one. This only I stand upon, and
 "take it sufficient to excuse and clear the women, for bringing up no strange novelty, in that they
 "showed themselves in open place, To proceed therefore: seeing that no man made any wonder
 "then, of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men
 "as women: marvel we now that they do the flemblable, in a cause that properly and peculiarly
 "pertaineth to themselves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too
 "coy and squeamish of our hearings, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when matrons diddian
 "not to hear the prayers of their servants and slaves, we com to give ear to the requests of ladies
 "and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in question, in regard whereof the Consul
 "his Oracion consisted in two points. For first, he took it very ill that any law at all once enacted
 "should be revoked: and secondly, he stood upon this that above all others the law devised and
 "made for repressing the superfluous ornaments and attire of women should remain in force for
 "ever. So it should seem, that the first part (a common defence as it were, of all the laws) was a
 "speech befitting the place and person of a Consul: but the other against the exceeding pomp of
 "women, more properly became a man (as himself) of most severe life and precise carriage. And
 "therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, lest we should seduce you into some error, if we
 "lay not down and shew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I
 "confeis, that of those laws which are devised and established not for a time, and by occasion of
 "D some particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be
 "abolished: unless it be so that by use and experience the same be checked and found hurtful, or
 "by some change of the State become needless and superfluous: so I see evidently that those sta-
 "tutes and ordinances which are brought in to fit and serve some seasons, are mortal (if I may so
 "say) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes we see that was disclaimeth those laws which
 "peace proclaimeth: and peace pulleth down that which war set up: like as in the government
 "and rule of a ship, one thing is requisite in fair weather and calm Sea, another in foul and trouble-
 "some tempests. These things thus being in nature divers and distinct, let us consider I pray you,
 "of whether fort is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. What? Is it one of the ancient
 "and royal laws made by the Kings, and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that
 "E which is the next in time and authority) was it set down and written in the twelve Tables by
 "the Decemvirs, created of purpose to devise and make laws? Is it of that nature without the
 "which as our ancestors were of opinion, that the honesty and honour of matrons could not
 "be preferred: so we are to fear likewise left by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the mode-
 "sty, chastity, and integrity of married women? Why? who knoweth not that this is a new law
 "of 20 years standing and continuance and no more, made whilst *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius*
 "were Consuls? And seeing that without it wives lived for many years before in good name and
 "fame, and in passing good order: tell me what danger can ensue, and why we need to fear lest if
 "it be annulled, they should break out to all looseness and disorder. May it this law had been made
 "at first, to gage the wantonness of women, believe them then it were greatly to be doubted, that
 "F the putting down thereof would stir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end
 "it was devised, the time it felt is able to shew and testify. *Annibal* being in *Italy*, had won a vi-
 "ctory at *Canoa*: he was now master of *Tarentum*, Lord of *Arpi*, and possessed of *Capua*: every
 "hour, he looked when he would march forward and advance his conquests against Rome: our al-
 "lies were revolted and gone: soldiers we had no more of our own to supply and make up the
 "decayed bands: no mariners and Sea servants could we find for the maintenance of our Arma-
 "do: all our treasure in the City Chamber was spent and consumed. Driven we were to this
 "extreme, as to take up bondslaves for to serve in wars, and to buy them of their masters for day,
 "yea, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money also the
 "Publicans and Patrons of our domain and publick profits, undertook to serve the army with
 "G corn, and to furnish us with all things needful for war at a certain price, and gave us the like day
 "and time of payment. The Gallies slaves that served at the oar we found and maintained with
 "our own proper and private charges: and a rate and proportion was set down according to
 "our revenues and worth in the subsidy book, what number every one should be charged with.
 "All the gold and silver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators
 "themselves led the way first, and gave good example. The widows and orphan Children
 "brought in their stocks of money to the City Chamber. Straight order was given, that
 "N n n 3 "we

"we should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above H
 "so much, nor of silver and brass in coin and current money beyond a certain proportion limited.
 "At such a time, our dames (belike) were set all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and
 "tricking themselves, in such sort, as the law *Oppia* must needs be devised, there was no other
 "remedy to keep down their excessive pride and superfluous expence in their attire and ornaments:
 "even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemn feast and sacrifice of *Ceres* was then
 "continued, by reason of the general mourning and heavy cheer of all the wives of the City, the
 "Senat was fain to take order, that they should finish and end their sorrowful mourning within
 "thirty dayes. Who is so blind that seeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extreame
 "calamity of the City, and because all the monies of private persons should be converted into a
 "common stock, and for a publick use, this law was first framed, drawn, and let down, so long I
 "only to stand in strength and vertue, as the cause of penning and writing it should endure;
 "continue? For otherwise, if those acts and decrees of the Senat, if those orders and ordinances
 "of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should be in force, and observed for ever;
 "Why make we payment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we set and to ferm let
 "our commodities, our customs and revenues of the City, unto farmers for ready rent? Why put
 "we forth our publick works for present money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we
 "not slaves to serve in our wars? Lastly, why are we not put to find mariners and oarsmen, at our
 "own private charges, as then we did? All other estates and degrees, all men else, of what calling
 "soever, feel a great change in the state of the City, from woe to weal, from adversity to prosperi-
 "ty; and shall our wives only miss the good thereof, and not once tast nor enjoy the fruits of K
 "peace, and publick repose and tranquillity? Shall we that are men be in purple and scarlet? Shall
 "we wear our embroidered gowns and robes when we are Magistrates? Shall we put on our rich
 "anyces and copes, when we exercise the function and ministry of the high Priests? Shall our
 "children go in their sild garments, puffed above with purple? Shall we permit and privilege the
 "head Officers and Magistrates in our Colonies and Burrough Towns? nay, shall we suffer here at
 "Rome the Masters and Countables of every parish, the meanest and basest officers of all other to
 "wear embroidered gowns, & studded with purple? and not only so, for to grace and redit them-
 "selves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but al-
 "so to after their death, the same to be burned and buried with them? And shall we debar and for-
 "bid our women only to use purple and scarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may L
 "have purple and scarlet, carpers, counter-points, and foot-cloths, what reason is there to deny
 "your wife the mistress of the house a gown or mantle of the same? And shall your horse be trap-
 "ped and barbed more richly, and better let out with his caparison, than your wife arrayed in her
 "apparel? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which are the worst for the wearing, and waxeth
 "bare, men think I see some reason, such as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraint:
 "many for gold wherein little or nothing is lost but the fashion and workmanship, what niggard-
 "die, what misery is this to make spare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare avow and abide by
 "it: there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in
 "publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* said
 "moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that, if neither
 "one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but instead thereof
 "of they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, disdaining to
 "see the wives of our allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear those ornaments
 "which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously set out with pangles and
 "jewels of gold, clad in their purple and scarlet cloths riding in their coaches all over their cities,
 "whiles they at Rome take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were
 "seated in their Towns, and not in this their own City of Rome. This indignity were enough to
 "wound the hearts of men, and make them b'ried: what hurt doth it then, think you, to silylly wo-
 "men, whom small matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? Alas poor souls, no magistracy and
 "place of government in State, no sacerdotal dignities in the Church, no triumphs no ornaments
 "and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoils and prizes gotten in wars, can fall to
 "their shares. Neatness and fineness gay garments trim attire and gorgeous habiliments, of it
 "honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they set their hearts, of it they
 "make their joy. And therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of
 "women *Mundus Muliebris*. [What lay they off in time of sorrow and mourning, but their gold
 "and purple? what put they on and resume again, when their mourning is past, but their gold and
 "purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemn processions, but their
 "better apparel, their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once
 "repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you should for-
 "bid them to wear any thing that now the law restraineth them of. And perhaps some shall have
 "more ado with their daughters, their wives, and sisters, and find them less tractable and pliable
 "unto their minds than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot shake off their obedience,
 "so long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other
 "things they abhor and cannot brook to be at their own liberty, when it cometh by the death of
 "their husbands: or parents: Widows (sate and Orphans) life, they may not abide. Be sure there-
 "fore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your selves, than
 "of

A "of the law. And therefore, to speak a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend
 "them in kindness, and not oppress them with hardships and bondage: delight ye must to be good
 "their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Masters, it pleased the Capitol to send
 "to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and
 "a very insurrection and departure of theirs: and danger there is no doubt, but being up on city
 "will seize upon the mount *Sacer*, as sometimes the Commons did in their furious anger, or else
 "possess themselves of the Aventine, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and
 "feeble sex, born to bear, must suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain and set down against
 "them. But take this withal at the loole for a final conclusion that the greater power and authori-
 "ty ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that sovereignty
 B "of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and disfavor of the law, the day fol-
 "lowing the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves
 "together, as it were, in one troop, they beset the dores and houses of the *Bruni*, who by interposing
 "themselves, had hindered and crossed the bill preferred by their fellow Tribunes: and never gave they
 "over to keep this stir, until those Tribunes flaked in their opposition, for to inhibit the same. Which
 "done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish
 "that law. This twenty year after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled.
 "M. Porcius Cato after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, presently departed with a fleet of five
 "and twenty Gallies, whereof five were let out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of *Livorno*, to
 "which place he commanded his forces to assemble; and after by virtue of an edict sent out along
 C "the Sea coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he looked from *Livorno*: and proclaimed
 "that they should all follow after him to the Port of *Pyreneus*, from whence he purposed to set
 "forth against the enemy, with an Armado of many sail, and well appointed. Who having passed
 "before the mountains of *Liguria* and the gulf of Gaul, arrived and met all together, at the day
 "and place appointed. From thence they came against *Rhodus*, where they expelled the Spanish
 "garrison that held the fortres. From *Rhodus* with a good gale of wind, they sailed to *Emporia*.
 "Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were let a land. At the same time *Emporia*
 "were two Towns, separate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by
 "Greeks, who came from *Phocaea*, from whence the Massilians also are descended: the other was
 "possessed by Spaniards. But the Greeks Town lieth out into the Sea, so as the whole compass
 D "of the wall is not half a mile about: but the Spanish Town lieth further into the Land, and divided
 "from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third sort of Roman inhabitants
 "were joyned unto them by *Cesar*, the Emperor of famous memory, after he had vanquished
 "Pompey's children. And at this day, they are confused and mingled one with another, and become
 "one entire body, by reason that first the Spaniards, and afterwards the Greeks, were made free-
 "denizens of the City of Rome. A man might well marvel seeing, how open they lie of the one side to
 "the main Sea, how exposed they are on the other side to the danger of the Spaniards, Nation so
 "fierce and warlike, what thing it was that guarded and protected them: Discipline it was and good
 "government, and nothing else, which maintained and preserved them in that weakness of theirs;
 "discipline I say, which is ever best maintained of them, who live in fear of the mightier that are
 E "round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is passing strong and exceeding
 "well fortified, having but one gate in all that side; which ordinarily is always guarded by one of
 "the Magistrates. In the night, one third part usually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls. And
 "this watch they maintained not for custome and fashion nor by virtue of any law: but they per-
 "formed it with as great care, yea, and went the round and law to the sentinels with as much dili-
 "gence, as if the enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the City: neither went
 "they forth themselves, unless it were upon just occasion. But on the Sea side the issue was open for
 "any man at his pleasure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spanish Town they never used to
 "go forth but in great number even a third part of the Townsmen, and those who the night
 "before had watched upon the walls. And this came to induce them to go abroad, for that the Spa-
 "niards being no men at Sea gladly would traffic and trade with them: willingly buying of them
 "their strange merchandise from foreign parts brought in by ships: and venting unto them again
 "their Land commodities and fruits arising of the main. The desire of this mutual commerce and
 "necessary intercourse was the cause, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in greater
 "safety and security they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the wing of the
 "Roman amity, which they intreated with as great loyalty as the Massilians although they were
 "nothing so mighty and puissant. And even at this time they received the Consul and his army
 "with great countenance and liberality. *Cato* sojourned there some few dayes while he was adverted
 "by his siegels where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and because he would not be
 "idle whiles he layed there, he bestowed all that time in training and exercising his soldiers. It
 "happened to be that season of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges ready
 "for the thrashing floor, whereupon he forbade the corn-purveyors to provide grain, and sent
 "them home to Rome. With faith he shall feed and maintain it self, being departed from *Emporia*,
 "he waited and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he
 "came, and put them in exceeding flight.
 "At the same time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther Province of *Spain*, with 6000
 "garrison soldiers delivered unto him by the Pretor, he was encountered by a great army of the
 "Celti-

The law *Oppia* repealed.

Peto's law.

Rogata.

Inclus.

Emporia, Strabo, Amynta, Cullio.

Celiberians, before the Town *Illurgum*. *Valerius* writeth, that they were 20000 strong: that 12000 of them were slain, the Town *Illurgum* won again, and all above 14 years of age put to the sword. From thence *Helvius* marched to the camp of *Cato*: and because the country was clear from enemies, he sent back the garrison into the nether *Spain*, and took his journey to *Rome*, where he entered the City *Ovunt* in petty triumph, for the happy success achieved in his affairs. He brought into the treasury, of silver in bullion or Ingots, 14732 pound weight: of silver coin 17023 bigate peeces: and of Olfane silver 120338 pound weight. The cause why the Senat denied him full triumph, was this, for that he warred under the conduct and name of another, and not in his own province. But it was two years before he returned, by reason that the year between he has layed there, lying sick of a long and grievous discase, and put over his government to *Qu. Minutius* his successor. Whereupon *Helvius* likewise entered the City of *Rome* in that manner of triumph, two months only before his successor *Qu. Minutius* triumphed. He likewise brought into the Chamber of the City 34800 pound weight of silver in mals: of bigats in coin 78000: of Olfane silver 278000 pound.

All this while the Consul lay encamped in *Spain* not far from *Emporia*. Thither repaired unto him from *Bilfagesa* a Prince of the *Ilergets*, three Embassadors, whereof his son was one: complaining that their forts were assailed by force of arms, and they had no other hope to make resistance, unless they might have a guard of Roman souldiers to defend them, 5000 lay they will be sufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if such a power came against them. The Consul answered them and said, that he had a feeling and compassion of the peril or fear (whether it was) wherein they stood: howbeit, he was not at that time furnished with such forces, that he might safely spare so many out of his main army, thereby to diminish the same and to impair his strength, considering a mighty host of his enemies was not far off, with whom he looked every day, and he knew not how soon, to joyne battail in open field with banner displayed. The Embassadors hearing this, fell down prostrate at the Consuls feet, and shed tears, humbly beseeching him not to forsake them in this piteous plight. "For whither (say they) shall we go? we be repulsed from the Romans? No allies we have besides, nor other hope in all the world. This danger we might have avoided well enough if we would have been false and disloyal: if we would have banded and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no menaces, no terrors presented unto us, could drive us to renounce our fealty, hoping always that we should have help and succour enough from the Romans: but now if no help, if no relief come from thence; if we be denied at the Consuls hand: heaven and earth we call to witness, that we must be forced, full against our wills, and upon more necessity to revolt from the Romans, for fear we drink of the same cup that the *Saguntins* have done afore us: and choose we will to die with the rest of the Spaniards for company, rather than perish alone by our selves. So for that day they were dismissed without other answer. But all the night following, the Consul was much distracted in mind, and careful in both respects. Unwilling he was to, set off his allies and see them destitute; and as unwilling again to break his army: considering that in so doing, he might either delay the opportunity of giving battail, or endanger himself in the very instant of conflict. But at length he resolved in no wise to diminish his own forces: doubting lest in the mean while he should receive some dishonor at the enemies hand. As for his associates, he thought it best to intertain them with good hopes, for want of better helps; considering that oftentimes and especially in war, outward semblances and vain shews, are held and taken for truth and substance, and serve the turn well enough: and when a man is thoroughly perswaded that he hath aid and succour, the very trust and confidence thereof hath ministered heart to give the venture of some exploit and preserved him as well as the thing itself. The next morning he delivered this answer unto the Embassadors. That albeit he feared to abate his own strength, in serving other mens turn with any part of his forces, yet he had at this present more regard of their occasions and dangerous estate than of his own. Whereupon he gave commandment, that a third part of all his bands and companies should have warning to take and dresse viands with all speed, for to bellow and lay in the ships: and straightly he charged, that they should be rigged and ready appointed against the third day: and willed withal, two of the Embassadors to report so much to *Bilfagesa* and the *Ilergets*. As for the young Prince his son, he detained still with him, used him graciously, and bestowed labours and rich gifts upon him bounteously. The Embassadors took not their leave nor departed, before they saw the souldiers embarked: and thus by making relation hereof as a thing assured and past all peradventure, they filled the heads not of their own friends only, but also of the enemies, with the bruit of Roman aids coming neer at hand. The Consul now, when he had let this countenance of the matter, and made sufficient semblance to serve his purpose, gave order that the souldiers should be disbarked again & set a land: and himself seeing now that the time of the year approached commodious for action and execution of martial affairs (dislodged and removed his standing winter camp within a mile of *Emporia*. From whence (as any occasions and opportunities were preferred) he led forth his souldiers a foraging and plundering into the enemies land, sometime one way and sometime another, leaving always a competent guard to defend the camp. Ordinarily their manner was to steal out by night, to the intent that both they might go on still farther from their leaguer, & also surprise the enemies at unawares and unprovided: by which means not only his new & raw souldiers were exercised, but also many of his enemies were caught up and came forth home: whereupon they durst no more peep out of their forts & holds of defence. Now after he had made sufficient

proof

A proof of the hearts as well of his own men as of his enemies, he commanded all the Marshals, Colonels, Horsemen, and Centurions, to assemble before him: and unto them he made this speech, "The time (quoth he) is now come, that you to often have wished for: in which you may shew at full you: vertue and valour. Your service hitherto hath been more like the manner of foragers than warriors: but now shall ye come to a main battail, and as enemies, fight hand to hand with protected enemies. From henceforth you may if you will, not wait their needs only, and spoil their territory, but ransack the pillage of rich and wealthy cities. Our fathers before us and our ancestors in times past, when as in *Spain* there were both Generals and armies of Carthaginians, having themselves no leaders and commanders, no souldiers and forces there, yet would they needs have this attitude among others capitulated in the accord and composition with the Spaniards. That the River of *Iberus* should limit their Seigniorie and dominion. Now at this day, when two Pretors and a Consul, when three entire Roman armies have the government and charge of *Spain*; now, I say, after ten years space almost, wherein no Carthaginians have set foot and been seen in all these quarters of both provinces, we have clost our seigniorie on this side *Iberus*. This must ye recover and win again by force of arms, by manhood and valour: ye must I say, compel this nation, more rash and inconsiderate in rebelling, than constant and resolute in maintaining war, for to receive once more the yoke of subjection, which they have shaken from off their necks. Having exhorted and encouraged them in this manner, he gave them to understand, that he would let forward in the night and lead against the enemies camp. And to he let them depart to refresh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly taken with him the signs and approbations of the birds for his better speed, he put himself in his journey: and because he might be seized of some place to his liking, before the enemies should descry him, he let a compass in his march, and led his souldiers clean beyond their camp. And having by day light let his companies in battel array, he sent out three cohorts, even close to the rampier and trench of the enemy. The barbarous people wondering, to see the Romans shew themselves behind at their back, ran to and fro to take arms. Mean while, the Consul held his men with these and such like speeches: "My souldiers (quoth he) there is no other hope now left, but in mere strength and valour, and I of very purpose have wrought it so. Between us and our camp the enemies are encamped all: behind at our back we have our enemies Land. The bravest courses are ever safest, namely, to build and ground our hope fully upon vertue. And herewithal he gave order, that the cohorts aforesaid should retire of purpose to train forth as he thought and unprovided: for they imagining that the Romans for very fear were retired, filled forth by heaps out of the gate, and belpeired with armed men all the grounds, that lay between their own camp and the enemies battel. And whiles they made great haile to embattle themselves, the Consul who was already arranged in battel array, and in all respects well appointed, charged upon them before they were marshalled and set in order. First he put forth their cornets and wings of horsemen from both points and flanks of the battail: but they of the right side were straightway repulsed, and by their hasty and fearful retreating, caused the footmen also to be mightily afraid. Which the Consul perceiving, he commanded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheel about the right flank of the enemies, and to shew themselves at their backs before the other companies of foot encountered and charged one another. This sudden terror affrighted the enemies, but let all upright again and recovered the battail of the Romans, which through the fear of the Cavalry began to shrink and go down. Howbeit the horsemen and footmen both of the right point, were so troubled and so fir out of order, that the Consul was, forced to pluck some of them back with his own hand, and turn them with their faces affront the enemy. Thus all the while that the shot lasted, the skirmish was doubtful: so as now the Romans in the skirmish had much ado to make head and stand to it in the right side, whereas the fight and flight first began. But on the left and affront, the barbarous had the worst, and with great horror they looked behind and saw their enemies how they played upon their backs and retted not. After they had done with flinging their iron darts and lancing their fiery javelins, they drew their swords: and herewithal began the conflict afresh. They were not wounded now from a fir off by blind chance and hap-hazard, they knew not from whence: but foot to foot they stood, and hand to hand they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to trust in pure strength and main force. The Consul seeing his men wearied, encouraged and refreshed them by lending for to relieve and maintain in the fight, certain cohorts out of the rearward. This new battallion inpointed with like a quoin or wedge at the first nor onlet brake their arrayes and being once disordered, they put them to flight, and in scattering, while they ran as fast as their legs would carry them, to their camp. Cato seeing them flee on all hands, mourned on horseback and rode himself to the second legion, which was in the rearward for supply, and commanded to advance the standard and ensigns before him to march apace, and to approach the camp of the enemies for to give an assault. If he espied any one to slip out of his rank, he would ride before and rap him with his light javelin that he had in his hand; commanding the Marshals and Centurions to chastise him for it. Now was the enemies camp at the point to be assaulted, and the Romans were with stones, pikes, perches and all kind of weapons set back and driver from the trench. But when this fresh legion approached neer, then both the assailants were more encouraged, and also

The Opinion of Cato to his Captains and Gallants.

he so, rode a gallop upon the spur to those said cohorts of his own that were left on the other side under the Town, and taking them with him great haste, whiles all the Townsmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Suesetras, he led them into the Town at a place where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seen; and made himself master of all, before the Lacetans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon their submission: who, poor men, had nothing to yield and lose but their bare armor and weapons. Immediately he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces against the ho'd or strong Town of *Vergium*. This was a receptacle and place of sure retreat for certain Rovers and Thieves, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province. The principal and chief person of *Vergium* quit the place, and betook himself unto the Consul, and began to excuse as well himself as the Townsmen; saying, that the government of the Town and the fate thereof lay not in their hands. For why? these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consul willed him to go home again, and to devise and forge some likely and probable cause why he had been absent and out of the way; with this charge and direction, that when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers afore said wholly amused and occupied in defence thereof, they should remember to join with the rest of his part and faction, and be possessed of the fortrefs and hold of the Town. This put he in practise and execution accordingly. So whiles the Romans of one side scaled the walls, and they on the other side had taken the fortrefs, these barbarians were suddenly at once surprised with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Consul when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave order, that all those who were gotten into the Cattle and held it, should remain free, themselves and all their kindred, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the Vergetans he commanded the Treasurer to sell and make money of them. As for the Rovers, they suffered according to their deserts. After he had set the Province in quiet, he laid great tributes and imposts upon the mines of iron and silver: which being once ordained and established, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits achieved in *Spain*, the LL. of the Senat decreed, that there should be a solemn procession at *Rome*, to endure for three dayes.

The same winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Consul, fought in *Frdnce* a set field with the power of the Boians, near the forest of *Litania*, and won the victory. And by report, there were eight thousand Gauls there slain: the rest abandoned the war, and slipped every one into their own Hamlets and Villages. The rest of the winter the Cos. kept his army at *Placentia* and *Cremona* about the *Po*, and repaired in these Cities whatsoever had been decayed and demolished during the wars.

The affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* standing in these terms: when *T. Quintius* had so passed the winter in *Greece*, the letting aside the *Ætolians* (who neither had been recompensed according to the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repose) all *Greece* throughout in general enjoying the blessing of peace and justice, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman General after victory, than his valour and prowess in war: there was an AS of the Senat of *Rome* brought and presented unto him, importing thus much, That war was determined against *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. Which when *Quintius* had read, he published and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at *Corinth* against a certain day: when and where all the States associates should assemble by their delegates and Embassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of Princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very *Ætolians* also were not absent, *Quintius* used unto them this or the like speech, "The Romans & Greece have warred against King *Philip* as ye well know; and as with one mind and common counsel they have so done, so either of them had several quarrels unto him, and private causes and occasions by themselves to take arms. For *Philip* had broken the league and amity with us Romans, one while by sending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies: otherwhiles by assisting our allies in the parts: and to you wards he hath so demeaned himself, that albeit we could not forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that ye have received at his hands, minister sufficient cause unto us to war against him for your sake. As for this dayes consultation, it setteth wholly in your selves. For, this I propound unto you, Whether your will is to suffer *Argos* (which as ye know your selves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to remain still under him in obedience: or whether you think it meet and reason, that a most noble and ancient City as it is, seated in the very heart of *Greece*, should be reduced unto liberty, to enjoy the same condition and state wherein other Cities of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece* do stand. This conclusion I say, as you well see, by the servitude of that one only City, we can not have us Romans no farther than thus, that by the servitude of that one only City, we can not have the full and entire glory of setting *Greece* wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the state of that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion of this mischief spread farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will not let you down and teach you what to do. Only I require your advice in this point, mind you to resolve upon that, which the Major part of you shall carry by voices. After the Roman General had ended his speech, he there began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputed delegate or agent for the Athenians had magnified and extolled as highly as possibly he could, the good

A good demerits of the Romans towards *Greece*, yielding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted them aid against *Philip*, and without any petition at all, offered them help and succour against *Nabis* the tyrant; and seemed therewith to be offended and displeased at some, yet nevertheless in their talk and speeches found fault and carped at these forgotten favours and demerits: how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns past: it well appeared that he pointed out directly the *Ætolians*, and girded at them. Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chief man of their nation, in sight left against the Athenians, who having been in times past the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betrayed now a common cause for love of their own private flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the Athenians, who first served *Philip* in his wars, and at the last (when they saw him down the wind and fortune to frown upon him) fell away like disloyal traitors & possessed themselves of *Corinth* to their own behoof practising also to compass and gain unto them the City of *Argos*. As for the *Ætolians*, the unit and principall enemies of *Philip*, and alwaies allies and friends to the Romans howsoever they had expressly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns and territories, after *Philip* was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides *Echinum* and *Pharjæ*. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, who pretending an outward shew of a vainitie and colour of liberty, held the Cities of *Chalcis* and *Demetria* with strong garrisons: and yet when *Philip* made some stay and halting to withdraw and void from them, his armed guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that *Greece* would never be in freedom so long as the pretence of *Argos* and *Nabis* were in his hand: and finally he alledged against them, that unarmies there, Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into *Italy*, the *Ætolians* would then undertake and promise, that *Nabis* should remove his garrison out of *Argos*, upon composition and with good will, or else they would compell him by force and arms, to be overruled by the puissance of all *Greece* united together in one general content. By this vain babble of his, he roused *Antisthenes* first, the Prator of the Achæans, who spake in this wise, Never will *Juniper* *Op. Alex.* quoth he, and *Queen Juno* the Patroness of *Argos*, suffer that City to be the recompence or prize between the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and their pilling and thieving *Ætolians*: to be brought to this hard point and these terms of extremity, as to sustain more milery and calamity when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. *Quintius*, it is not the us, in case they should make themselves a fort and Cattle of strength in the midst of *Peloponnesus*? Nought have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their shape and visage. For look into their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruell than any barbarians, nay, they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We beseech you therefore O Romans, both to recover *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*, and also to establish the State of *Greece* in such sort, that ye leave these parts also safe and secure enough from the robberies and thieving hostility of these *Ætolians*. The Roman General *Quintius*, seeing them of all sides to blame and rebuke the *Ætolians*, said, that he would have answered them himself, but that he perceived them all so hatefully bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeased, than farther provoked. And therefore holding himself satisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and *Ætolians*, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the war against *Nabis*, unless he rendered *Argos* to the Achæans? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to send aids proportionably to the power and strength of each State and City. To the *Ætolians* he sent an Embassador, more to discomfite and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly) than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the *Provoit* Marshals of the camp, he gave commandment to send for the army from *Latia*.

About this time, when the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about alliance and league, he answered, That he could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegates abroad; and therefore they were to repair unto the Senat of *Rome*. Then, himself in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against *Argos*, with those forces which were brought from *Elitia*. And when he was about to set forth, the Prator, with 10000 foot of Achæans, and 1000 horse met him in the way: and not far from thence they joined both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down into the Plain of *Argos*, and chose a place for fortification, and by evening about four miles from *Argos* now was *Pr. Argos* the Captain of the Lacedæmonian garrison, who had long married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This *Pr. Argos* against the coming of the Romans had fortified with strong guards both the Cattles (for two there were within *Argos*) and the towers, which either had castles or were inspected. But as he was employed in these preparations, he could not disguise and hide the fear which this evil and approaching of the Romans wrought into him: and beside this fear, for fear from without, there appeared in him the more within. There was one *Dinocrates* an Atrive, (a young Gentleman of more than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by interposing a murmurall speech, and was conversed with certain persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the Romans, he studied to strengthen the conspiracy and his own side, he was not well assured

assured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he talked upon a time with his complies, the Captain of the garison sent for him by one of his guard; whereupon he perceived that his complor was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud, That as many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer of their liberty: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part: for no hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account of a fire guard of defence. And as he spake those words, the Lacedæmonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended: the most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following I slid down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. These assured the Romans, that if their army had been near the gates, the commotion and conspiracy aforesaid would have taken effect: and in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horsemen; who skirmished with the Lacedæmonians about *Cylarobis* (a publick school and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were fallen out at the gate, and without any great difficulty chased them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was, the Roman General encamped. One day he sent in scouting an epiplai, whether any new trouble and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived once that they were all amovt for fear, he assembled a Council to take advice. Whether he were best to give the assault upon *Argos*, or no? All the heads of *Greece*, (except *Arifannus*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would like of that counsell, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto *Arifannus*, as he discoursed and reasoned against the generall opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himself. That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing less beleeving and more without sense, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of *Argos*. For his part he would fight at the head even against the Lacedæmonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Council, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, and reaped down immediately and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled: that the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So he dislodged and removed from thence, and having passed over the mountain *Peribonius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territory of *Caryæ* near to *Argos*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade the territory of the enemies. From *Philo* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of *Thebians* forty horse. The Roman General staid not now for succours of men (whereof he had sufficient plenty) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commanded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with forty sail from *Leucas*: also eighteen covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Eumenes* the King, about the Islands *Cyclades*, with ten clofe hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels among of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedæmonians that were exiled and banished persons there were very many; who, chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great number had been expelled in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrant first usurped rule, and were possessed of *Lacedæmon*. The chief of these exiled persons was one *Agessipolis*, a man to whom by right of descent and lineage the inheritance of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* appertained. He whiles he was but an Infant hapned to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Cleomenes*, who was the first tyrant at *Lacedæmon*.

The tyrant being thus round about with wars threatening both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies;) yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Creta* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenary souldiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects and Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and mure. And that there might arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp and rigorous punishments. And so much as he could not hope not imagine that they desired and wished his good and safety, for that he held some Citizens in suspicion and jealousy: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plain, whome they call *Dromas*, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience; and when they were assembled, he environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time, if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suspicion) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprized in the midst of their practices and complots, and

A and to be punished accordingly: even for this cause (quoth he) I will have certain persons in custody and durance, untill such time as the tempest be overblown which now is coming. And when the enemies be once repulled, (from whom less danger there will be in case domesticall treasons may be prevented) then incontinently will I enlarge them and set them at liberty. This he commanded the names to be called of fourscore or thereabout of the principall of the youth, and as every one of them answered to his name, he clapt him up fast in prison: and the most part following, murdered them every one. After this, certain lotts (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of peasants and country kerns) were accused to have intended to flie unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewise were whipped & scourged throughout all the streets, and then put to death. By the fearful example of this cruelty, the outrages of the common sort were well cooled and abated, yea, and so abated, that they durst not once quench nor give attempt of any new designments tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought he himselfe strong enough to enter the field and fight a set battell, nor durst abandon the City seeing the minds of men so wavering, and their affections so unconstant.

Quintius having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second day came to *Selasia* upon the river *Oreus*: in which very place *Antigonus* sometime King of the Macedonians (struck a battell (men say) with *Cleomenes* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount up an hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compass through the mountains, having first before certain men to level the ground and make the way even, and so got into a large and broad portage, untill he came to the river *Ennaus*, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the City of *Sparta*: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as *Quintius* himself with the horsemen and light van-couriers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them: who looking for nothing less, because no man had encountered them all the way as they marched, but passed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This fear of theirs continued a good time, while the horsemen called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horsemen; and both the one sort and the other trusted in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensignes came forward; and were within sight, and so soon as the companies of the vanguard advanced forth to fight, they who erewhile terrified others, were driven in fearful haile themselves into the City. The Romans being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without dart-shot, stood a while ranged in battell array. But after that they saw none of the enemies come abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintius* took his way and marche again his army in order of battell along the town side, near unto the river, hard at the foot of the hill *Mosianus*. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemen followed in the reeward, and flanked the rest. *Nabis* kept within the walls his mercenary souldiers (in whom he reposed greatest confidence) arranged under their ensignes, and in readiness to fight, purposing to charge the back of his enemies. And the reeward of the Romans was not so soon passed by, but they talked out of the town at sundry places at once, with as tumultuous a noise as they made the day before. *Appian Claudius* had the leading of the reeward, who having prepared beforehand the heats of his souldiers, and advertized them to be preit and ready for what occurrent soever might happen, presently turned the ensignes, and set a compass with the whole army to make head against the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hot fight which endured a good time, as if two armies had directly encountered one another. In the end, the souldiers of *Nabis* began to give ground and flie: in which flight of theirs they had made less halt and better saved themselves, but that the Achæans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coasts of the country, hotly followed the chase: there made a foul slaughter and butchery among them; and the most part, such as were dispersed here and there in their flight they disturned. Then *Quintius* encamped near unto *Amycla*, and having harried and wasted all the territory round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleasant) when he saw no enemies issue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river *Ennaus*. From whence he made excursions, walled all the vale lying under the hill *Tageus*, and the lands butting and adjoining close to the sea.

Much about the same time *L. Quintius* made himself Master of the towns, first on the sea side: some yielded willingly, others for fear or perforce. And being afterwards advertized, that the town *Gythium* served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedæmonians in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the sea side; he resolved to assail it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very strong, well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants, and sufficiently furnished with all warlike provision and munition. And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintius* was entered into this difficult enterprise, *Eumenes* and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and sea-servitors, gathered out of three Armadoes, within few daies made and furnished all engines and fabricks, which were to assault a City so well fortified both by sea and land. Now was the town-wall broken down with the undermining of the tortures, now was the wall shaken by the push of the ram, and with all there was one tower that by continuall battery was overthrowen, and with the fall thereof, the wall that stood of each side came tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans endeavour

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and easy) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and also at the breach made in the wall: and they misfed but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was crossed again, and turned to nothing, flaid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town then in equal authority. *Dexagoridas* had dispatched a courier to the Roman lieutenant, to signify that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this designment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof, the City was the better defended with more careful heed by him alone; yea, and the assault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintius* came to succour and help with four thousand chosen souldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battell array from the brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town: whiles *L. Quintius* withall from another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himself to despair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those souldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gythiennus* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrotas* of *Pellene*, came with a thousand waged souldiers, and two thousand *Argives* unto *Nabis* at *Lacedaemon*. And *Nabis* like as at the first arrivall of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the towns standing by the sea side, was much affrighted, so he recovered again some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so long as *Gythiennus* held out still & his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly possibled by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to yield unto fortune. And first he sent an herald into the camp to know whether the enemies would permit and suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that the tyrant might parly with the Roman General. Hereupon the Council was assembled: and generally opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference: in omuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hills standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of souldiers attending on either side upon them: they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain chosen guard for his body; and *Quintius* accompanied with his brother, *Emmencus* the King, *Sublatus* the Rhodian, and *Aristhenus* the Prator of the Achazans, with some few Knight Marshalls and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

"If I could have bethought my self (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here present) & imagined what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me. I would have attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Maltreat and command of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be (with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alliance) I would not then marvel at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what measure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans, whose manner is to entertain most doly and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Religion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generally, as well as with the rest of the *Lacedaemonians* ye are linked by virtue of the most ancient league; and in particular regard of myself, private amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradventure some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I held the City of the *Argives*. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead the instance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self presenteth unto me a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon it by force: I received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was compelled within your league. As for the time it justified and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and affiait with you in good accord: and in our covenants, we articulated and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the garrison from *Argos*. And verily in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage as well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your enemies received it I say, not surprised by force, but offered and delivered willingly) as also by your own confession, for that in the conditions of the affocation agreed between us, ye left *Argos* free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurtheth me: and some of mine actions condemn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free and divide lands to the poor commons. As for the name, thus much I am able to answer: that such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintius*, entered alliance with me: then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I see I am termed a Tyrant. And therefore

The Orator
of Nabis.

A "therefore if I my self had changed the title and stile of my dignity and government, I must have yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye ought to answer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, so augmented by the enfranchising of slaves as touching the land also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy; I can maintain and justify my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and privilege of the very time. For all these things be they as they be, I had done already, when ye made a league and covenant with me, and received aids at my hand in the war against *Philip*. But in case I had done so at this very present, I stand not now upon this, whether I either had offended you, or broken your amity; but thus much I aver, that done I had according to the custom and fashion of our anctours. And ye must not think to square and try the practice of *Lacedaemon* according to the rule and square of your laws and ordinances. For to let pass many other things, and needles it is to compare particulars, ye chuse your gentlemen or men of arms according to their revenue: according to revenue ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should excel in wealth and power, & the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver thought not good that the common wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call Senators: that one or two States should excel & have preeminence in the City; but he thought that in the equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country. I have made a longer discourse I confess, than the ordinary and natural brevity of our speech in these parts will bear. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after I was entered into amity with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence & been displeased. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner. Not friendship nor association at all have we made with you, but with *Pelops* the true & lawful King, of the *Lacedaemonians*: whereof I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the signory & sovereignty of *Lacedaemon*, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that we were otherwise employed, and wholly buied one while in the Punic wars, another while in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last *Macedonian* war. For what was less unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged war against *Philip* for the liberty of *Greece*, to conclude amity with a tyrant; and such a tyrant as of all others that ever have been is most cruel, most violent and outrageous with his own subjects? And considering that we were entered into the consule and train of setting all *Greece* at liberty, albeit you had not possessed your self of *Argos* by covin, nor held the same by force, yet it behoved us to restore *Lacedaemon* also to her ancient liberty, and to restore her in her own laws, wherof she would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of *Lycurgus*. Shall we make care and take the pains to void the garrisons of *Philip* out of *Tassus* & *Bargilus*, and when we have done, leave to be trodden under your feet *Argos* & *Lacedaemon*, two most noble Cities, the two lights as it were in times past of all *Greece*, which remaining still in servitude and slavery, might deface the rest of our glory, & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of *Greece*? But you say, that the *Argives* friended *Philip* and took his part. We are content well enough, that you should not trouble your self, and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as well, that it was not agreed in any publicke council, that you and your party were sent for and received into the Castle. As for the Thebaisians, the Phocians, & Locrians, they sided with *Philip*, we wot right well by a general content of all hand yet when we enfranchised all *Greece* besides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the *Argives*, who are innocent for any publicke counsel intended against us? You said that you were blamed & charged sore for setting bondslaves free. No small objections these are I assure you, not of little importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts committed by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Crime but liberty of an Assembly general either at *Argos* or *Lacedaemon*, wherein the people may speak their minds freely, and what they know by you without empaichment: if you would learn the truth indeed, and hear the particular of a most proud and unupportable dominion and tyranny. And to let all old matters go by. What a bloody massacre committed this son in law of yours, *Pythiennus*, even almost within my very sight in *Argos*? nay, what a slaughter and butchery in the very self, even when I was within the marches of *Lacedaemon*? But come on to those persons whom in a general assembly you caused to be attached, and promiscled in the presence of all the Citizens to keep them safe and sure in ward: come on, I say, command them to be brought forth now bound as they be: that their poor fathers & mothers may understand and they are alive, whom they have mourned for so much, without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say, let case all this be true, what is that to you Romans? Dare you indeed speak out and lay to much to those that deliver *Greece* and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedom thereof have passed the seas have warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (if you) I have not directly & truly wronged you nor properly infringed & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not? How often would you have me to convince you of the contrary? But I will not use many words & much circumstance, but come to the very catch and point of the matter. What be the things I pray you, wherewith friendship is commonly broken? I take it they are these two especially, namely, if you take my friends for your foes; and joyne your self to my enemies. You have done both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and arms *Messina*, a City received

Hereupon it is, that they who use few words, and pity, are said to speak *Lucanice*: and that manner of speech is called *Lucanice*. The influence of *Quintius*.

"into our society and alliance by the very same conditions and covenants that *Lacedæmon* was; H
 "you I say our allies, have forced a City allied unto us, Again, with *Philip* our enemy, you have not
 "only concluded amity, but (God save all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of *Philætes*
 "a Colonnell and Commander of his: and making war against us, you have kept the seas all about
 "*Mæla* with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may safely say you have taken priors, rans,
 "and killed more Roman Citizens than *Philip* himself. And the whole sea-coast of *Macedony* hath
 "leis inelled our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and been more lafe for passage
 "than the promontory & cape of *Mæla*. Do you forbear therefore to make such want of a deli-
 "lity: spare you of a lather, to speak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the mask of popular
 "language and civil speech, talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, *Antiochus* dealt with
Nabis, one while demonifhing and adverting him, another while requefing and entre-ting him. I
 now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himself and his whole estate: he began to
 difcoufe unto him of the Tyrants of all the flates confining thereabout one after another by
 difcoufe unto him of the Tyrants of all the flates confining thereabout one after another by
 name who when they had reigned up and laid down their absolute foveraignty of command,
 and reftored liberty to their fubjects, paffed their old age among their Citizens, not only in re-
 pofe and fequity, but also in great honour and reputation. These words uttered & heard between
 them to and fro, the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow after, *Nabis* prom-
 ifted, seeing the Romans would have it so to quit the City *Argos*, to withdraw his garrison from
 thence and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and
 if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would fet it down in writing, that he
 might confute thereof with his friends. So both the Tyrant had refpite and time granted to take ad-
 vice, and also *Quintus* late in Council with the principal heads of his allies what to do. K
 The molt part were of opinion to maintain the war till, and to kill the tyrant out of the way: for
 never would the liberty of *Greece* be otherwise firm and fure: and better far had it been, never to
 have entred into arms with him than being once begun, to give it over. And he will, say they, be
 greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannical government were approved, and no doubt
 he would vouch his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to o-
 verthrow the liberty of Citizens, and to bring them into thraldom and bondage. The Generall,
 of himself was more affected and inclined to peace: for he saw, "that if the enemy were once dri-
 ven within the walls, there was no way but to lie in siege against the City, and that would re- L
 quire long tract of time: forasmuch as it was not *Gythium* (and yet that was betrayed and ren-
 dred and not forced by assault) but *Lacedæmon*, a molt strong town both for men and munition,
 "that they were to lay siege unto and assault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they
 "approached with the army, there might some diffection and ledion have rifen among them-
 selves within: now when as they saw the engines in manner advanced hard to the City gates,
 "there was not one that mutin'd or fiftred at all. He added more over and said, That *Philo* the
 "Embaffador newly returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not found there, nor the
 "perve like to continue: and that he had paffed over into *Emper*, with far greater forces both for
 "land and at sea than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth he) the army should be wholly em-
 "ployed in the siege of *Lacedæmon*, what other power have we to maintain war withall against M
 "so puiffant and mighty a Prince as is *Antiochus*? These were the remonstrances that openly he
 gave out: but secretly he was troubled in mind for fear lest a new Confil should come in his place,
 and have the government of the Province of *Greece*: and so he should leave unto his fuffellor,
 the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardness. But when he
 perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, notwithstanding all his contradic-
 tion and bending to the contrary, by making semblant that he now drew with them and was of
 their mind, he won them all to approve his designment and intention. "Well, God speed our
 "hand (quoth he) let us besiege *Lacedæmon* since ye will needs have it so: but considering that
 "the laying siege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and o-
 "fentimes maketh the aflailants looner weary than the defendants: you ought even now to cast N
 "this account presently with your selves, that we must lie all winter long about the walls of
 "*Lacedæmon*. And were there nothing but travell and perill, that during so long time we were
 "to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the fame, with stout bodies
 "and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabricks,
 "engines, and instruments of artillery, requifit to the aflault of so great a City: we must I say be
 "provided of victuals good store against winter, as well to serve us as you. Be well advised
 "therefore to the end that you should not suddenly in halle huddle up these matters. Or after ye
 "are once entred into the aflion, give over and abandon it with shame) that ye dispatch
 "your letters aorhand every one to the State wherein he liveth, and found them to the depth,
 "how their hearts serve them and what strength and forces they have. Of aids & incourcs I have O
 "enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance we have need, at
 "this time the winter is coming on apace, all which feason, carriage (especially for off) is cum-
 "burfome and hard. This Oration at the first caused them every one to regard and look homeward
 "to domestical difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleness, the envy and backbiting
 "of those which tarry at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty

(which

A (which causeth men of one society and commonaity hardly to accord and fort together) the pub-
 like want of treasure, and the niggardice of private persons, when they are to part with any thing
 out of their own purses. And therefore suddenly changing their minde, they put to the discretion
 of the Roman Generall, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the
 people of *Rome* and their allies. Whereupon *Quintus* taking the advice only of his own Lieuten-
 ants and Provost-Marshals, engrossed these Articles and conditions following, according to
 which peace should be concluded with the Tyrant, *In primis*, That the election of a Tyrant for the
 term of fix months between *Nabis* and the Roman King *Lacedæmon* and the Rhodians. That
 both *T. Quintus* and *Nabis* should immediately fend Embassadors to *Rome*, that they might
 be ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Senate, that on that day forward where-
 B in the conditions put down in writing should be entered unto *Nabis*, the time should
 should begin. *Item*, That within ten daies next after ensuing, all the territories out of the land and
 the rest of the towns within the territory of the Argives, and then those parts to be delivered, old
 and free unto the Romans. *Item*, That no slave taken captiv in war, belonging either to the
 King, or to any publique state, or private person, be had away from thence, and in the before
 time had been carried forth, they should be restored again dry to their right Masters. *Item*,
 That *Nabis* should deliver again those ships that he had gotten from the Argives, and that
 that himself have no vessel at all but only two gallions, and those to be common to him and
 twenty oars apiece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the summe of his rans and
 captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of *Rome*, as also make restitution to
 C the Messenians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the towns were lawfully
 to be theirs. *Item*, That he restore to all the banished *Lacedæmonians*, their wives and children:
 but of the wives, so many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of
 them should be compelled against their wills to go with any called persons. And that none of
 mercenary foundiers of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their own Cities, or to the Ro-
 mans, all their own goods should be justly and truly delivered again. That in the Island of
Grete he should not be poffessed of any one City: and took what Cities he should find, he yield
 them to the Romans. *Item*, That he enter into alliance with no Carthage, nor with any other
 whatsoever, nor yet make war with them. *Item*, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the
 D Cities that himself had delivered up and which had surrendered themselves and all they had under
 the protection and obedience of the people of *Rome*, and not molest them neither by himself
 nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no town nor Cattle, either in his own land or in any other.
Item, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants, he give twelve hostages, such as it
 should please the Roman Generall to choote: and namely, his own son or one of them. Last of
 all, That he make present payment of one hundred talents of silver, and fifty more yearly until
 the term of eight years be run out. These Articles engrossed were sent to *Lacedæmon*, after
 the Camp was removed nearer to the City. But nothing was pleaded was the Tyrant with any
 of them. Only he was well paid, that beyond his hope and expectation, the Romans were merri-
 on at all therein of reducing the called persons home into the City. But there withal offered
 and displaced him molt was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime
 E port towns: for great commodity he gat by the sea. In taking the land from the cape of *Mæla*
 with his pyrras and men of war: and besides, the youth and able men of those Cities, received his
 turn very well to furnish and man his ships with the very best soldiers and men of service that
 were. And albeit he feared and considered upon these articles ingrossed, so they with his friends,
 yet were they all of them divided abroad and current in every mans mouth: to maintain are these
 courtiers commonly and hardly to be untied, as in all things else to be kept in keeping of secret
 counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, notwithstanding by men in ge-
 nerally, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions against the points that concerned
 and concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were poffessed
 F of any part of their substance, chafed, and stormed thereat, as if they were to lose, or were poffessed
 of their own, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the
 tyrants, were now not only to lose the benefit of their freedom, but also to endure harder ser-
 vitude and bondage than aforetime: feting before their eyes how they should return again
 into the houses and hands of their old Masters, angry and incensed now against them. The
 hired foundiers were malecontent, for that they saw they should lose their pay after peace con-
 cluded: and saw full well, that there was no being for them in those States and Cities, who hated
 the tyrants themselves no more than their followers and adherents. At first they muttered
 and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and con-
 venticles: afterwards they mutined, and on a sudden ran and took arms. The Tyrant seeing
 the multitude disquieted enough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people to-
 G gether. Where after he had declared the conditions imposed upon him by the Romans,
 and in every article had intirely put to somewhat of his own device, to aggravate all mat-
 ters and make them seem more grievous and intolerable, at the rehearsing of every particu-
 lar the whole assembly one while cried out, and another while the fudry parts thereof. For up
 a noise of utter dislike. Then he asked their opinion what answer they would have him to return
 unto those Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice answered him that
 there was no answering of the matter, but that he should plainly go to war, and make no more

P. Scipio returned out of his Province and government of Gaul for the election of new Consuls, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned; wherein were chosen L. Cornelius Merula, and Q. Minutius Thermus. The next morning after were created Pretors, L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messala, L. Porcius Licinius, and C. Flaminius, C. Atilius Serranus, and L. Scribonius Libo. Ediles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the Stage-plays called *Megalæsa*. And the Roman plays or games represented and set out by these Ediles, the Senat now first and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministered much talk: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again construed thus, and gave out, "That whatsoever was added to the Majesty of the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are levered one from another, are prejudicial as well to common peace as public liberty." For these five hundred and eighty years say they, these plaies and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise difference. What new accident is suddenly befall, why the Nobles should not be willing to toler the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain his poor neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, full of pride and arrogancy, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senat of any nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* besought himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and perfwaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such as practise and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein L. Cornelius and Q. Minutius were Consuls, news came to thick of many earth-quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it self, but also of the holy-dayes and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Council, or manage the affairs of the Common-weal, for being wholly employed about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer and direction, a procession and supplication was for three daies solemnized. And before the Altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses, they made their prayers with garlands and coronets on their heads: yea, and commandment was given, that every household and family by it self should fall to their prayers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senat made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solemnity was ordained by occasion of one earth-quake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls cast lots for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto Cornelius befall *Cauls*, and to Minutius the Ligurians; C. Serranus had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and M. Valerius of the forraign; L. Cornelius governed Sicily, L. Porcius Sardinia, C. Flaminius high Spain, and L. Fulvius the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from M. Cincius Lord President of *Pise*, gave notice, that twenty thousand Ligurians were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territory of *Luna*, and having invaded and passed through the *Pisan Land*, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore Minutius the Consul, unto whom the government of *Liguria* was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senat mounted up into the pulpit *Refraja*, and published an act, That those two legions of Roman citizens, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at *Arretium*, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrats of the Latin nation, and their Embassadors leaguers, who owed knight-service, and were bound to find souldiers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and servicable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthwith, to go directly from the Capitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unto Fulvius and Flaminius were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen apiece, for to supply and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latin nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charged to dismiss and call the old souldiers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiers who were enrolled in the City-legions, returned thicket unto the Tribuns of the Commons, that they should take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of *Serranus* dashed all this, and cleared every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand Ligurians were entered the territory of *Placentia*, and had made great wast and laccage therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it self, and the banks of *P. Padus*. Also that the nation of the Boii made commotion and gave suspicious of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and sudden war toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiers, but that they should all meet

A meeting and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of P. *Coracius* and L. *Sampsonius* and were discharged from souldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to free themselves, as they should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said L. *Coracius* the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enroll, and arme, what souldiers he thought good, out of all the burroughs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea, and have commision to dismiss whom of them he thought good, and when soever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their Provinces, then T. *Quintus* demanded to have a day of audience in the Senate concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegates above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by virtue of their assent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all *Greece*: great part of *Asia*, and from the Kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senat by C. *Serranus* the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gracious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegates, of whom some had been in *Asia*, or at *Lysimachus* with the King, and *Quintus* was commanded, that together with those said Delegates he should hear what the King his Embassadors could say, and to return unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and welfare of the people of *Rome*. The chief of this embassage from the King were *Menippus* and *Hegesias*. Then *Menippus* began and said, "That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their embassage, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and alliance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and KK. ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are vanquished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yielded into the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his discretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he pleaseth. The second is, when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and be content to make peace and amity upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other: in which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the accord and agreement: and if in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their possession, they fall to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or respective to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet and confer together about concluding some friendship by way of solemn alliance and society, who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and not to those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is compelled in this kind, I marvel (qd. he) that the Romans should think or say, It is reasonable to them, to impose upon him, or to prescribe and set down, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and exempt, and which they would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expressly forbid the King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and set foot. For in this wise ought they to make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and association with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this Oration *Quintus* returned his answer in this sort, "For as much as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus diffident, by way of distinction, and severally to rehearse all kinds of confederacies and accords: I also will set down as methodically in order two conditions, without which you may let the King your master to understand, that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of *Rome*. The one I this, that if he would debar us to intermeddle with the Cities of *Asia* likewise himself, have nothing to do with all *Europe*. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the compass of *Asia*, but will needs encroach upon it the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to maintain those amities, which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of *Asia*. Hereat *Hegesias* interceded and said, "That this was an indignity intolerable, and which he could not abide to hear, namely that *Antiochus* should be disfavored of those Cities of *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*, which *S. Scaurus* his great grand-father had conquered with singular honor from the King *Lysimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and seized the same in him as his rightful inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* thinketh with as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of the Thracians, and partly re-peopled with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolate, and namely *Lysimachus* it self as all the world seeth, and more than that hath red-dified to his exceeding charge and expence, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire. What likens then is there between these two demands: namely, that *Antiochus* should be restored out the possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romans should obtain and forbear *Asia*, which never appertained unto them? To this indeed, *Antiochus* (saith he) is desirous of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as shall not diminish his honor, nor purchase him self shame and reproach. Then *Quintus* rejoined a word in this manner, "For as much as qd. be we balance and weigh things according to honesty (as in truth it is becom the chief and principal state of the world), and to great and mighty a King to prize that only or as

"Teatt wife principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you. Whether ye think it more honest, or the twain, either to will and wish that all the Cities of Greece whatsoever and wherefore should enjoy liberty: or to make them homagers and tributary? If *Antiochus* thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into servitude and bondage as his own, those Cities which his great grand-father held by right of arms, and whereof neither his father nor grand-father afore him were in possession: the people of *Rome* likewise esteemeth it a material point that toucheth their faithfulness and constancy, not to forsake the Greeks, whose protection and defence they have enterprised and taken in hand. And like as they have freed Greece out of the hands of *Philip*, so they intend to deliver those Cities of *Asia* which are of Greekish race and descent, from the subjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greek Colonies were not sent into *Eolia* and *Ionia*, to live in servitude under the Kings, but to increase and multiply, that a most ancient nation might spread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Hegesfanax* knew not how to flit and turn himself, and could not deny but that the cause of liberty which the Romans pretended in the title of their quarrel, was of more honesty and credit, than that other of slavery: Let's lay away all these circumstances of words (quoth *P. Sulpitius*, the ancientest person of all the ten Delegates) and choose ye one of the two conditions which even now were expressly offered unto you by *Quintius*, or else make no more talk about amity with the Romans. Then quoth *Menippus*, As for us, we may in no case, neither will we capitate and covenant any thing prejudicial to the Kingdom and royal state of King *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintius* when he had brought all the Embassies of Greece and *Asia* into the Senat, that they might know what affection the people of *Rome* carried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the Cities of Greece, he declared before them all as well his own demands, as those of the Kings part: willing them to make report unto their own Cities, and assure them, that the people of *Rome* would maintain them against *Antiochus* (unless he departed out of Europe) with the same virtue, valour, and fidelity wherewith he had defended their liberty against *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earnest with *Quintius* and the LL. of the Senat, beseeching them instantly not to proceed in hait to a decree whereby they should set all the world in trouble and upore: but both take leisure themselves and give respite unto the King to deliberate farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the conditions, he would consider upon them, and either obtain somewhat at their hands, or for peace sake yield his consent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: and agreed it was, that the same Embassadors should be addressed unto the King, who had been with him at *Lysimachia*, to wit, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Helms*.

Scarcely were they gone from the City and entered upon their journey, but Embassadors arrived from *Carthage*, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for war, and therein used the hand and ministry of *Annibal*: in so much, as it was feared also that a third *Punic* war would break out withal. *Annibal*, as we said before, having fled his native country, repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and estimation with the King, for no other cause and policy in the world, but that the King who projected and plotted long time in his spirit to levy war upon the Romans, could find no man more fit than *Annibal* to break his mind unto, and with whom to discourse upon a matter of such consequence. *Annibal* his long and resolution was ever one and the same still, namely, To make war within *Italy*: and that *Italy* was able to furnish a forrain enemy, with men, munition, and victuals. For this he cast with himself and considered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles set a foot, but that the people of *Rome* might with the forces and riches of *Italy*, furnish themselves to make war without *Italy*, there was no Monarch nor nation under the sun able to make head against the Romans. He demanded therefore to have the command of 100 close ships with hatch and deck, 16000 foot, and 1000 horse: and with the said fleet he would first fall into *Affrick*, where he assured himself that he should be able to solicit and induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off and made it goodly and strange, yet would he settle in some part of *Italy* and levy war against the Romans. His advice and counsel furthermore was, that the King should with all his other forces pass into Europe, and in some one part of Greece keep his power together, and not to take the Sea, but to be ready ever to cross over; which would be sufficient to make a shew and raise a bruit all abroad of war. When he had perswaded the King to this designment and resolution, supposing that he was likewise to found and prepare the hearts afore-hand of his own countrymen to this purpose: he durst not dispatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chance to be intercepted by the way, and so discover the whole plot. He happened at *Ephesus* upon a Tyrian one *Arifon*, a man whole industry and dexterity he had tried in some small ventures wherein he had employed him. Him he plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promises of great rewards, which King *Antiochus* also himself seemed to make good and give his word for: and so sent him to *Carthage* with credence and instructions. He acquainted him with the names of all those persons with whom he was to talk and confer: he furnished him with secret tokens, whereby they might assuredly know that he was no counterfeit, but came with a message from him. Now whilst this *Arifon* conversed in *Carthage*, the friends of *Annibal* knew no sooner about what errand he came, than his very enemies. At the first, much talk and discourse there was in every corner of the City where they met, and at their feasts and merriments, of this matter. Afterwards at their counsel table some stuck not to say, that the exile of *Annibal* was to little or no purpose, if whilst he was absent he could contrive and compass new plots, and by soliciting and tempering men's minds,

disquiet

A disquiet and trouble the state of the City. There is a stranger, say they, one *Arifon* a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from *Annibal* and King *Antiochus*: certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. "Whereupon they all cried with one voyce to convene *Arifon* presently before them, and to examine him about what business he was thither arrived and unless he would bewray & declare the matter, to lend him with Embassadors for purpose, to *Rome*: For why? we have (say they) felt the smart enough, and paid sufficiently for the folly and rash head of one herebrained man already. Let privy persons bear their own load hereafter, and at their own peril commit a trespass: provided always, that the Common-wealth be preserved clear not only from all fault, but also from all appearance and bruit of any such intent. *Arifon* being called before them (stood stiffly upon his integrity and excused himself, and evermore used this for his best and surest defence, That he had brought no letters at any one person: howbeit he could not render a ready & found reason of his coming thither: but especially he was shrewdly troubled and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with those only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon arose some debate and altercation in the house: whilst some were of opinion that he should be apprehended for a spy, and clapt up fast in ward: others again were of mind that there was no cause to make such a stir and tumult: for it was an evil precedent to be given, that strangers coming to their City, should be troubled and hardly intreated: and the like measure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in *Tyrum* & in other Towns of marchandise, whereunto they used to have resort for exchange and traffique. So for that day the matter was put off. *Arifon* framing himself to play the crafty Carthaginian among these Carthaginians, wrote a certain bill, and in the shutting in of the evening, hung it up in the most conspicuous and publick place of all the City, even over the seat where the head Magistrate useth daily to sit: and himself about the third watch gat to hipboard and elcaped. The morrow after, when the suffetes were set on the bench to minister law, the bill afore said was seen, taken down, and read: wherein to this effect was written, That *Arifon* was not come with a message to any person in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general (for so they call the Senat.) After that the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed culpable: they were not so earnest to search into privy persons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to give information hereof to the Consuls and the Senat, and whithal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by *Masaniissa*.

D *Masaniissa* understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romans, and also at jar and variance within themselves: and namely, that the great and principal men were had in jealousy by the Senat for their conferences with *Arifon*: and their Senate likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above named of the said *Arifon*, making thus a good advantage and opportunity to do them some injury, not only invaded their maritime parts and made spoil, but also forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay himself tribute. That quarter of the country they call *Emporia*. It is the Sea coast of the lesser *Syria*, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named *Lepcis*, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Masaniissa* then had plighted, loe, and for one part thereof he made some claim, as being litigious whether it pertained to his Kingdom, or the Seignory of the Carthaginians: and because he knew for truth, that the Carthaginian Embassadors were about to go to *Rome*, as well to purge themselves of some crimes wherewith they were charged, as to complain of him: therefore himself also addressed his Embassadors to *Rome*, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspicion, and debate whithal as touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speak concerning that Tyrian stranger but the LL. of the Senat grew into some doubt: lest they should wage war with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians both together. And this presumption of all the rest made the suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the party among them and were purposed to send him to *Rome*: they neither made the man himself sure, nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this, they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embassadors, about the territory and land in controversy. "The Carthaginians pleaded for themselves, and stood much upon their bounds and limits, for that the land in suit lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the Conqueror limited out that territory which pertained to the seignory of the Carthaginians. Also they alleged the confession of the King himself, who at what time as he persued *Aphercer*, that fled out of his own realm and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about *Cyrene*, made request unto them to give him leave to pass through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered again to these points & said plainly to their faces, that they lied in their throats, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*: and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meer strangers, they had after much prayer and entreaty, as much ground allowed them and no more, to build them a City in, as they could compass with things cut out of one bull hide. And look whatsoever they had encroached upon: without that nest and seat of theirs in *Byssa* they gat and held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in strife, they are not able to prove, that they always held the same in possession no, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as occasion and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian

44 Kings made security, and enjoined it; and evermore he went away with the possession thereof. It was as he longer, and had the keener sword, for these considerations they requested the Romans to leave the thing in that state and condition, wherein it stood before that the Carthaginians were enemies, or King Masinissa friend and ally to the Romans and not to intermeddle between, nor take a part, but let the winter wear it, and him have it that can hold it. In conclusion it was thought good, that to the Embassadors of both parties this answer should be returned, namely: That they would send certain Commissioners into Affrick, to decide this controversy about the land in question, between the people of Carthage and the King. So there were sent of purpose, P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minucius Rufus. Who having heard what could be said, and seen the thing, left all hanging still in suspense and undecided, without adjudging it by their definitive sentence to the one or the other, But whether they did so, on their own head and self-accord, or by direction from the Senat, is not so certain, as it seemeth agreeable unto that present time in policy, to leave them as they found them, and the contrary still depending, For unless it were so, Scipio himself alone, in regard of the knowledge that he had of the thing, and of his authority with the persons (to much bound they were unto him on both sides) might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this matter.

The five and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the x City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and thirtieth Book.

Publius Scipio Africanus being sent Embassador unto Antiochus, talked at Ephesus with Annibal (who had sided with Antiochus) to the end, that he might rid him of that fear which he had conceived of the people of Rome, as touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters passed between them, when he demanded of Annibal, upon what judgment he have been the noblest and greatest warrior, or that ever was, he answered that it was Alexander King of the Macedonians; for that he with a small power had discomfited and defeated an infinite number of armies, and with that, passed through those far distant and remote parts of the world, unto which a man would not believe that it were possible for any person to go and see them. When he asked again of him whom he deemed for the second: Whom Pyrrhus (qñ he) because he taught the manner how to pitch a camp, & besides, no man had the cost to gain places and holds for advantage, nor could set his corps de guard, or plant garisons better than he. And when he proceeded to know whom he took to be the third, Annibal named his own good self. At which answer Scipio smiled laughing: And what would you I say (said then qñ he) if your hap had been to have vanquished me, Marry then (said he) I would have set my self before Alexander, before Pyrrhus, and before all other. Among other prodigious fights, whereof there were reported very many, it is said, that in the year wherein Cn. Domitius was Consul, an Ox spake, and said these words: Rome, look to thy self, The Romans prepare to war with Antiochus, Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, provoked by the Aitolians, who solicited both Philip and also Antiochus to wage war against the people of Rome, revolted from the Romans and after he had levied war against Philip, the Pretor of the Acheans, was by the Aitolians slain. The Aitolians likewise abandoned the friendship of the people of Rome, with whom Antiochus King of Syria banded: who warred upon Greece, and surprised many Cities, and namely, Chalcis and Euboea among the rest. Besides, this book containeth the martial affairs in Liguria, and the preparation of Antiochus for the war.

The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

IN the beginning of that year where in these affairs thus passed, Sext. Digitius Pretor in high Spain, fought battles (rather ordinary, and for number many than otherwise memorable and worth the speaking) against those States, whereof after the departure of Cato a great sort had rebelled. And those battles for the most part were so unfortunate, that hardly he could deliver up to his successor the one half of those soldiers which he had received. And doubtless all Spain would have taken heart again, if the other Pretor P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cneus, had not sped better in many of his conflicts beyond them. Upon which terror, no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him, And these exploits performed Scipio as Pretor. Who also in quality of Propretor, encountered the Lusitanians upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty raised out of the bare Spain, which they had utterly pillaged and spoiled: where he fought from the third hour of the day unto the eight, with doubtful event. For number of soldiers he was inferior to his enemies, but for all things else he had the vantage and went beyond them. For his battalions were well appointed and close compacted of a med men and so charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the same encumbered with a deal of cattle: besides, his soldiers were fresh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel,

* After Sun.
ring.

A vel. For the enemies set forth at the third watch, and besides their night journey, they had marched three hours also of the day, and without any repose or rest at all, they came to a conflict presently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battle, so long as they were in any heart, and their strength served, they troubled and disordered the Romans with the first charge they gave; but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight, in which hazard of doubtful issue the Propretor vowed to set forth certain solemn games to the honour of Jupiter, in case he might discomfit the enemies, and kill them in chase. At the length the Romans advanced forward more hotly, and the Lusitanians retreated: yea, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans pursued them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies slain upon 12000, 500 and forty taken prisoners, all in manner horsemen; and of military engines they carried away one hundred thirty and four. Of the Roman army twenty and three only were lost. This battle was fought not far from the City of Ilipta. And thither brought P. Cornelius his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage. Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the rest was given to the Treasurers for to be sold, and the money raised thereof, was parted among the soldiers.

Now had not C. Flaminius the Pretor as yet taken his leave of Rome, when these things fell out in Spain, and therefore both he and his friends talked and discoursed much upon these occurrences both good and bad, and so far as much as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himself was to receive from Sext. Digitius but a small remnant of an army, and the same timorous still and full of fright, as not well recovered of their former flight, he had assented to bring about, that the Senat would assign unto him one of the City-legions; to the end that when he had joined thereto those soldiers which himself had enrolled according to an order let down by the Senat, he might out of all that number choose forth six thousand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. With which legion (for in the army of Sext. Digitius he reposed small confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and said, That acts of the Senat were not to be made upon every flying tale and report set abroad and blazed by some particular persons in favor of Magistrates. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but that which either the Pretors themselves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embassadors sent of purpose, related. And if there were any such commotion and trouble in Spain, they were of advice that the Pretor should levy in half without Italy, such tumultuary soldiers, as in that case were usually taken up. D The intent and mind of the Senat was, that soldiers should in that sort be prest out in Spain, Valerius Antius wisteth that C. Flaminius both failed into Sicily to levy and muster men, and also as he made sail from Sicily toward Spain, was by wind and tempest put with the shore of Affrick; where he found certain soldiers dispersed over the country, remaining of the army of P. Africanus: of whom he took a military oath to serve him in his wars: and that to these levies raised in two Provinces, he joynd also a third in Spain.

The war of the Ligurians likewise grew as fast: for they had already besieged and invested Pise with forty thousand men: and thither resorted and flocked daily unto them great multitudes as well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the war. Minutius the Consul came at the day appointed to Arretium, which was the *Reverendissimi* where he had commanded all his soldiers to meet him: from whence he marched with a foursquare Battalion toward Pise. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the City on the other side of the River, the Consul entered the Town, which no doubt by his coming he preferred. The next day himself also encamped on the other side of the River, almost half a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light skirmishes with them and saved the territory of his allies from the excursions and robberies of the enemies. He durst not as yet try a battle in pitched field, as having but raw and new soldiers, and those gathered out of many kinds of men and not so well known among themselves: that one might surely trust another. The Ligurians bearing themselves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battle, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commandment and to spare, sent out into all parts sundry companies to spoil and raise booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the country. And when they had gathered together much cattail and great store of pillage, they had a strong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was conveyed into their boroughes and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurians war was settled about Pise, the other Consul L. Cornelius Merula entered with his army by the utmost confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwise than with the Ligurians. For the Consul entered the field in battail array, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In so much as the Romans seeing none to come forth and present themselves, ran abroad into all parts to speed their hands with pillage. And the Boians chose rather to suffer their goods to be ransacked making no resistance, than to save the same with the hazard of a battail. The Consul when he had wrought his pleasure and consumed all with fire and sword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward Marina securely without any regard of himself, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boii perceiving one that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a still and silent march, seeking some convenient place for to lay an ambush. And having in the night season passed beyond the Roman camp, they sailed themselves of a streight passage within a fastness, through which of necessity the Romans must pass, and there they forlaid them.

* Molens.

This

This was not so closely carried, but the Consul had an inkling thereof: and therefore where as his manner was to set out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for fear left the darkness of the night should increase the terror of a tumultuary skirmish, he waited for the day. And albeit the sun was up before he removed and set forward, yet he sent out a Troop of horsemen to scour and discover the quarters. And after he was adverted by these espials what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commanded that all the baggage and carriage of the whole army should be bestowed in the mids, and that the Triarii should stake and pale it all about, whilst he with the rest of his forces marched in order of battle, and approached the enemy. The like also did the French, after they once saw that their ambush and trains were detected, and that they must of necessity fight a set pitched battle, where down right blows, clean strength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victory. Thus about the second hour of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horsemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenants that had been Consuls, to wit, *M. Marcellus*, and *T. Sempronius*, Consul the year before. The new Consul one while was in the front of the battle, another while at the tail to keep in the legions, left for eager desire of fight they should advance forward to the conflict before that the signal was given. As for the men of arms belonging to the legions, he commanded *Quintius* and *P. Minutius*, Marshals or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battle into a large plain, from whence out of the open ground they should on a sudden charge the enemies, when he gave them a signal by sound of Trumpet. Thus as he was marshalling and directing his men, there came a messenger from *T. Sempronius Longus* with a report, that the loose Extraordinary K soldiers aforesaid were not able to abide the violence of the Gauls: that very many of them were slain, and those that remained, partly for weariness of travell, and partly for feartful cowardice began to quail their heat of fight; and therefore if he thought to good, he should send one of the two legions to succour, before they had received further dishonor. Whereupon the second legion was sent, and the Extraordinaries retired themselves out of the battle. Then began the conflict anew, by reason that the soldiers came in fresh and in heart, and the legion besides was compleat and fully furnished with all her companies: the left wing of horsemen aforesaid was retired out of the battle, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the fore-front. By this time the sun with extreme scorching heat, roasted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can least abide heat: howbeit, standing with their ranks thick and close together, one while they L leaned one upon another: other whilst they rested and bare themselves upon their targets, and sustained the violence of the Romans. Which when the Consul perceived, he commanded *C. Livius Sabinus* who had the conduct of the light horse in the wings, to send in the quickest horse in all his company, with full carrier to break their ranks: and gave charge that the legionary horsemen should abide behind in the rereguard. This tempest and storm of Cavalry first shuffled and put in disorder the battle of the Gauls, and afterwards brake their ranks and files clean, yet not so, that they turned their backs: for why, their Captains and Leaders would not suffer them, laying about with their runcheons upon the backs of them that so trembled for fear, and forced them again into their ranks: but the light horsemen aforesaid riding among them would not permit them to stand to it, and keep their place. The Consul for his part encouraged and exhorted M soldiers to stick to it awhile, for the victory was in their hands; and to charge still upon them, so long as they saw them disordered and affrighted: for if they suffered their ranks to close again they should abide another conflict, and the same perhaps doubtful and dangerous. The Ensign-bearers he commanded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they discomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they shewed their backs once and took them to their heels, running away on all sides, then the legionary horsemen were sent out after to follow the chase: fourteen thousand Boians that day were slain, a thousand and nine hundred taken prisoners alive: 221 horsemen, three of their Leaders, and of Ensigns were won 212, and chariots 63. The Romans likewise won not this victory for clear, but it cost them some blood. For of their own soldiers and allies together, there died above five thousand, N 23 Centurions, besides four Colonels of Allies, and two Marshals of the second legion, to wit, *M. Genutius*, and *M. Martinus*.

At one and the self same time in manner, both the Consuls letters were brought to Rome. *Cornelius* his letters touching the battle fought at *Mutina* with the Boians: but the other of *Q. Minutius* from *Pisa* were written to this effect. That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the assembly for the election of new Magistrates, yet considering in how doubtful terms of hazard his affairs stood in *Liguria* that he might not possibly depart from thence without the utter ruin of the allies, and hindrance of the weal publick: therefore if it might seem to good unto the LL of the Senat, he would advise them to send unto his brother Consul, that he, who had finished his war, might return to Rome for to hold the foresaid general assembly for the election: but in case O he should think much thereof, because this charge properly appertaineth not to him; he promised them, that himself would do whatsoever the Senate should think good. But he requested them to consider and be well advised. Whether it were not more expedient for the common-weal to proceed rather to an interregnum, than that he should leave the Province in that state of jeopardy. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to *C. Scribonius* for to send two Embassadors both of Senators calling, unto *L. Cornelius* the Consul, who should carry also with them unto him the

A the letters of his colleague written and sent unto the Senat: and withal, to let him understand, that unless he would come himself to Rome for the election of new Magistrates to succeed, the Senat would suffer an interregnum rather than call away *Q. Minutius* from the war unfinished, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embassadors that were sent, brought word back, that *L. Cornelius* would repair to Rome himself for the chusing of new Magistrates. As touching the letters of *L. Cornelius*, wherein he gave them to understand, what happy issue & success he had in the battle with the Boians: there was some reasoning and debate in the Senat-house: for *M. Claudius* his Lieutenant had written other letters privately to most of the Senators, to this effect; That they were much beholden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of Rome, and the valour of the soldiers, in that they sped so well as they did: for by means of the Consul, not only there were a good number of men lost, but also the army of the enemies was escaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunity presented unto them, of a final defeat and overthrow thereof: and that by this occasion there was a greater number of the soldiers miscarried; for that they who should have rescued and succoured those that were distressed, came too late out of the rereguard: and the reason why the enemies got away and escaped was this, because the legionary horsemen had not the signal soon enough sounded unto them, and could not possibly pursue them in the chase. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing rashly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent assembly of Senators.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads: for the City was much oppressed with misery: and albeit the avarice and covetousness of men had been well gaged and bridled by many laws concerning usury, yet there was a cautious device and snift found out, to avoid all statutes in that behalf: to wit, that all obligations should pass in the names of allies, and be sealed unto them, who were not tied and bound to observe the laws aforesaid. By which means the creditors enwrapped their debtors in what bonds they list, and forced them to pay extreme interest as they would themselves, without stint. For to see into this disorder and enormity, and to redress the same, it was thought good and order taken, to let down and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the misers were last restrained. From which day all those allies should come in and declare and protest, what money they had put forth upon usury to any citizen: of Rome: and that the creditor should have right to recover those monies put forth from that time, according to such conditions as the debtor would himself. Hereupon, after there were discovered great sums of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practice, *M. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons, by advice of the Senat propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it. That the same course of putting out money practised between citizen and citizen of Rome, should likewise be in force among the allies of the Latin Nation. In this sort went matters in Italy, both within the City of Rome, and also in the wars abroad.

In Spain the war was nothing so much as the bruit that ran thereof. *C. Flaminius* in high Spain, wan *Ilucia*, a Town in the Oretans country: after which exploit, he laid up his soldiers in their winter harbour. And in winter time there passed certain light skirmishes (not worth the naming) against the exursions of brigands and thieves, I may rather say, than enemies: and yet the fortune was variable, and not without some loss of men. As for *M. Fulvius* he achieved great matters: for he fought in a ranged battle with boians displaced against the Vaccæans, the VeStones, and the Celtiberians, before the Town *Toletum*: where he discomfited and put to flight the army of those nations, and took prisoner alive, their King *Hilernus*.

Whiles these things thus passed in Spain, the day drew near, of the solemn election of Magistrates at Rome: and therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul having left *M. Claudius* Lieutenant in the army, came to Rome: who, after he had discomfited in the Senat-house of his own exploits, and in what estate the province stood, he complained to the LL of the Senat, that considering to great a war was brought to an end, by one battle so fortunately and happily fought, there was no solemnity to the honour of the Gods, performed in that behalf. Over and besides, he demanded, That F they would decree a procession and triumph withal. But before the Senators were to deliver their opinions to this demand, *Q. Metellus*, who had been Consul and Dictator, rose up and said, That there had been letters brought at one and the same time; both from the Consul *Cornelius* to the Senat, and also from *M. Marcellus* to a great many of the Senators; and those letters importing contraries: whereupon the consultation of that matter had been deferred and put off to the end that it might be argued and debated in the presence of them both, who wrote the letters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Consul (knowing especially that his Lieutenant had written and informed somewhat against him, and considering that himself was to repair to Rome) would have brought him also with him; seeing that it had been more meet and befitting him to have delivered the army to *T. Sempronius*, one that was in the commission and G had a command, than to a Lieutenant. But it should seem now, that he was left behind far enough off of very purpose, for fear he would avow and justify personally his hand-writing, and charge him face to face: and that if the Consul should make report of any untruth, he might be challenged therefore, and the thing sifted and canvased, until the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quoth he) that nothing be determined at this present, as touching the demands of the Consul. But when as he persisted notwithstanding, and followed the suit still, namely, that they would ordain a solemn procession, and that himself might enter the

the City, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Titinius*, both Tribuns of the Commons, protested, that they would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Julius Pater* and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, created the year before. *Cornelius* took a review of the City and numbered the people; and there were accounted by his survey 143704 polls of Citizens. Great floods arose that year, and *Tyber* overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate *Flumentana* certain houses and buildings were overthrown withal, and laid along. The gate *Calmontana* besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in mount *Aventin*, it rained stones. And reported it was from *Capua*, that a great swarm of Walps came flying into the market place, and leaped upon the Temple of *Mars*: which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of *Sibylla*: whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine days) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleaned and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the Chappel of *Virgin Victory*, near to the Temple of the Goddess *Victory*, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Vulso*, *L. Apulius Fullo*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the country of *Arurium*: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen: a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and three score for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of *Apulius*, one third part of the Lands was excepted and reserved; to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Colonies if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty apiece.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men, as well of the *Patritii* and nobles, as the Commoners, toiled and laboured hard for the Consulship. To wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneius*, who lately was departed out of Spain after he had achieved many worthy deeds. *L. Quintus Flaminius* who had been Admiral of the navy in *Greece*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were *C. Lelius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Lucius Sulpicius*, and *M. Atilius*. But all mens eyes were fixed upon *Quintus* and *Cornelius*. For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their flesh glory for feats of war. They recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, let the debate on a light fire. The glory of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twain, so it was more subject to envy. The honour of *Quintus* was more fresh, as who that year had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that maketh great men not so highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them) also he had been twice Consul, and Censor since he vanquished *Annibal*. But in *Quintus* all was fresh and new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any thing. He alleged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Cousin German: in the behalf of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by Land, to his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintus* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* and his brother *Alaricus* brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelii* seemed to countenance. even then when a *Cornelius* Consul, was president of the election and held the assembly: whom the Senat had given so grave a testimony of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddess, *Jane Idæa*, coming from *Pellus* into the City of *Rome*. Thus were *L. Quintus*, and *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus* created Consuls, in such sort, that *Africanus* was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of a Consul out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for *C. Lelius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centimulus*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, *M. Papius Tampilus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salinius Sarras*. In this year *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *L. Emilius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves off in their office, as they made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City graziers or farmers of the common pastures: and which were set up on the final or lastern of *Trifurcus* Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate *Trigenia*, with a high batt. Hall or Burle adjoined thereto, near *Tyber*: and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length as far as to the Altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field.

For a long time nothing was done in *Liguria* worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year twice were the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended. and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a straight pass, the army of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul seeing he could not make way through, turned his ensigns, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, inasmuch as the

lamentable

A lamentable remembrance of the Gaudine overthrow, not only presented it self to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongst his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whole Captain promised the Consul, that he and his would break through whither way he would, let him only bid him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their Villages and houses: to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chafe which they held and bfer, and run to succour their own neighbours. The Consul commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horseback, and began to ride about the camp, degrading of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had seen them, would have

B thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horse, little, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without weapon, save that he carried about him some light darts: the horses without bridles: and as they ran shouting out their stiff necks, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more despised, would on purpose seem to take fals from their hories, and made their enemies good sport. Whereupon they (who if at first they had been assailed, would have been heedful and ready to have received the charge, now at full (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop toward them and presently ride by, as by little and little they gained ground, and advanced nearer to the pass, yet making semblance, as if they had had no rule of their hories, but were carried thither against their wills. At last, they set spurs to their hories indeed, and brake through the midst of the enemies guards: and so soon as they had recovered the open ground, they let on fire all the houses near the high way side, and so forward they burnt the next village they came unto, and destroyed all afore them with fire and sword. First, the smoke that was delcrid, afterwards, the outcry heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and last of all, the children and old folk that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the camp: inasmuch, as every man of himself without advice, without warrant or direction, made what halt he could to run and save his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Consul delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were so spitefully and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the *Ætolians*. They at the very first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remove of the forces out of *Greece*, *Antiochus* would have entred *Europe*, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabie* would be in reit and do nothing. But seeing them not to stir in any place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for fear lest by delays and lingering, all their designments would turn to nothing: and therefore they published a Dict or Council to be holden at *Naupactum*. In which assembly *Thoon* their Pretor, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and soliciting the Rate of *Ætolia* (for that they of all other nations and Cities of *Greece*, were least honoured and let by after that victory, whereof they had been the cause) gave his advice, That there should be Embassadors sent to all the neighbour Kings, not only to sound their minds and affections, but also to incite

E and prick them every one forward to enter into arms against the Romans. So *Damocritus* was addressed to *Nabie*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicaarchus* the brother of the Pretor unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* was in commission to signify unto the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, "That by the loss of his maritime Cities, the very strings and sinews of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut in sunder: "For from thence was he furnished with soldiers, from thence had he his ships and servants at sea: whereas now, he might see the Achæans LL, and rulers of *Peloponnesus*, whilst himself was pinned up and enclosed within his walls and never should he have opportunity to recover himself. If he let pass this that presently was offered unto him, No Roman army was now in *Greece*: "and never would the Romans think it sufficient cause, to pass over the Seas with their legions into *Greece*, for any occasion of *Gythium* or other Laconian inhabiting the Sea-coasts. These reasons were laid forth to incense the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once passed over into *Greece*, he being touched in conscience, that he had broken the Roman league by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity join and band with *Antiochus*. "Scemblable remontrances and reasons used *Nicander* for to provoke and persuade *Philip*: and "much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was depoled from much higher degree of estate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained far greater losses. To this, he alleged the ancient name and renown of the KK, of *Macedon*; and how that nation had overrun the whole world and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he said, That he advised him to take a courie, which was safe both to be enterprised, and also easy to be executed. For he gave not *Philip* counsel to stir, before that *Antiochus* were passed over with "an army into *Greece*: and considering that he without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained war so long against the Romans and *Ætolians*, what possible means had the Romans to withstand "him assisted with *Antiochus* & the *Ætolians* his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than the Romans? Over and besides, he inferred this reason also, what a brave and doughty Captain "Antiochus was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had slain already more leaders and soldiers of theirs, than were left behind. These were the allegations of *Nicander* to "Philip. As for *Dicaarchus*, he had other motives to persuade with *Antiochus*. First, and principally

pally above all others, he affirmed, "That howsoever the prize and booty of *Philip* fell to the Romans, the victory was gained and achieved by the *Ætolians*, and none but they either gave the Romans entrance and passage into *Greece*, or furnished them with forces for the performance and accomplishment of the victory. Then he shewed and made promise what power as well of foot as horse they would present unto *Antiochus* toward his wars, what places they would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his strength and army at Sea. After all this he stuck not (to serve his own turn) for to over-reach and tell a loud lie as touching *Philip* and *Nabis*, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at the point to renew war: and would take the vantage of the very first opportunity and occasion that could be presented, to recover those things which by war they had lost. Thus the *Ætolians* laboured to set all the world at once upon the top of the Romans. Howbeit, the King, were he not moved at all with their sollicitings, or belittled them more slowly than they looked for. But sent immediately about all the Towns by the Sea side, certain persons of purpose to sow discord and kindle seditions among them: and some of their principal citizens he won by gifts and presents to his own purpose and designs: but such as stiffly continued fast and firm in alliance and allegiance with the Romans, those he made away and murdered. Now had *T. Quintius* given in charge and commission to the *Ætolians*, for to guard all the *Laconians* that dwelt upon the Sea-coasts: and therefore presently they both dispatched their Embassadors unto the Tyrant, to put him in mind of the confederacy and affection with the Romans, and to warn him and give him advertisement, that in no wise he would trouble that peace, which he had so earnestly craved and fought for: and also sent aid unto *Gythium*, which now the tyrant began to assault: yea, and addressed other Embassadors also to *Rome* to give intelligence of these occurrences.

Antiochus the King after he had that winter time given his daughter in marriage to *Prolemæus* the King of *Egypt*: at *Rhaphia* a City in *Phœnicia*, retired to *Antiochia*: and in the very end of that same winter, passed through *Cilicia* over the mountain *Taurus*, and came to *Ephefus*. And from thence in the beginning of the Spring, after he had sent his son *Antiochus* into *Syria* for to defend and keep in obedience the utmost frontiers of his Kingdom, left in his absence there might arise some troubles behind his back, he marched with all his Land-forces against the *Pisidians*, who in some habit abode at *Salga*.

At the same time the Romans Embassadors *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius*, who as we said before had been sent unto *Antiochus* with direction, first to visit *K. Eumenes*, arrived at *Elaa*, and from thence went up to *Pergamus*, where *Eumenes* kept his royal court. *Eumenes* was desirous in his heart that *Antiochus* should be warred upon: supposing verily, that if he were at peace, being a Prince so much mightier than himself, he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour to fear onto him: but if war were once foot, that he would be no more able to beard and match the Romans than *Philip* had been: and that either he should wholly be overthrown and come to utter ruin: or if, being vanquished, he had peace given unto him by the Romans: then, as he lost much thereby and would be weaker, so himself should gain by the bargain, and grow mightier, that afterwards he might be able easily of himself to make his part good, and hold his own against him, without the help and aid of the Romans: or if any misfortune should happen unto him, he were better by far to hazard any fortune whatsoever in the Roman society, than either alone to endure the Lordly dominion of *Antiochus* and be subject, or in refusing to obey, be compelled thereto by force and arms. For these causes he employed all the credit and authority he had, yea, and addressed all counsel that he could devise for to prick on and set forward the Romans in this war. *Sulpicius* all counsel that he could devise for to prick on and set forward the King was occupied and busied remained behind sick at *Pergamus*. But *Villius* advertised that the King was occupied and busied in the *Pisidian* war, went to *Ephefus*: and whilst he abode there some few days, he endeavoured and made means to have conference oftentimes with *Annibal*, who haply at that time sojourned there, both to sound his mind if possibly he could, and also to secure him of all fear from the Romans. In these meetings and communications, no other thing passed nor was done between them. But few what ensued hereupon of it self, as if it had been a thing wrought and compassed of meall policy. *Annibal* by this means was lessened by and in smaller credit with the King, yea, and in all policy. *Annibal* by this means was lessened by and in smaller credit with the King, yea, and in all policy. matters began to be more and more suspected and had in jealousie. *Claudius* (the Historian) who followed the Greek books of *Ælius*, writeth that *P. Africanus* was joyed in that embassy, and that he talked and devised with *Annibal* at *Ephefus*: and namely, maketh report of one conference and speech between them twain: and that is this, *Africanus* demanded of *Annibal*, whom in his judgment, he took to have been the greatest commander for feats of arms, that ever was: to which he made answer, that he judged *Alexander* the King of the *Macedonians* was simply the most excellent warrior: in this regard, that he with a small power had defeated innumerable armies: and besides had passed as far as to the utmost bounds of the whole earth, even to those lands, that a man would think incredible for any one to reach unto. And when he asked again whom he deemed worthy to stand in the second place: he answered, that *Pyrhus* was the man: for that he first taught how to pitch a camp and above all other points of military skill no man knew better to choose out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and dispose garrisons: besides he had such a sleight and dexterity to draw and win men unto him, that the Italian nations had rather been subject to him a foreign Prince, than to live under the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding they had of long time the Seignory and rule of those parts. And

A when he proceeded still to know whom he reputed for the third, he made no striking at the matter, but named himself. Whereupon *Scipio* took up a laugh, and replied again: What would you say then, if your hap had been to have subdued me? May then, quoth he, I would think I were worthy to be set before *Alexander*, before *Pyrhus*, yea, and before all other martial men and commanders in the whole world. At this answer, *Scipio* took delight and pleasure, to see how subtly and cautiously he had like a cunning Carthaginian, touched his words in a certain kind of flattery, as if he had requited him from out of the range and rank of all other Captains as being by many degrees incomparable, and far above all others. Then *Villius* went onward from *Ephefus* to *Apamea*: and thither *Antiochus* also repaired for to meet him, hearing of the coming of Roman legats. In this communication and conference at *Apamea*, the matter was debated much after the same sort, as it had been at *Rome* between *Quintius* and the Kings Embassadors. But the news of *Antiochus* the Kings son his death (whom I said a little before to have been sent into *Syria*) brake off the peace. Great mourning and sorrow there was in the Kings Court, and much was that young Prince misdeed and moaned, for that good proof he had given of himself, that if he had lived any long time, he would have proved by all likelihood of this towardsness, a great, a mighty, and a righteous King. The deerer and better beloved he was of all men, the more fulpitious was his death: and namely, that his father doubting that he would prefigure and be instant to succeed him in his old age, took order by the ministry of certain Eunuchs or gilded men (persons greatly accepted with Kings for such services) to have him poisoned. And they say that another cause also set him forward to commit this secret act, because having given the City *Lysimachia* to his son *Seleucus*, he had no such place to bestow upon *Antiochus* his son, for to keep his residence in, whereunto he might have removed him farther off from his own person, under colour of doing him honor. Howbeit, great semblance and shew there was of much mourning and lamentation all over the court for certain dayes: in so much as the Roman Embassador retired himself to *Pergamus*, because he was loth to converse there uncivilly, at so unseasonable a time. The King returned to *Ephefus*, and gave over the war that he had enterprized. Where, the court res being shut by occasion of the mourning time, he devised and consulted in great secret with *Minio* an inward friend unto him, and whom of all other he loved best, and trusted most. This *Minio* a meet stranger and altogether ignorant in foreign affairs and forces, meaning and effecting the power and greatness of the King by his exploits done in *Syria* or in *Asia*, deemed verily, that *Antiochus* had not only the better cause, in that the Romans demanded unreasonable conditions: but also should have the upper hand in the trial thereof by war. When as now the King resolved to have any conference and dispute with the Embassadors, either for that he knew by good experience that it would be bootless for him to do so, or because he was troubled in spirit upon this late and fresh object of grief and sorrow: *Minio* undertook the business, and protested that he would speak to the point of the matter and to good purpose, and so persuaded the King to send for the Embassadors from *Pergamus*. By this time *Sulpicius* was recovered of his sickness, and therefore both of them repaired to *Ephefus*: where *Minio* exalted the King, and in his absence they began to treat about their affairs. Then *Minio* with a premeditated oration began in this wise. "I see well (qd, he) that you Romans pretend unto the world a goodly title of letting free the Cities of *Greece*, but your deeds are not answerable to your words: and ye have let down unto *Antiochus* one manner of law to be tied unto, and practise your selves another. For how cometh it about that the *Smyrneans* and *Lampacens* should be Greeks, more than the *Neapolitans*, the *Rhégins*, and *Tarentins*, of whom you exact tribute and require ships by virtue of the accord and covenants between you? Why send you yearly to *Syracuse* and other Greek Cities of *Sicily*, a Pretorin sovereign authority, with his rods and axes? Certainly, ye have nothing else to say, but that ye have subdued them in war, and by right of conquest have imposed these conditions upon them. The like, yea, and the same cause know ye that *Antiochus* allegeth as concerning *Smyrna*, *Lampacis*, and other Cities and states of *Ionis* and *Æolis*. For having been conquered in war by his ancestors and progenitors, having I say been made tributary and liable to impositions, he challenge length of them the ancient rights and duties due from them, and to him belonging. And therefore if ye will debate and treat the question according to equity and reason and not rather pick quarrels and seek occasions of war. I would gladly know what ye will answer to him in this point? To this *Sulpicius* made answer in this wise. "The *Antiochus* (qd, he) hath done very well and with good regard of modesty, in that having no other matters to plead unto for his defence and the maintenance of his cause, he hath made choice of any other rather than himself to be the speaker. For what one thing is there alike in those cities which you have named and put in comparison? Of the *Rhégins*, *Neapolitans* and *Tarentins*, we demand that which is our due according to the deeds of covenants indentured, and hath ever been since time that first they were in subjection under us: that I say which we have challenged and enjoyed by virtue of one continued course and tenor of right, by us ever practised without any intermission or interruption. And are ye able to avouch, that as those nations neither by themselves nor by any other have altered and changed the accord between us and them, so the Cities of *Asia*, when they once became subject to the ancestors of *Antiochus*, remained always in the perpetual possession of your Kingdom? And not rather, that some of them have been under the obedience of *Philip* & others obedient to *Prolemæus*? Yea, and divers of them for many years have been free & used their own liberties without contradiction, and no words or doubt made thereof? For admit this once,

"that (because these Cities sometime were in bondage through the iniquity of those times where-
 "in they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the same be effectual to reduce
 "them again after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well say, that we
 "have done just nothing, in delivering Greece out of the hands of Philip? and that his successors
 "and posterity may claim again and lay title to Corinth, Chalch, Demetrius, and the whole Thessa-
 "lian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cause of the Cities of Greece, whom I was more
 "meet and reasonable that both we and the King himself would give audience unto, and let them
 "plead what they can for their own selves? With that he commanded the embassages of the Ci-
 "ties to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by Eumenes, who made this
 "reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from Antiochus, should accrue and come unto him and
 "his Kingdom. Many were admitted to speak: and whilst every one set forward his own cause, I
 "some by way of complaint, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himself without
 "regard of right or wrong, so he served his own turn, they fell at length from reasoning to warbling
 "and wrangling: in so much, as the Embassadors returned to Rome as uncertain and doubtful in all
 "matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were dismissed and gone, the King held a Council as touching the Roman war. In
 "which assembly, some delivered their opinion more freely and stoutly than others: but generally
 "the more bitter speech that any one used against the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in-
 "to especial grace and favour with the King. One above the rest, inveighed much and spake against
 "those proud and insolent demands of the Romans, who imposed hard laws and conditions upon
 "Antiochus, the mightiest King of all Asia as if he had been no better than Nabis, whom they had
 "conquered and subdued. And yet (saith he) they left unto Nabis some seignory and dominion in
 "his own country and City of Lacedemon: whereas if Lampsacum and Smyrna should be at the
 "command of Antiochus, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opined
 "and said, "that those two Cities were but small causes, and not worth the naming, for so puissant
 "a Prince to stand upon and to war for. But always (say they) men begin with just and reasona-
 "ble demands, to make an overture and way to compels and obtain that which is unjust. Unless
 "one would believe, that when the Persians requested of the Lacedemonians, water and earth,
 "they stood in need of a clot & turf of ground, or a draught of water. In like sort for all the world
 "the Romans do but sound and try the King in their demands touching these two Cities. For o-
 "ther Cities likewise, so soon as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of
 "obedience, will soon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and at whose hands
 "they hope for liberty. And say, that freedom were not to them more dear and precious than
 "bondage, yet it is the nature of every man to feed and please himself with a bare hope of a change
 "and new world, much more, than with the assured hold of any present fate whatsoever. There
 "was in place at this council, Alexander of Acarnania, one who sometime had sided with Philip: but
 "of late days was slain from him and followed the court of Antiochus, a more wealthy and magni-
 "ficent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a special insight into the state of Greece, &
 "was not ignorant of the affairs of Rome, had wound himself into high favour and inward friend-
 "ship with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy council, and acquainted with all
 "his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had been, not, Whether war should be levied or
 "no: but, Where, and by What means, and How it should be managed, spake aloud & said, "That
 "he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victory, in case the King
 "would pass the Seas over into Europe, to plant & settle himself in some part of Greece, and there
 "wage war: for at his very first coming he should see in arms already the Aetolians, that inhabit
 "the very heart and centre of Greece, who would be the only Captains and port-enigens to march
 "before them, ready to venture and enter upon the most difficult and dangerous enterprises of
 "war. Again, in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he should find Nabis of the one
 "side from Peloponnesus at hand to rise and raise those quarters, with intent to regain the City of
 "the Argives, to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have disfeized & disposed
 "him off, and have muted and shut him within the walls of Lacedemon. On the other side from
 "Macedony, Philip would no doubt take arms, so soon as he shall hear the first alarm and sound of
 "trumpet. Full well (qd. he) know I his courage, and of what spirit and stomach he is right well I
 "wot that he hath fostered in that breast of his for a long time, anger and despite like to these wild
 "and savage beasts, which either are kept within iron gates or fast tied and bound: and as well I
 "remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods,
 "to vouchsafe for to give him Antiochus for his helper and assistant: and if now he might enjoy
 "his wish and have the thing so long desired and prayed for he would without any delay, enter in-
 "to arms and war incontinently. Only (qd. Alexander) we must not linger and stay nor drive off,
 "for as much as herein consisteth the very point of victory, even betimes to seize upon commo-
 "dious places of advantage, before the enemies be possessed of them. Also with all speed, Amibal
 "dies place into Affrick, whereby the Romans may be distracted, and compelled to turn them
 "selves sundry wayes. Amibal only was not called to this council: for by reason of the fore said
 "conferences with Philip, the King had him in some jealousy, and therefore he was out of favour,
 "and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this disgrace and made no words,
 "but afterwards he thought it a better course, both to demand the cause of so sudden strangeness
 "and alienation of his, and also to take some good time to excuse and purge himself. And therefore
 "upon

A upon a day having simply asked of the King, and heard the cause of his anger toward him, "My
 "father Amilcar (qd. he) O Antiochus, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the Gods, caused me
 "a (a very little one) to be brought and presented before the Altar, where he forced me to touch the
 "flame with my hand, and to take an oath, Never to be friend unto the people of Rome, To accom-
 "plish and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the space of six and thirty years by virtue of
 "this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country: and being fled from thence,
 "this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you
 "should disappoint me of my hope, yet whatsoever I know there are forces, whereof ever I hear
 "there is any stirring and rustling of arms, I shall seek all the world over, until I find some Roman
 "enemies. And therefore, if there be any of your Courtiers that have a mind and desire to advance
 "themselves in your good grace and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let
 "them find some other subject and matter to do this by me: for I hate the Romans, as you like-
 "wise hated of them, That this is truth which I say, my father Amilcar and the Gods in heaven,
 "can testify. Wherefore, whensoever you shall think to make war with the Romans, see you enter-
 "tain Amibal for one of your greatest and most assured friends: but if any o current civil force
 "you to peace, seek some other councillor and not me, to consult withal about that point. This
 "speech was so effectual, that not only it prevailed with the King, but also reconciled Amibal unto
 "his grace. And so they departed out of the council with a full resolution to make war.

At Rome it was commonly talked and discoursed, that Antiochus was an enemy, but no provi-
 "sion and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their stomaks. For both
 "C Consuls had no other Province but Italy assigned unto them to govern. And they were either to
 "agree between themselves, or else to call lots, whether of the twain should hold the general assem-
 "bly, and be president of the election for that year. And the whole hap was not to be charged with
 "that business, was to be in readiness to lead forth the legions into any place out of Italy, as need
 "should require. And to this Consul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of Citizens, and
 "besides of allies and Latins 20000 foot, and 800 horse. To the other Consul were appointed
 "those two legions, which L. Cornelius the Consul of the former year had under his governance: al-
 "so of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the lame army, and 500 horse. As for Q. Minutius,
 "his commission was continued still for the conduct of that army which he had in Liguria. And for
 "to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen,
 "and 150 horse, and likewise to levy of the allies 5000 foot, and 250 horse for that service. To
 "D Cn. Domitius it fell by lot, that he should go with a power out of Italy, whither (soever the Senate
 "gave order: and unto Quintius to govern Gaul. Then the Pretors election followed, who like-
 "wise call lots for their Provinces. M. Fulvius Centumalus had the civil jurisdiction, and L. Scri-
 "bonius Libo the forraign. L. Valerius Tappus governed Sicily, Q. Salonus Sarcus, Sardinia: M. Ba-
 "bius Tampilus high Spain, and A. Attilius Serranus the bale. But these two changed their Pro-
 "vinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to
 "Attilius Macedonia was assigned and the navy, and to Babius the country of the Bruttii. Flami-
 "nius and Fulvius continued in the government and command of Spain, and to Babius Tampilus
 "for the rule of the Bruttii, were those two legions: appointed which the year before lay in the City,
 "E with commission to take up and levy of allies fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go
 "thither. As for Attilius had in charge to cause thirty galleies to be made with five banks of oars
 "on a side, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old vessels as were fit for service, and
 "to enrol mariners and rowers. The Consuls also were enjoined to deliver unto him two thou-
 "sand allies of the Latin nation, and a thousand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyced, that
 "these two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared against Nabis, who
 "openly now assailed the confederates of the people of Rome. But still the Embassadors were look-
 "ed for, who had been sent unto King Antiochus, and the Senat commended the Consul Domitius
 "not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose
 "charge it was to minister law and execute justice in Rome, had commission to provide a hundred
 "F galleies, besides that fleet which Attilius was to command. But before that either Consuls or
 "Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a profection holden, in regard of the prodigies
 "and fearful sights that were reported. For word was brought out of Picenum, that a three-
 "goat had yeained six kids at once, and that it rained earth at Amerinum: and at Formia, that a gate
 "and wall of the City were smitten with lightning: and (that which most of all troubled and
 "frighted the Consul Domitius) that an Ox spake these words, Rome, take heed to thy self. In regard
 "of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication holden: but as for the Ox, the Sooth-
 "sayers and bowel-priests gave commandment, that he should with great care be kept and nourish-
 "ed. The Tyber also with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and over-
 "threw two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate Flumentana. Moreover, a mighty
 "G huge flood shaken out of the Capitol cliff, fell from thence into the street called Ingarum, either
 "by the force and violence of rain, or some earthquake (which if there were any was so little, that it
 "could not be perceived) and that stone killed many a man. In the country also, by reason of this
 "deluge, much cattle was carried away with the flood, and many farm houses and granges were
 "born down and laid along.

Before that L. Quintius the Consul was arrived into his Province, Q. Minutius fought a bat-
 "tle with the Ligurians in the territory of Pise, and slew nine thousand enemies: the rest he dis-
 "comfited,

committed, put to flight and chased into their camp; which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night: and then the Ligurians slip away in the night season secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entered and seized thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Lest pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties looted they got in the country they sent home to their homes. *Mimnius* notwithstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of *Pisa* he came into *Liguria*, where he destroyed their boroughs and Castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Roman souldiers filled their hands with the Tulcan prizes, sent thither by the forragers and robbers.

Much about this time the Embassadors returned to *Rome*, from the KK, who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any halt to war. I but only against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achaean Embassadors also gave intelligence) the Sea coasts of *Laconia* were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the league. Whereupon *Attillus* the Pretor was sent with a fleet to defend the associates. And forasmuch as there was no imminent peril from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Consuls should go into their Provinces. *Domitius* took his journey, and went the neerest way by *Ariminum*, and *Quintus* came into the Boians country by the way of *Liguria*. And these two Consuls armies in divers quarters, waited all abroad the enemies country. At the first time few of their Gentlemen and Horsemen, together with their Captains; afterwards, all those of Senators calling; and last of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worship, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Consul.

Likewise in both *Spain* that year, the affairs went prosperously: for not only *C. Flaminius* won by force of mantelets and engines of battery the rich and strong Town *Litabrum*, and took prisoner alive their Lord *Corribilo* a noble Prince, but also *M. Fulvius* the Pro-consul fought with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worke; and won by assault two Towns of the Spaniards *Vesetia* and *Holone*, with many other fortresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Oretans country, & there having gotten two towns, *Nolit* and *Cusibi*, he set forward and marched to the river *Tagus*. In that quarter there stood *Tolennum* a small City, but strongly fortified: whiles he assaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Vectons to aid the Toletans, with whom he fought a free field, and won the day, and having defeated the Vectons, he forced the Toletans with engines of battery, and won the Town.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the LL, of the Senate so much as the expectation of the war, which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and enterprised. For albeit they had ever and anon certain advertisements and intelligences of all things by their Embassadors, yet many flying tales and headless bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting lies as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, so soon as he was come into *Æolia*, would presently put over a fleet into *Sicily*. Whereupon the Senate, notwithstanding they had sent *Attillus* the Pretor with a fleet into *Greece* yet forasmuch as there was need not of forces only but also of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they sent over *T. Quintus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius* as Embassadors into *Greece*, and gave order that *M. Fabius* should advance his legions out of the country of the Brutians, toward *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, that from thence if need required, he might sail over into *Macedonia*. Moreover, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should put out a fleet of thirty sail, for the defence of the coast of *Sicily*, and that the Admiral thereof should have full commission there to command (now *L. Oppius Salsitor*, who the former year had been one of the *Ædiles* of the Commons, had the conduct of those ships.) Also, that the same Pretor should address his letters unto *L. Valerius* his Colleague, and advertised him that it was to be feared, that the armada of King *Antiochus* would cross over out of *Æolia* into *Sicily*; and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that he should take up and enrol into that army which he had already, of sumutuary souldiers 12000 footmen, and 400 horse, by whole means he might defend that coast of the Province which looketh toward *Greece*. For the levy of these forces, the Pretor took musters not only in *Sicily*, but also in the Isles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garrisons all the Towns upon the Sea side which lie toward *Greece*. Those Romans afore said were fed still and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that King *Antiochus* was passed over *Hell Spontis* with an army; and that the *Ætolians* were in that forwardness, that they would be preit and ready in arms against his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his absence, as to *Attalus* there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges born for his diet and house-keeping. Moreover, there were given him as presents two great horses of service, two pair of horsemens armors, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight; and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound.

And forasmuch as messengers one after another advertised and gave warning, that war was at hand, it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Consuls should be chosen in all convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senat, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Consul, to certify him of the Senats pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenants, and return himself unto *Rome*, and in his way send out his writs aforehand for the publishing of an assembly general

* or *Nobilis*,
* *Tolenn*

A general for the election of Consuls. The Consul obeyed these letters, directed forth his summons in manner afore said, and came to *Rome*. In this year also great ambition there was, and much suit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place namely, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Gnaeus*, who the former year had the repute, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Claudius Vellej*. The Consulship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deferred only, and not fully denied to so worthy a personage. His adjoint companion in government was *M. Atilius Glabrus*, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, *L. Aemilius Lepidus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *A. Cornelius Mammula*, *C. Licinius*, & *L. Oppius*, both surnamed *Salsitor*. This *Oppius* was he that had the conduct into *Sicily* of a fleet of thirty sail. Mean while that the new Magistrates came into the government of their Provinces, *M. Fabius* was commanded to pass over with all his power from *Brundisium* into *Epirus*, and to keep his forces about *Apollonia*, and *M. Fulvius* the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galeaces called *Quinquemeis*, of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verily the people of *Rome* was provided against all enterprises and attempts of King *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying war; but afflicted with great fear of the Town of *Gybeum*; and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achaean, for tending a gatredon to aid the besieged Townsmen, he forraged and waited their country. The year was not put on in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*, in which they might know the pleasure and will of the Senat; but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published a Diet and general Council at *Sicyone*, and also sent their Embassadors to *Quintus* for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintus* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans. Now when the States there assembled in council were distressed, some perishing still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him unto whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what *Philopomenus* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time and in those dayes surpassed all other in wisdom and authority. Then he rose up and used this preface, and said, "That it was a good custom among the *Ætolians*, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion; and therefore willed them of their selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, I desire he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly: yea, and endeavor, so far forth as mans policy may reach unto, that they shall not repent of their resolution be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any perswasive Oracion, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. *Philopomenus*, besides that *Quintus* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend *Gybeum*; but fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delays, and lest not only *Gybeum* should be lost, but the garrison also misfary, which was sent to the defence of the war he set afloat and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to empeach any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Brigantines or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans. And to make proof and tryal of these new vessels how swift and nimble they were, and wishal to see how all things else were well fitted for a battail, if need were: he made every day certain shews and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and souldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing that herein principally consisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders of that time in Land service, either for experience and practise, or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander for within the main, and ignorant besides of all foreign forces, but that he had born arms and served a little in *Castry*, whiles he had the leading there, of some auxiliaries. One old Gally there was a *Quadrime*, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as he carried *Nicela* the wife of *Clearchus* from *Naupactum* to *Corinth*. And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed she had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleet) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and ready to fall in pieces, to be shot into the Sea from out of the Bay of *Argos*. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein *Tisofus Parus*, a Captain General of a fleet was aboard; and encountered the ships of the *Laconians*, making sail from *Gybeum*. And at the first he chanced to assault and run against a new strong ship and being old of herself leaking and taking water at every joint she was rent asunder and fell in pieces. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet having lost their captains fled as fast as possibly their oars could move the speed and away. *Philopomenus* himself was in a light swift frigate or pinnace, and fled again, and never had until he was arrived at *Parus*. This mishap nothing did encourage and abated the heat of this martial war, or who had run through many and sundry adventures: but contrary-wise wrought this effect, that he assured himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worke in service at Sea, wherein

he had no skill, he would so much the rather quit himself upon the Land (where he had such experience and was to ready) as that the Tyrant should not long joy and make boast of his winnings. *Nabis* puffed up with pride of his fortunate victory, and perfwading himself assuredly that he had no cause to fear any more danger from the Sea, purposed likewise to stop up all the avenues and passages by Land; and therefore beset all the ways betwixt his strong guards, which he bestowed in convenient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the siege of *Gythium*, he encamped before *Fleia*. This is a place that overlooketh and commandeth *Leuca* and *Acra*, by which ways it seemed that the enemies would make their approach with their army. Whiles he kept a standing camp there, and few of his souldiers were provided of tents and pavilions, and the rest of the common sort had made them cabins of reeds, wound and interlaced one within another, and the same covered with leaves only to give them some shade; *Philopomenus* I devised, before that he were discovered and came in sight of the enemies, to assail them at unawares and not looking for his coming, after a new fashion of war that they little doubted. Certain small cries or boats he got together into a secret blind bay, lying within the territory of *Argos*: in which he bestowed certain souldiers nimble appointed, most of them having round bucklers, with slings, darts, and such like offensive light weapons. From thence he coasted along the River neer the shore, until he was come to the promontory or cape adjoining close to the enemies camp: then he went a land, and by known ways he came by night unto *Placia*; and whiles the watch was fast asleep, as mistaking no such fear neer hand, he set fire upon the cabins aforesaid in every quarter of the camp. Many men were consumed with the fire before they wist that the enemy was come: and they that were ware of them, had no means to help and save themselves: so with fire and sword all went to wrack. Some viewey escaped out of this extremity of danger, and fled to the main camp before *Gythium*. Thus *Philopomenus* having discomfited and frightened his enemies, led his army forth with to wait *Triphlus* in the territory of *Laconia*, bounding fast upon the confines of the Megalopolitans: and having driven from thence great prizes of men and cattle, he departed before that the Tyrant could send any guards from thence for the defence of the Country. And when he had gathered and assembled his army at *Tegai*, and published and made known unto the Achæi and other Allies, a Diet or general council to be holden there, whereto also were the chief States of the Epirots and Acarnanians: he determined (for as much as both the hearts of his own people were sufficiently recovered after the disgrace and shameful dishonor received at Sea; and also the courages of his enemies well cooled and they affrighted) L to lead his forces against *Lacedæmon*: supposing that, that only means to draw the enemy away from the siege of *Gythium*. And first he encamped before *Crisia* within the enemies ground. But that very day was *Gythium* forced by the enemies and won. *Philopomenus* nothing ware thereof, set forward, and encamped neer *Barpholentes*, a mountain ten miles from *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* also, having gained *Gythium*, departed from thence with his army lightly appointed: and marching apace beyond *Lacedæmon*, seized upon a place, called. The Camp of *Pyrrhus*: which he made no doubt but that the enemies intended to be possessed of. And then from thence he went to meet them. Now by reason of the narrow way, they took up in their march almost five miles of ground in length. At the tail of the army were the horsemen, and especially, where the Auxiliaries marched: because *Philopomenus* thought, that the tyrant would charge his men behind with his mercenary souldiers, in whom he reposed his greatest trust. Two things fell out contrary to his expectation at once, which troubled him much: the one was, that the place was gotten by the enemies before, which he intended to have seized upon for his own advantage: the other was, for that he saw the enemy affront his vanguard in a place so rough and rugged: that without the guard of his light-armed souldiers, he could not possibly march forward and advance his Ensigns. Now *Philopomenus* had a singular dexterity and skill, yea, and great experience in leading an army, and in making choice of his ground either to pitch or fight: and not only in time of war, but also in peace. he busied his head and employed himself principally therein. His manner was, when he rode forth any whither and was come to a straight passage hard to pass through, to look every way, and diligently to view and consider N the situation and posture of the place on all sides: and if he were alone, to call about and advise with himself: but if there were any in his company, to aske their advice in this wise: What if the enemy appeared and shewed himself in that place? How if he came affront or aslant on this or that side? nay, How if he should charge upon our back, what were best to be done? It may be the enemies will encounter us directly ranged in battail array: it may be they march disorderly and loosely, minding nothing else but their way, and to travail on. Thus I say, would he either devise with himself or seek advice of other, what place he were best to seize for his own purpose and commodity: also what number of armed men he should need to employ; or what kind of armour and weapons were needful to use (for therein also lay no small importance.) Moreover, where he should bestow his carriages? where he should lay his baggage? and where he should place and dispose of the multitude that were not meet to bear arms? what strength and what manner of guard was needful for their defence? and whether it were more expedient to go forward still the way that he was entred into, or better to go back again as he came? likewise, what ground was meet to be chosen for to pitch his camp upon? what compass and space were necessary to be taken up for the fortification of the place? from whence he might have convenient watering? from what quarter he might be best provided of fodder and fuel? and finally,

A Finally, against the morrow, which way were safest to remove the camp? and what form and manner of march were best? In these courses and discourses, he had from his childhood to inward and exercised his spirits, that he was never to leech what to do upon any such sudden occasion or occurrent presented unto him. And now at this present, seeing his enemies to neer, first and foremost he made a stand with his vanguard; then heient out toward the most ominous enigms, his auxiliary Candiors that came to aid him, and those horsemen which they call *Tarentin*, whose manner is to have with them, two horses apiece; and then commanding his own men of arms to follow after, he possessed himself of a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodiously: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there he bestowed all the pages and horse-boys, and followers of the camp, whom he entertained also with armed men: and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his camp. But to pitch pavilions in a craggy, rugged, and uneven ground he found much ado. Now were the enemies about half a mile off: and at one end the time risist they watched both, with the guard of their light armed souldiers: but before that they could make and skirmish together (as commonly they do when the camps stand so neer one to another) the night overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brook for water: and therefore in the night season he bestowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targeters s apolly the place would contain and hide. When day-light was come, the light armed Candiors and those *Tarentin* horsemen (of both sides) entered into skirmish upon the very banks of the brook. *Leontias* the Candior that had the leading of his country-men; *Lycorides* the Megapolitan commanded the light horse. The Candiors, who likewise were auxiliaries and aid-souldiers to the enemies, and the same sort also of the *Tarentin* horsemen, guarded those that came to water for them. Doubtful was the skirmish for a good while (as being managed and maintained of the one side and the other by men of one Nation, and those furnished with the same kind of weapon;) but those that were for the Tyrant, were more in number than the other. And by reason that *Philopomenus* had given charge and direction to the Captains, after they had held skirmish a while, to seem to retreat and flee, thereby to train the enemy into the afore said place of ambush, they followed hard in haik upon them as they fled along within the valley, and most of them were either slain or wounded before they saw the enemies hidden there within. Now those targeters aforesaid, were led in that order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might each receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces between their ranks and files. Then at once they rove, fresh in heart, and ordered in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, dunned, loath, scattered, weary with travel, and faint of their wounds. Then was it out of doubt and past all peradventure where the victory went: for presently the Tyrant souldiers turned their backs, fled a good deal faster than they made pursuit before, and were beaten into their camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had been put in a strait also within the camp, but that *Philopomenus* commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, and the disadvantage and difficulties thereof in case he should rashly venture forward any farther, than he did the enemy. Then he, taking his conjecture by the issue of the fight, and judging by the nature of *Nabis* the General, in whose ear and sight he might be, sent unto him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, concealing himself to be a runaway revolt, to inform him assuredly, that the Achæans determined the next day to march as far as to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth hard by the walls of *Lacedæmon*, for to stop the passage, that neither the Tyrant might retire himself into the City when he would, nor any munition or victuals be carried from thence into the camp: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and assay if they could solicit any of the citizens to revolt from the Tyrant. This counterplot carried himself so in this errand, that the Tyrant believed not so much his words, as took hold thereby of a good pretence and honest occasion for to quit and abandon the camp: and therefore the next morrow he commanded *Phibagoras*, with the auxiliary souldiers and the horsemen, to keep a good guard about the trench and enclosure of the camp: himself in person with the strength of his army, marched as it were to a battail, and commanded to advance forward the ensigns in all halt toward the City. *Philopomenus* perceiving that the army marched so fast through the narrow passage down the hill, put forth all his own horsemen and the auxiliary Candiors, against the guards of the enemies that watched before the camp. They, seeing the enemies to approach and themselves forsaken of their own fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole army of the Achæans advancing against them in order of battail, seeing that they and their tents should be at once surprised, made apace after their own host which was gone a good way before. With that, the targeters of the Achæans assailed the camp, entred upon it, and razed the tents, whiles the rest went forward and pursued the enemies. The way was such, as that an army at liberty and free from fear of enemies, might hardly and with much ado rid any ground and march without encumbrance: but so soon as the skirmish began in the tail of the reeward, and the noise and cry of them affrighted behind was heard in the vanguard: every man made shift for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way; and ere one could turn about, all the ways were firewd and choaked up with armour and weapons and especially with darts or javelins, which lighting for the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a flaked or empalled palisade to hinder their passage. P. 166

* or rather *Philopomenus*.

Philopemenes having given commandment to his light armed aid-souldiers to preele forward fill, H and to follow the chafe as fast as they could (knowing well that the horiemen would have much ado and trouble in their flight) conducted himself the main army and heavily charged by a more open way to the River *Eurotas*: where he encamped himself a little before the going down of the sun, and there he staied for his light appointed souldiers, whom he had left to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the first watch, brought word, that the Tyrant with some few was entered into the City, but the unarmed multitude were dispersed, and wandered all about the forest and the woods. Then he willed them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himself chose out of all the souldiers besides (who becaue they were come first into the camp, had well hearned themselves with taking their recreation and some small sleep) certain elect and special men, and took them forth immediately with him: availing about them nothing but I their words, and let them in good order to keep two port-waies, by which men go to *Phara* and *Barbophenes*, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived. For the Lacedæmonians, so long as the day light lasted, had withdrawn themselves to the middle of the forest, through by-lanes and blind paths: but when the night was once come, and that they desired lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves also over-against them within close and secret lanes: and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safety and security, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forsailed them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners: insumch as scarce one fourth part of their whole army escaped. *Philopemenes* having shut up the tyrant cloie within the City, spent almost thirty daies consequently ensuing in waisting and spoiling the territory of the Laconians: and when he had thus weakened and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the Achæans held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman General for glorious deeds of arms, nay, in the service of the Laconian war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achæans and the tyrant, the Roman Embassadors, who carefully and diligently visited the Cities of the Allies, for fear lest the Ætolians had alienated any of their affections from them to King *Antiochus* travelled but little in going about to the Achæans, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped verily to be fast and faithful enough unto them in all other things, and first they came to *Alibet*, from thence to *Cheloni*, and so into *Theffaly*: and after they had conferred with the Theffalians in a frequent council of theirs, they turned their way to *Demetrius*, where there was published a solemn Diet to be holden by the Magnesians. Where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places becaue certain of their great men and Potentates were elranged from the Romans, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the Ætolians. The reason was this: becaue when news came that *Philip* his son, who was left hostage with the Romans, should be rendred again unto him, and likewise the tribune remitted which had been imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths it was reported, that the Romans would redeliver *Demetrius* also into his hands. And rather than that should come to pass, *Eurylochus* (a principal and chief man among the Magnesians) and some others of that faction, desired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the Ætolians and *Antiochus*. To these Magnesians, they were to couch and place their words so, in ridding them of that foolish vain fear which they had conceived: that thereby they did not put *Philip* clean beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the Romans: considering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all respects, than were the Magnesians, put all together. Thus much only they said by way of advertisement. That as all Greece generally was much beholden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, so that City and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garrison of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but also the King had built him a royal palace, to seat himself there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, their Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpose was all this, in case the Ætolians brought *Antiochus* in his stead to make his residence in the house and place of *Philip*: and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, so long a time and so well known. The sovereign Magistrat of that City, they call *Magnetarches*: and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himself big and stout of his high place, said plainly, that he knew no cause, why either he or the Magnesians should suspect and smother the rumour that run so vile touching the delivery of *Demetrius* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the Magnesians were to oppose themselves, yea, to do and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement heat of speech he went so far, that inconsiderably he cast out one word and said, That *Demetrius* seemed free in outward shew and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this speech there arose a dissonant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, while some footed him up, others were offended, and took it in great despite, that he should presume to utter and speak so much. And *Quintus* was in such an heat of choler therewith, that stretching forth his hands to Heaven, he called the Gods to witness this ingratitude and disloyalty of the Magnesians. At whose words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chief, a man at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable port that he ever carried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he always stood firm and sure

A "to the Roman side, besought *Quintus* and the rest of the Embassadors with tears, Not to impute the folly of one man to the whole City, for every man is to bear his own burden, and as he hath brued, so to drink, and abide the smart of his own scratching. As for the Magnechans (saith he) they acknowledge to owe unto *T. Quintus* and the people of *Rome*, not only their freedom, but all other things else that are most dear and precious unto men. Neither could a man pray or wish at the hands of the immortal Gods for any thing, which the Magnechans had not received by their means: and sooner would they like frantic persons pluck the very heart out of their own bellies, yea, and tear themselves in peeces, before they would violate and break the amity which they had with the Romans. This speech of his was followed and seconded with the humble prayers of the multitude. *Eurylochus* departed out of the assembly, and through by-ways and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled straight into *Ætolia*. For now by this time, and every day more than other, the Ætolians did cover and shewed themselves how they were affected to revolt. And happily at the same time, *Thas*, a principal personage of that Nation, whom they had sent as Embassador to King *Antiochus*, was newly returned, and brought with him *Menippus* the Kings Embassador, Who, before they had audience given them in a council assembled for them, had filled every mans ears and blubbered forth, what forces were prepared both for Land and Sea, what a mighty power was coming both of foot and horie, how Elephants were sent for out of *India*, and above all (wherewith they thought the minds of the people would be most moved) That there was such a mass of gold brought, as would buy all the Romans out and out. It was easy to see what trouble and boill such language might make in the general diet and assembly. For the Roman Embassadors had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to do any good, yet *Quintus* thought it not amiss, that some Embassadors from the allies and associate Cities should be present at that Council, such as might admonish and put the Ætolians in mind of the Roman alliance and society, and not flick to speak their minds frankly, yea, and thwart the King his Embassador. The Athenians of all other were thought the meetest men for that purpose, both in regard of the authority and reputation of their City, and also for the ancient league between them and the Ætolians. So *Quintus* requested them to send their Embassadors to the Panætolian Parliament. When the assembly was met, and the Counciler, *Thas* first declared his embassage: and after him was *Menippus* called in, who being entered in place, spake in this manner: "It had been (qd) the best course for all them that inhabit both *Greece* and *Asia*, that *Antiochus* had intermeddled in these affairs, during the upright fortune and entire state of *Philip*: then, every man had enjoyed his own, and all had not been reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under (subjection) of the Romans. And even yet (quoth he) in case ye persist still in the same mind, and purpose resolutely to accomplish and finish these your designs and commenced enterprises, possible it is by the favor and help of the Gods, and by the means of the Ætolian association that *Antiochus* may recover the State of *Greece*, crased as it is, and much broken and bring it again to her first fresh hue, to her lively and lightsome liture, which consisteth in true liberty, even that which is able to stand alone and maintain it self, and dependeth not upon the will and pleasure of others. The Athenians, who first after the Kings embassage was delivered had audience given E them and liberty to speak their mind, without making any mention at all of the King, "Ad certified the Ætolians of the Roman society, and put them in mind of the favours and good turns done by *Quintus* to all *Greece* in general: advising them to take heed, that without dictation they overthrow not the welfare thereof, by running rashly and too soon into a new world of strange courses and fine devices: for hot, hasty, and heady counsels are at the first light and entertainment, pleasant and amiable: in the handling and managing, hard and difficult: in the end and issue, heavy and dangerous. Consider how the Roman Embassadors, and namely, *Quintus* among them, are not far off: and whiles things stand in good terms of integrity, it were better to treat and debate of matters in question and doubt, by words and reasons, than to let all *Asia* and *Europe* together to take arms and to make lamentable and deadly war one upon another. The multitude desirous of a change, enclined altogether, and were wholly devote to *Antiochus*, being of opinion, that the Roman Embassadors were not to be admitted into the Council: but the more grave and ancient persons of the nobility and states-men, obtained thus much by virtue of their authority, That they should have audience granted unto them. And when the Athenians had made relation of this decree and conclusion passed, *Quintus* was of mind to go into *Ætolia*: for this accompt he made, either to obtain somewhat that he came for, or else to have all Gods and men to bear him witness, that the Romans would enter into the action of war justly and in manner upon constraint and necessity. "Quintus being thither come, began at first to discourse before the whole assembly, as touching the society of the Ætolians with the Romans, and how often they had broken for their parts the faithful accord between them: and when he had so said, he used a brief speech concerning the right of those Cities that were in question. And if they thought that they had any law and reason of their side, how much better (quoth he) were it to send Embassadors to *Rome*, either to argue and expostulate the matter with them, or to demand their advice (whether they would themselves) than to cause the people of *Rome* to make war with *Antiochus* and the Ætolians together, not without great trouble of the whole world: and certain ruin of all *Greece*? For none should feel the smart & calamity of this war sooner than they that are the very causes thereof & began first. Thus spake the Roman Embass. by way of prophely, but

but in vain and to no effect. After him *Thon* and the rest of that faction, were heard with the general applause of all; and they effected so much, that without any farther proroguing of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yes, and without staying so long until the Romans were out of the place and absent, they concluded to make a decree, by virtue whereof *Antiochus* should be sent for to enfranchise *Greece*, and to decide the quarrel between the Romans and the *Ætoli*ans. This decree was not so proud and insolent, but *Damocritus* their Pretor accompanied it with as arrogant and reproachful a trump of his own. For when *Quintius* required of him to see the said decree, he without any respect of the honorable personage of the man, made answer, That for the present time he had somewhat else to do of greater importance; but he would give him the decree and an answer withal shortly, and that within *feast*, encamped upon the bank of *Tyberis*. So great a spirit of senseless folly in those days had possessed the nation of the *Ætoli*ans, I and their chief Magistrates! Then *Quintius* and the delegates returned to *Corinth*.

After the Romans were dismissed, the *Ætoli*ans held no more general council of the whole Nation, because they would make semblance and seem to do nothing of themselves as touching the cause and question of *Antiochus*, but sit still and expect the coming of the King. Many, they treated and debated the matter by their *Apollates* (for so they call their special and privy Council which consisteth of certain elect chosen persons) by what means there might be an alteration and change in the affairs of *Greece*. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and State, the chief and the best men generally were for the association of the Romans, and contented themselves with the present condition wherein they stood: but the multitude and those who had not all things to fall out to their own good liking, were desirous of a change. And one day K above the rest, the *Ætoli*ans entered into a designment and plot, which was not only out of all measure audacious, but also most shameful, namely, to surprise and possess themselves of *Demetrius*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon*. And to each of these Cities there was sent one of their principal personages, namely, *Thon* to *Chalcis*; *Alexamennus* to *Lacedæmon*; and *Diocles* to *Demetrius*. This *Diocles* had the help and assistance of *Eurylochus* a banished man (of whose flying away, and the occasion thereof we have spoken before) who otherwise had no hope at all to return again into his native country. The kinsfolk and friends of *Eurylochus* and the rest of that faction, upon instructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to present themselves in the frequent assembly of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poor array, and vailed after the manner of humble suppliants, there to beseech them all and some, not to suffer him a guiltless person, neither convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and simple men seemed to be touched with pity and commiseration. The wicked and seditious persons conceived some hope to make a confusion in the State by these *Ætolian* troubles: in so much as every one was of opinion and gave his voice, that he should be restored and sent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horsemen (for then was he the Captain of the Cavalry) took his journey. Under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this banished person his host and good friend; and in one day and night travelled a mighty great journey, and came within six miles of the City. And sometimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the rest of the horsemen to follow after. When he approached the gate, he caused them all to alight on foot and to lead their M horses in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, resembling travellers and waiting men, so as they seemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain *Diocles*, than to the men of arms and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for fear lest the horsemen behind might be shut out, he led *Eurylochus* by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the City and the market place home to his house: and all the way he was met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. At once the whole City was full of horsemen, and all places of opportunity and advantage were seized and possessed by them. Which done, divers were sent to massacre the chief of the adverse part in their houses. Thus the *Ætoli*ans became masters of *Demetrius*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they devised in no hand to force the City, but by some vile to entrap and N surprise the tyrant. For seeing the Romans had deploiled him of all his Sea coast Towns: and the *Acheans* driven him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, there was no doubt, but who for ever could first take his life from him, should carry away all the thanks, and carry especial favor with the *Lacedæmonians*. Good occasion and pretence they had to send unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for some aids, considering that by their advice and perswasion he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexamennus* a thousand footmen, and thirty elect horsemen, drawn out of all the flour of the City. *Damocritus* the Pretor delivered unto them from the privy council of that nation (of which we have before spoken) "That they should not believe that they were to be employed in war against the *Acheans*, or in any other service, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged O them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatsoever sudden designment *Alexamennus* upon the present occasion should happen to attempt, were it never so unlooked for, strange, inconsiderate, and audacious: and to rest upon this, That they were sent with him to accomplish that, that for no other purpose. Thus *Alexamennus* with the conduct of these men thus prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no sooner was he arrived, but he possessed him presently with a world of hopes, giving to understand, "That *Antiochus* was already passed over into

A "into *Europe*: that shortly he would be in *Greece*, and over-spred all seas and lands with his armies and armados; that the Romans should full well know and find, that they had not now to deal with such an one as *Philip*; that the numbers of his foot and horses by land can not be counted, nor his ships at Sea numbered; that the battail of his Elephants at the very sight will decide the matter and finish the war. Moreover, that the *Ætoli*ans with all their forces, were ready and prest to come to *Lacedæmon*, (as need required) at any time: but indeed, delicious they were to shew and muster before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed soldiers, *Nabis* therefore himself should do very well, not to suffer those forces which he had, to decay with long repose and idleness, but bring them forth and train them abroad, make them to run in their armour thereby both to whet and sharpen their courages, and also to exercise and B "inure their bodies: for by use and customs, the labour will be lighter; and by the courtesy and graciousness of their General, not without delight and pleasure. Hereupon, they began to issue out of the City, and oftentimes went into the plain lying hand by the River *Eurotas*. They of the tyrants guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward: and himself with three horsemen at the utmost (with whom *Alexamennus* for the most part was) used ordinarily to ride before the ensigns, taking survey and viewing the utmost points and wings of the army. The *Ætoli*ans were placed in the right wing, as well those that came before to aid the tyrant as those thousand that were new arrived with *Alexamennus*. Now had *Alexamennus* taken a custom, one while to tourney as it were amongst the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to instruct him in some matters sounding to his commodity: otherwhiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and C soon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of somewhat necessary to be done. But upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he had ridden forth with the tyrant to the usual place, and kept him company a while, he took occasion (as his manner was) to make a step aside to his own souldiers: and then he went in hand with those horsemen which were sent with him from out of *Ætolia*, and said thus unto them: "Now first, you must adventure and execute that lustily and without delay which you were com- D "manded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not slack and idle to exploit that, which ye shall seeme to undertake and enterprise. And look whosoever he be that either standeth still, or will seeme to argue and interpose his own wit and advice to cross "mine, let him make account, he shall never go home again to his own country. With that he set them all a quaking, for well they remembered what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant coming on horseback from the left wing: Then *Alexamennus* commanded his horsemen to couch their lances down, and to have their eye upon him. He also setled himself to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunted at first with the cogitation of so great a designment that he had projected. When he was now approached and came near the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horse, and overthrew himself to the ground. He was not so soon unhorsed and laid along, but the horsemen stabbed him with many a thrust: whereof the most part did no harm, considering they were driven against his coat: but in the end, they found where his body was naked and unarmed, so he gave his last gasp before he could be rescued by his guard in the main battail afore said. Then *Alexamennus* taking with him E all the *Ætoli*ans, made all the haste he could to possess himself of the royal place. The Penioners and Squires of the body, seeing this murder done before their eyes, were at first mightily affrighted: but afterwards perceiving the army of the *Ætoli*ans to go their wayes and depart, they ran to the breathless carcase left among them, and of men that should have guarded his body and revenged his death, they became a sort of idle gazers and lookers on. And surely there would not a man have once stirred, in case the multitude had immediately been called to an assembly: and if after arms laid down, they had been entertained by him with some Oration or Remonstrances framed according to the time. The *Ætoli*ans were kept many together, in arms still, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one person. But all things that they did, hastened the speedy ruin and destruction of those that had committed this last: as it could not otherwise be F all reason, but they should be served, who had plaid so lewd and treacherous a part. The Captain and Ring-leader of all this mischief, kept him self close shut within the royal palace, spending both night and day in rifling and searching the Tyrants coffers and his treasury. And the *Ætoli*ans for their part also fell to ransacking as if they had won that City by assault, which they made countenance and semblance to set free. The indignity of these their pranks, the contempt withal and small regard made of them, encouraged and animated the *Lacedæmonians* to gather together and consult of the matter. Some were of opinion and said, That the *Ætoli*ans were to be thrust out by the head and shoulders, and to be sent away with a mischief, and their own liberty to be recovered. Which under a colour of being restored, was intercepted and taken from them: others advised and said, that for fashion at leastwise, some one of royal blood should be set up G for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and stem one *Luconicus* a young Child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horseback, and then they took arms with all speed, and as many *Ætoli*ans as they could light upon, wandering here and there in the streets, they ran upon and hewed in peeces. Then they assaulted the palace, where they also murdered *Alexamennus*, albeit with some few about him he made resistance and defended himself. The rest of the *Ætoli*ans gathered together about *Chalciceas* (which is a Chappel of *Diana* made of brasse) and there likewise they were massacred. A few of them

Antiochus bearing himself aloft now principally for that *Demetrius* was evolted from the Romans unto the *Etolians*, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voyage into Greece. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to *Ilion* from the sea side to sacrifice to *Mimerva*; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made sail with 40 close covered and barched ships, and 60 uncovered and undecked, and after those followed 200 vessels of burden, charged and fraught with viuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all sorts. And first he fell with the flood *Ambros*: and from thence he cut over to *Seyathos*, whereafter he had rallied his ships which were had scattered one from another in the wide and deep sea, he arrived at *Peleum*, the first town of the main and continent. Where *Eryclochi* the *Magistrates*, [the *Polem*, the sovereign of *Magnesia*] and the principall citizens of the State, who were come from *Demetrias*, met him and joynd with him; who rejoicing exceedingly to see so goodly a company of them in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of *Demetrias*: and not far from thence landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six Elephants: a small power (God wot) and insufficient to leize upon Greece, ill naked and alone, far shorter than to hold and maintain war with the Romans. After this it was reported that *Antiochus* was come to *Demetrias*, the *Etolians* proclaimed a councill, wherein they made a decree to lend for *Antiochus*. For now the King knowing that they would passe such an Act, was determined for *Demetrias*, and had withdrawn himself to Phalera within the gulph of *Malota*: And parted from *Demetrias*, and had withdrawn himselfe to Phalera within the gulph of *Lamia*, where he after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to *Olympia*, where he was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, shouts, acclamations, and others signs, whereby the multitude used to shew & tell their great joy. When they were assembled together and lot in Councill, *Phanias* the Pretor and other chief citizens brought him solemnely in: where *Oyes* made, thus the King began his speech, first exulting himself, in that he was come with a far smaller power than all men hoped or looked for. "And even this (quoth he) may serve in stead of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding love and affection toward you, in that being to unprovided and unfurnished of all things, and yet at a time so unreasonable for sail, as too early to rike the sea, I have not thought much but am willingly come at the call of your Embassidors: being thus shurdly perswaded, that the *Etolians* seeing me once, will suppose that in me alone consisted altheir hope and defence whatsoever. And yet I would accomplish I assure you, and satisfie to the full even your contentment also, whose expectation for the present may seem to have been disappointed: for soon as the tips

Bæotians

Receptus was clean estranged and badly affected to the Romans, ever since the death of *Regillus* and these troubles that ensued thereupon. They were nevertheless so to the *Philoponians* a great present, and principal leader of the Achæans, was both munificent and odious unto *Quintus* for emulation and jealousy of honour in the *Lacedæmonian* war, *Antiochus* had been coupled and taken to wife *Apama* the daughter of one *Alexander* a *Megapolitan*, who wanted himself to be defended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two sons *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter *Apama*: whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into *Achæmania*. This *Philip* a vain-headed young man, the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus* had induced into a foolish hope (considering that for certain he was of the royal blood) to sustain the Kingdom of *Macedony*, if haply he could bring about to join *Alexander* and the *Achæmans* to *Antiochus*. And these vain conceits of great benefit wrought mightily not with *Philip* only, but also with *Antiochus*.

Now in *Achaia* there was a council holden at *Arginum*, and audience given there to the Ambassadors of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, before *T. Quintus*. Where the King his Ambassador spake first, and being, (as all those commonly are, that have intermingling and maintenance of Kings) full of foolish dabble, & making sea and land resound again with his vain prattling and foolish words; let ake an end, and told them, what an infinite number on his men were passing over by *Hellespont* into *Europe*: whereof some of them were in complete bargoes, armed at all peeces, whom they call *Cataprales*: others were archers, and shot of horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing sure enough, who when their backs are turned, and their horses run away, shoot so much the more surely, and even point-blank. And albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of *Europe* if they were put together, yet he added besides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with namely a sort of strange nations, that scarcely had been heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the *Elymans* and *Cadulians*. But for his forces at sea, there was no bayes, he horrors, nor havens in all *Greece* able to receive them. The *Sydoniens* and *Tyrians* (say they) hold the right side, the *Aradians*, and the Sides out of *Pamphylia* keep the left: nations for skill and valour at sea incomparable. As for money and other provision and furniture for the war, it were needless to discourse of, since they themselves know well enough, that the realms of *Asia* have always flowed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were not to deal with *Philip* nor with *Antiochus*, the one a chief person among many others of Cities, and the other limited within the confines, only of the kingdom of *Macedony*, but with the great Monarch of all *Asia*, yea, and of some part of *Europe*. And yet he, as mighty a potentate as he is (notwithstanding he is come to the utmost costs and bounds of the Levant sea, to deliver and enfranchise *Greece*) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudicial to their fealty and allegiance to the Romans their first allies and associates: for he required not them to take arms with him against them, but only not to intermeddle and take part in his seeking is, that (as behooveth good friends and mediators between both parties) they would all well and peace among them, and not interpose themselves in a quarrel of war. *Archidamus* likewise the Ambassador for the *Ætolians*, requested in manner the same, that they would hold themselves quiet and in repose (a thing most easy and safe for them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the issue of others mens fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet he asked not so, but proceeded so far and overthrew himself so much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, one while railing against the Romans in general, another while against *Quintus* in particular: calling them ungratefull and unthankfull persons, reproaching, upbraiding, and highting them in the teeth, how not only they had got the victory of *Philip*, but also loved themselves by the virtue and valour of the *Ætolians*: and as for *Quintus*, he was to thank them and their means, as much as his own life came to & the preservation of his army. For whereas at any time (qd. he) performed his duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell and in the camp, take the flight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like some holy parish-priest or divining Prophet, whiles I myself was fain in his defence to expose and present my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To these challenges *Quintus* made answer in this wise, saying, that *Archidamus* had more regard in whole preference he spake, then to whom he directed all his speech: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valour of the *Ætolians*, standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diets and assemblies rather then seen in the field and battell: and therefore no marvel if he made so small reckning to speak unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were with the manners and fashions of the *Ætolians*. But he hath besides vaunted and made great brags before the King Ambassadors, and in their person, before the King himself in absence. And if a man had not known before, what it was, and had so knit and united *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* together, he might perceive it evidently by the speeches of the Ambassadors: for by exchanging lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and puffed up one another with vain hopes, whiles they tell and would make themselves believe, that *Philip* by them was vanquished, that the Romans by their valour were protected: and other gay matters, which ere while ye heard building calkes in the air, to the end, that you & other states & nations would side with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Ambassadors) overpredeth all with clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets

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A "and armados. Now in faith this is mine host of *Chalcis* up and down, a friendly man I assure you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertain his guests and bid them welcome. And verily I can liken this manner of dealing to nothing better then to a supper of his: We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not midsummer (when the dyes are longell and the sun at the hottest) where he was so passing good cheer, And as we wondered how at such a season of the year he met with that plenty of venison and such variety withall; the man (nothing to vainglorious as these fellows here) smiled pleasantly upon us and said, we were welcome to a feast of a rarer kind and no better: but well ere a good cook my matters (qd. he) who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and what with serving it up with divers sauces, hath made all this far from of wild beasts, and the game of sundry sorts. This may fitly be applied to the King his aims and forces: of which now to great boast was made. For these divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations, whether heard of before, to wit, the Dakes or *Daemons* (I wot not what to call them) the *Elymans*, the *Cadulians*, the *Elymans*, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their bate mien and stature, are much better to make a sort of slaves then a company of good soldiiers. And secondly God (you my matters of *Achaia*) I could repeat unto you the port and train of this great King, when he ran from *Demetrius*, one while to *Lamia* to the council of the *Ætolians*, & another while to *Chalcis*: you should see in the Kings camp hardly two pretty legions: & those but lame ones neither and not well accomplished: you should see the King from time to time as begging grain of the *Ætolians*, to measure out among his hungry soldiiers: otherwise making shift to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of *Chalcis*, and anon shot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he hath done nothing else but to *Antiochus* and *Eurippus*, returning fair into *Ætolia*, *Antiochus* (you see) hath need to be much better to the *Ætolians*, and the *Ætolians* have as little trusted & relied upon the vanity of the King, and therefore the lesse should you be deceived by them, but rather repute yourselves affectedly in the fidelity of the Romans so often tried, so often known and approved. For whereas they say "It is your best course not to be embarked and interceded in this war: I assure you, there is nothing more vain then this, nay, nothing so hurtfull unto your estate. For you shal be apter and preter to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintus* was thought by the Achæans to have spoken not impertinently, but to have answered them very fully; and an easie matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough inclined to have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no question nor doubt at all, but that every man would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achæan nation, whom the Romans held for the *Ætolians*. Moreover, according as *Quintus* thought good, they sent presently an aid of 300 soldiiers to *Chalcis*, and of as many to *Pyrramus*. For at *Athens* there had lik to have been a sedition and mutiny, whiles some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for money) to take part with *Antiochus*: upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, untill such time as *Quintus* was sent for by them that took part with the Romans: in so much as *Apollodorus* (who gave counsell and periwaded to revolt) was acced by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verily the embassage returned from the Achæans to the King with present answer. The *Bœotians* delivered no certainty: this only was their answer, That when *Antiochus* himself was come in *Boeotia*, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do.

Antiochus being advertised, that both the Achæans and King *Eumenes* also had sent men for the defence of *Chalcis*, thought good to make haste, that his forces might not only prevent them, but also if it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, he sent *Menippus* with three thousand soldiiers or thereabout, and *Polyxenidas* with his whole fleet. Himself a few daies after marched with fix thousand of his own soldiiers; and of that levy, which on a suddain might be gathered at *Lamia*, no great number of *Ætolians*. Those five hundred Achæans afore said, and the small aid that King *Eumenes* sent under the conduct of *Xenochides* the *Chalcidian*, having safely passed *Eurippus* before that the waies and passages were beted, arrived at *Chalcis*. The Romans also who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Menippus* came upped before *Salganea*, came to *Hermum*, where is the passage out of *Boeotia* into the land of *Enchaia*. In their company was *Mithian* lent as Ambassador from *Chalcis* to *Quintus*, for to crave some succour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the streights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of *Adis*, turned to *Delium*, minding from thence to cut over into *Enchaia*. This *Delium* is a temple of *Apollo* situate upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from *Tanagra*, from whence there is a short cut (little more then a league) over an arm of the sea unto the next parts of *Enchaia*. In this Temple and sacred grove about it so religious, so privileged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greeks call *Asyla*) and at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at least wile not so far proceeded, that in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been sword drawn, or blood shed in any place. In this place, and at this time, I say, whiles the soldiiers wandered at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple above said and the grove, others walking upon the strand unarmed, and a great sort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forage and fewell) all on a suddain *Menippus* finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them and slew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few escaped, among whom

their opinion was touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter, whether the defence were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garriſons of his. And as for the *Ætolians*, this was their mind, that they had quite already their smity, and abandoned all ſociety, in that when our Embaſſadors ſo oftentimes had redemanded ſmends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make reſtitution or ſatisfaction. Moreover, the *Ætolians* had themſelves ſent defence fiſt and proclaimed war againſt the Romans, when as by force they ſeized *Demetrias* a City of our allies, and advanced before *Chalcis* to aſſail it both by land and ſea; and laſtly, in that they had ſollicit King *Antiochus* and brought him into *Europe*, for to levy war againſt the Romans. All things now being ſufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Conſul publiſhed an edict and proclaimed, That all thoſe ſoldiers whom *L. Quimius* had enrolled, likewiſe all thoſe whom he had levied of the allies of the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his province, likewiſe all the Colonels and Marſhals of the ſecond and third legion, ſhould render themſelves, and be ready altogether at *Brundisium* upon the * 1^{ſt} Ides of *May* following. Himſelf upon the * 5th day before the *Ides* of the ſame month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the ſame time the *Pretors* alſo took their journey into their ſeveral provinces.

* 1^{ſt} *May*.
* 3rd *May*.

* 3600 pound ſterling, ſay
angel touch.
* 6000 pound ſterling.

* I ſuppoſe that here wanteth the multiplicand number, viz. 100. For it is not ſubſervient to the proportion of the reſt that followeth, nor to the magnificence of ſo great a ſervice, nor of ſome thirty quarters of wheat, who heretofore allowed a hundred times as much, and yet the ſame proportion of barley which now at this preſent is ſet down.

Much about that time there arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadors from two Kings, to wit, *Philip of Macedonia*, and *Ptolemæus King of Egypt*, promiſing their aid of men, money, and corn for that war. And beſides ſixty *Ptolemæus* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound of ſilver: howbeit nothing was received, but much thanks rendered to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offered to come with all their power into *Ætolia*, and to be there in perſon, *Ptolemæus* was diſcharged of that offer of his, but the Embaſſadors of *Philip* received this answer, That he ſhould highly pleaſe and content the people of *Rome*, in caſe he would not fail the Conſul *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embaſſadors from the Carthaginians and *Masaniſſa*, The Carthaginians made promiſe of a thouſand Modii of Wheat, and *Masaniſſa*, five hundred thouſand for the army, and likewiſe to bring half ſo much to *Rome*; praying the Romans to accept the ſame at their hands as a free gift and gratuity: adding moreover, that they would in an out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready alſo to make one entire payment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by ſundry terms of many years. The Embaſſadors of *Masaniſſa*, promiſed in the behalf of their King, to ſend five hundred thouſand Modii of wheat, 30,000 of barley into *Greece* to the army, beſides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto *M. Acilius* the Conſul. As touching the corn, this answer was returned unto them, that they were content to accept thereof, ſo that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the fleet aforeſaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them clean, ſave as many ſhips as they were to find and provide according to the tenor of the accord and compoſition between them. Laſt of all, concerning the tribute money, none would they receive before the day.

While the affairs paſſed thus at *Rome*, *Antiochus* being at *Chalcis*, becauſe he would not fit ſtill and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himſelf ſollicit (by ſending Embaſſadors from thence of their own accord: the States, and partly alſo there came unto him Embaſſadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the *Epirots* preſented themſelves by the common conſent of their whole nation, and the *Eleans* alſo came out of *Peloponneſus*. They of *Elys* craved aid againſt the *Achæans*, who (they verily thought) would take arms againſt their City, becauſe war was denounced againſt *Antiochus*: nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were ſent 1000 footmen under the leading of *Euphanes* the *Cretan*. The embaſſage of the *Epirots*, plaid with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and ſimply with no ſide, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make count to the King and curry favour with him, but ſo, as they flood in good terms ſtill with the Romans, whom they were loth to offend. For their requeſt to him was, that he would not draw them without great and important cauſe into the quarrell, conſidering that they for the defence of all *Greece* lay open and expoſed to *Italy*, and were late before others to feel the Romans fingers, and receive their fiſt assaults. But in caſe he were able of himſelf with his forces by land and ſea to defend *Epirus*, and furniſh it with garriſons ſufficient, they would with heart and good will accept of him and his into their Cities & port-towns: but if ſo he could not effect that, they beſought him not to offer them, naked and unarmed men, to the violence of the Roman wars. Their drift was in that embaſſie (as it appeared) that if the King and his forces came not into *Epirus* (as they rather thought nay then yes) they might relieve themſelves and all they had, ſafe, entire, and at their own liberty for the Roman armies, and win withal the Kings good grace in that they ſeemed to make an offer to deceive him: or if any came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find favours, and have pardon at the Romans hands, in that they had not expected their licours being ſo far off, but rather yielded to the forces of *Antiochus* being preſent there in perſon. In ſuch fort they carried themſelves in their embaſſage ſo perplexed and intricate, that the King knew not well how to answer them readily: but ſaid, that he would ſend his own Embaſſadors unto them for to parle and treat of all affairs pertaining in common as well to them as to him. Then went he himſelf into *Bæotia*, which country in colour and ſhape pretended theſe cauſes of anger and ſpight againſt the Romans, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of *Bercillus*, and the armies by *Quimius* levied againſt *Coronea*, occaſioned by a maſacre committed upon Roman ſoldiers: but in very truth this was the reaſon, The ſingular diſcipline and order of that nation in old time, was going downward and ending many

A many years and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and ruin, he could not poſſibly continue long without ſome change and alteration of State. Well, to *Theban*: Where in the General Diet and Councell of that Nation (notwithſtanding he had founded the battell, and began the fiſt already by giving the fiſt blow, in that he had forced the Roman garriſon near *Delium* and *Chalcis*, which were no ſmall ſigns nor doubtfull overtures of war, yet which his Embaſſadors had followed in the general aſſembly of the *Achæans*, namely, demanding that they would enter into ſmity with him, without proſeſſing themſelves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hoſtility againſt them. But there was no man there but ſoon found him and ſaw him wel enough: howbeit there paſſed an act and decree in favour of the King againſt him. B Romans, under a vain and flight pretext and colourable ſhew of words. Having gained this nation alſo, he returned to *Chalcis*, from thence he ſent out his letters before unto the States of the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould meet him in *Demetrias*, where he would confer and conſult with them of all their affairs to be managed; and thither came he by leaſt at the day appointed. *Aminander* alſo was ſent for out of *Athamania* to this conſultation, yes, and *Anniball* the Carthaginian (whole counſel was not required a long time) was preſent at this frequent Diet and Aſſembly. Much parle and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Theſſalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they ſhould be founded how they ſhould aſſeſſed: but about the maine, and ſome circumſtance thereof, they were of divers minds, while ſome advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter ſeaſon (conſidering now they were in the mids thereof) unto the prime and beginning of ſpring: others again ſaid, that Embaſſadors alſo ſhould be ſent: and ſome hot ſpurs there were, that gave counſell to go againſt them with all their forces, yes, and to fright and terrifie themſelves they made ſlow halt. Now when all the C deliver his mind and ſpeak to the cauſe in queſtion: who turned the King and all that were preſent from other wandring cogitations, and induced them to the entire conſideration of the tall war, and to this effect framed his ſpeech in this wiſe. "It ſince the time that we paſſed over into *Greece*, my ſap had been to be called to any councell, when as ſome queſtion was touching the ſpeech of *Anniball*. " *Emba*, the *Achæans* and the *Ætolians*, I had delivered that advice then, which now I purpoſe to utter this day in the queſtion concerning the Theſſalians. Above all things my counſel is, that *Philip* and the *Macedonians* may by all means poſſible be wrought to this our allocation in the war. For as touching *Emba*, the *Ætolians* and the Theſſalians, who doubteth, but that they (as nations that land upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themſelves) will alwaies flatter them that are preſent in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the ſame fear that they ever ſhew when they are to take counſel and relieve? who doubteth I ſay but ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee the Roman army in *Greece*, they will turn to their accuſtomed obedience, and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were ſo far off, they were not willing to try the force of you (a puiſſant Prince in perſon among them) or of your armies? How much rather ought we then, nay, how much better and more important would it be, to joyne *Philip* unto us then theſe? For if he once enter into the cauſe and be ſeen in action, he can not poſſibly ſtarc from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth E that power with him, which is not to be held for a ſimple licour & addition to mend our forces, but ſuch as lately of it ſelf without the help of others, was able to make head againſt the Roman puiſſance. Let me have this prince on my ſide, and (be it ſpoken without offence of any man here) what need I doubt of the ſequel & iſſue? eſpecially when theſe, whoſe means & aſſiſtance the Romans prevailed againſt *Philip*, I ſee now ready to enter the field againſt them? The *Ætolians* (I ſay) who as all the world knoweth vanquiſhed *Philip*, ſhall now together with *Philip*, enter into arms and fight againſt them. Over and beſides, *Aminander* and the whole nation of the *Athamians* (whole ſervice in the war, next to the *Ætolians*, ſtood the Romans in beſt ſtead) ſhall be on our ſide, *Philip* at that time (O King *Antiochus*) ſuſtained the fight and burden of the whole war, when you ſtill and ſtirred not: now both of you together, two moſt mighty monarchs, F with the puiſſance of all *Aſia* and *Europe*, ſhall wage war againſt one City and people, which (to ſpeak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers daies was not able to make their part good with one only King of the *Epirots*: how hardly daies they will be when they ſhall be matched with you both together. But what moved me to think, yes, and assured me, that *Philip* may be won unto us to joyne in this action? One thing is this, a common good and benefit even the greateſt bond that is of ſociety: and yet there is anothers beſides it, namely, an inducement proceeding from you that be here of *Ætolia*: for *Thoon* your Embaſſador (who is preſent in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledge for to animate & move *Antiochus* to come into *Greece*, evermore assured him of this principally, and vowed that *Philip* G upon him hard conditions of ſervitude and ſlavery. And he verily, I mean *Thoon*, ſet out the ſell and ger of the King, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beaſt bound with chains: or being encloded in ſome cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if he be diſpoſed thus, and of that courage, let us burſt his bonds aſunder, let us (I ſay) force open his iron cage, that his rage pent up ſo long may now break out upon the common enemies, and ſuppoſe

* Lombardy.

"suppose that our embassy effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that
 "if we c. not work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band
 "with our enemies. Your son *Selencus* is now at *Ephesus*, who shall not so soon with those forces
 "which he hath about him, begin to invade and wall by the way of *Thracia*, the confines of *Ma-*
 "cedon, but he shall withdraw and turn *Philip* clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to
 "the defence especially of his own. Thus have you heard mine advice as touching *Philip*: now let
 "the whole course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was, you have not been ignorant
 "of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waies, and my council had been
 "taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of *Chalcis* in *Engla-*
 "not of the forcing and winning of a little pile upon *Euripus*; but they had heard by this, that all
 "the coast of the *Ligurians* and of the *Cisalpine Gauls* was up in arms and on a light fire of war; I
 "and of which would have feared and frightened them most? that *Annibal* was in *Italy*. And now
 "things standing as they do) my advice is, that you fend for all your forces both by land and sea;
 "Let your carriks and bulks with victuals and provision follow after your armada & ships of war.
 "For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martial exploits, so we are too many,
 "considering our small store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together,
 "divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of *Coreyra*, to impeach the Ro-
 "mans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to lay unto that
 "coast of *Italy* which looketh toward *Sardinia* and *Africk*. Your self in proper person, with all
 "your land army shall march onward into the territory of the *Bylliones* (whence shall ye have good
 "means for the defence of *Greece*, as making the Romans believe, that you are upon the point
 "to pass the seas, yea, and being ready indeed to crosse over if need should require. This gene-
 "rally is my council, mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war,
 "so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby,
 "as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever desig-
 "ment I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithful and forward in
 "the execution thereof; and the gods approve and blesse that course, which your self shall think
 "the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of *Annibal* directed; which all that were
 "in place and heard it, rather praised for the present, then put in practice and effected afterwards.
 "For no one thing was doct of all that he had said, save only *Antiochus* lent *Polyxenidas* for a navy
 "and army out of *Asia*; yea, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diet of the *L*
 "Theffalians. And a day was appointed for the *Ætolians* and *Aminander* to meet the army at *Phe-*
 "ra, whither King *Antiochus* came straight after with his power. And while he staid there, ex-
 "pecting *Aminander* and the *Ætolians*, he sent out one *Philip* a Megapolitan, with two thousand men
 "to gather out the bones and reliques of the *Macedonians* about *Cynosephale*, where the war with
 "*Philip* was determined, and the quartel decided by a famous battell: were it that therein be fol-
 "lowed his own head and took a conceit, thereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the
 "Macedonian Nation, and to bring the King into obloquie and disgrace, because he left his souldiers
 "unburied: or that, as it is the vein (or vanity rather) engrained in Kings by kind, he set his mind
 "and busied his spirits in matters, for appearance gay and goodly, but in effect fond & foolish. There
 "he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay scat-
 "tering and strewed here and there: a thing no doubt that the *Macedonians* conned him no thank
 "for, and which *Philip* (you may be sure) took in foul scorn and malicious disdain. And therefore
 "*Philip*, who at that time minded to take council of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as the en-
 "cined now, sent to *Marcus Bibulus* the Vice-Pretor, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded
 "*Theffalia*, and if it pleased him to stir out of his winter habour, he would meet him, that they might
 "confer both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Phera*, where *Aminander* and the *Ætolians* had
 "joynd with him, there came Embassadors from *Larissa*, expostulating, Wherein the Theffalians
 "had so offended either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war?
 "and which beleeching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought a-
 "gainst them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well ap-
 "pointed, under the governance of *Hippolechus*, to be seized and kept by the Kings forces, returned to
 "Phera, by reason that all the avenues were kept by a gracious answer, and said,
 "*Scouts*. As for the Embassadors of the *Larissians*, the King made them a gracious answer, and said,
 "That he was entered into *Theffaly*, not by way of hostility to distress them, but in friendly man-
 "ner to maintain and establish the freedome of the Theffalians. Likewise the *Pherians* giving him no an-
 "swer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one *Panfanias*, a principal man
 "of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to those, that had been
 "in the like case alleged and laid forth in the behalf and name of the *Chalcidians*, in that Coun-
 "cell holden near the freights of *Euripus*, and besides, uttered something else with more bold-
 "ness and courage, the King dismissed him, after he had willed them to confider more of the
 "matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsell which anon they would repent,
 "whiles they sought to be too wary, provident, and forsaeking the future time. When this em-
 "bassage was related at *Phera*, the Citizens took no long time to deliberate, but soon resolved in
 "the maintenance of their faith and loyalty to the Romans for to undergo whatsoever hazard the

A the fortune of war should present unto them. Whereupon both they addressed themselves to
 "defend the City with all their might, and also the King began to assault and batter the walls on all
 "parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the issue of all
 "the siege of that City which he first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, ei-
 "ther to make him despised ever after, or feared and dread of the Theffalians, therefore he terrified
 "the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all means possible that he could devise. The
 "first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully, but afterwards seeing many of the defendants were
 "either overturned and slain, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quake: yet re-
 "flectall exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution, they quit the utmost compas-
 "B of their wall (seeing a what default they were for want of men) and retired themselves more in-
 "ward into the City, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a mure and lefs cir-
 "cuit and compass then the other. At the length, overcome with travell and calamities, and fear-
 "ing that if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercy nor pardon with
 "the conqueror, they yielded themselves. The King following the train of victory, delayed no
 "time, but while the night was fresh, sent four thousand armed men presently to *Scoutia*, where
 "the townsmen made no stay, but rendered the town and themselves incontinently, having before
 "series, were compelled to do that at last which they obtrarily refused at the first. Together with
 "the City itself was surrendered also *Hippolechus* and the *Larissan* garrison under his hand. All of
 "C them the King sent away without any hurt or violence offered unto their persons: for he thought
 "thereby to win the hearts and love of the *Larissians*. Having accomplished these exploits within
 "ten daies after his first coming to *Phera*, he marched towards *Crane* with all his army, and at his
 "first coming won it. Then he regained and seized *Cyrra* and *Metropolis*, and the boroughs &
 "forts about them: so as now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except
 "*Atrax* and *Gyro*. Then he determined to assail *Larissa*, supposing, that either upon the fearful
 "terror of the Cities forced, or in regard of his desert in dismissing the garrison so courtcou-
 "ly, or by the present example of so many Cities yielded unto him, they would not long persist
 "in their obstinacy. And for to terrify them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in
 "the forefront of the vanguard, and approached himself in a square battell, with four sides, in such
 "D sort as the hearts of many of the *Larissians* waved in doubtful suspense, between forced fear of
 "present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the *Arthamans*, became mas-
 "ter of *Pelinaum*, *Memphis* also with three thousand *Ætolian* footmen and two hundred horse
 "went to *Perthabia*, won *Mallas* and *Cyrris* by assault, and waited the territory of *Tropolis*. Hav-
 "ing performed these exploits with great expedition, and celerity, they returned to *Larissa* unto
 "the King, and arrived even then when as the King was in consultation what to do with *Larissa*:
 "for the council was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly,
 "and not to defer and assail the Cities wals with fabrics and engines of battery on all sides at once:
 "alleging that the town being situated in a plain towards the champaign field side, might be ap-
 "E proched unto with ease and invetted every way. Others again inferred one while, that there was
 "no comparison between the strength of this City and of *Phera*: otherwhile, that it was now winter
 "time, and a season of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all other for the siege and
 "assault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equal ballance of hope and despair, the Em-
 "bassadors of *Pearsalus* arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to surrender up their town, revived
 "his spirits and mightily comforted his re.

M. *Babius* in this mean while having parled and conferred with *Philip* in the *Darsareians*
 "country, sent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the succour and defence
 "of *Larissa*: who passed through *Macedony*, and by long journeys came to the top of those hills
 "that command *Genni*. Now this *Genni* is a town twenty miles distant from *Larissa*, seated just
 "F in the very freights of that forest and pass called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit
 "of ground to encamp in, then was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in them then
 "need was for that company, gave semblance unto the enemy (which was the thing he aimed at)
 "that all the Roman forces were there, together with King *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore
 "preteending unto his army, that the unseasonable winter that approached, after he had stayed one
 "only day before *Larissa*, dilogged, and thence departed, and so returned to *Demetrias*. The *Æ-*
 "tolians likewise and *Arthamanians* repaired to their own countries.

Appius albeit he saw that the siege was levied (which was the only cause of his coming) yet
 "down he went to *Larissa* to encourage and confirm the hearts of the allies against the time
 "to come. And a two-fold joy there was, both because the enemies were gone and had quit their coun-
 "try, and also for that they saw the Roman garrison within their wals. King *Antiochus* departed
 "G from *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in a fey and love with a damell of that City, daughter
 "of *Cleopolemus* a *Chalcidian*. Now after he made means to the maidens father first by intercel-
 "lion of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own person with earnest
 "requests by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himself in match-
 "ing her so high above his own calling) at length so overcame the man, that he obtained his desire:
 "and as if it had been a time of settled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to consummate and cele-
 "brate

brat the marriage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affairs so important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he passed away the rest of the winter in feasts and banquets, and in those delights and pleasures, which ordinarily (you wot well) follow upon the liberal drinking of wine; yea, and when he had then by rather wearied his body than fulfilled his appetite, he gave himself to sleep, without compass. The like riot and loose life took hold of the rest of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in Bactria especially, such as commanded the garrisons. Nay, the very soldiers were let loose and given over to take voluptuous waies, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch, and stand the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a soldier. And therefore at the beginning of the spring, when he was come by *Phocii* and *Cheronea*, to the *Rodanus*, where he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he soon perceived that the soldiers had spent the winter as licentiously as their leaders, and kept no better order and straighter discipline. Then he commanded *Alexander* the Acarnanian, and *Menippus* the Macedonian, to lead the army to *Stratus*, a town in *Aetolia*. Himself having done sacrifice at *Delphi* to the honour of *Apollo* went forward to *Naupactum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Aetolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lysimachia*, he encountered his own forces aforesaid, that came by the gulf of *Malea*. Where *Maeiobus*, a Principal Acarnanian, but wrought and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himself won that nation to take part, & to side with the King, but also had drawn to his own mind and affection *Cilius* their Pretor, who at that time had the sovereign rule there, and might do all in all. His seeing that the Macedonians (who are the chief of all the Acarnanians) could not be easily induced nor brought to revells, for the King sawe wherein they stood of the Roman fleet, which either was with *Asinius*, or about *Cephalonia*, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall Council, that the inland parts of *Acarnania* were to be well guarded and defended; and that as many as were able to bear arms should go forth to *Medio* and *Tyrrenum*, for fear those places should be seized by *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians*: there were again some who made answer and said, how there was no such need that all should be raised and levied to tumultuously in half; for a garrison of five hundred men was sufficient. And when he had obtained that number of young & able men, he placed three hundred of them in garrison at *Medio*, and two hundred at *Tyrrenum*; his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands for hostages. And even at that time arrived the Kings Embassadors at *Medio*, whose embassage being heard, they laid their heads together and consulted in the publick assembly what answer to return unto the King. Some were of opinion to continue still in the Roman society: others were of advice again, that the Kings offer of amity was not to be rejected. The counsell of *Cilius* was mean and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted to wit, that they should address the Embassadors to the King, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of such consequence as full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this Embassage *Maeiobus*, and those of his faction were employed of set purpose: who having dispatched messengers covertly to King, to advertise him to approach the town with his forces, trifled out the time themselves, and made no halt to let forward in their embassie. Whereupon these Embassadors were scarcely gone forth of the City, when *Antiochus* was entered the borders, and anon shewed himself hard at the gates. And whiles they that with nothing of this treason were affrighted, and in great trouble and tumult, called the youth hastily to arm, he was by *Cilius* and *Maeiobus* let into the City. Some willingly of themselves came running about the King: those also that were of the adverse part, for very fear joined with him. Whom he seeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and to gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency to much divulged and spoken of abroad, certain States of *Acarnania* revolted and turned unto him. Then from *Medio* he went to *Tyrrenum*, unto which place he had sent *Maeiobus*; and his Embassadors aforesaid. But the treachery and deceit at *Medio* being discovered, made the Tyrreans more wary and careful then otherwise fearful, who made him this plain direct answer without any doubt, ambiguity, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advice and authority of the Roman Generals: to they, that their gates, and disposed armed men upon their walls. Now it fell out very sily and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *C. Octavius* sent by *Quintus*, having received a garrison and some few ships of *A. Posthumus*, who by *Asinius* the Lieutenant had been appointed Governour of *Cephalonia*, was come to *Lecaea*, and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who also gave them to understand, that *M. Acilius* the Consul had already passed the seas with his legions, and the Romans were encamped in *Thessaly*. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reason that the season of the year served now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garrison at *Medio* and in other towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Tyrrenum*, and passing through the Cities of *Aetolia* and *Phocis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about the time *M. Bavius* and King *Philip*, who had communed and devised together before (during the winter) in the Dardaniens country, having sent *Appius Claudius* into *Thessaly*, for to raise the siege before *Larissa*; and because the season then was unmeet and too soon for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintering harbours, now in the beginning of the Spring joyned all their forces together and came down into *Thessaly*. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in *Acarnania*.) And at their first coming, *Philip* began to lay siege unto

Malea

A. Malleus and *Babius* to *Phocium*: which when he had forced in maner, at the first assault he won *Phocium* also with like expedition. From whence having retired himself to *Stratus*, he took *Cyrrhæa*, and so consequently surprised *Eretrium*, and after he had planted garrisons in these towns that he had thus recovered, he joyined with *Philip* again lying in siege before *Malea*. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townsmen had yielded themselves either for fear of forces, whereof the Athamans were seized: to wit, *Aeginum*, *Eretrium*, *Gomphi*, *Silina*, *Tricci*, *Melissa*, and *Pholonia*: After this, they invetted *Pellium*, where *Philip* the Megapolitan lay in garrison with five hundred foot, and forty horie: but before they gave the assault, they sent a trumpet to *Philip* to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the assault, they sent a trumpet turned this answer again right stoutly unto them, that the would be content to commit himself to the Romans or the Thessalians, he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of King *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it seemed that *Limnaea* also at the same time might be assaulted, it was thought expedient that the King should go to *Limnaea*, and *Babius* staid still to batter and force the town of *Pellium*.

It fortuneed at the same time that *M. Acilius* the Cos, having passed the seas with a power of 10000 foot, and 2000 horie and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the Infantry to *Larissa*, whiles himself with the Cavalry came to King *Philip* before *Limnaea*. At the coming of the Consul the town was yielded incontinently: the Kings garison was delivered, and the Athamanians withall. Then the Consul went from *Limnaea* to *Pellium* self. And as he came down from the fort, *Philip* the King chanced to meet with him, and in scorn mockage came close unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother *Philip*, scoffing and jeering and put in ward, and not long after bent bound to *Rome*. All the multitude besides of the Athamans, as also of King *Antiochus* his soldiers, which were within the garrisons of those towns of 3000, the Consul departed to *Larissa*, to consult and take advice for the generall course of the their Cities. *Philip* having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the Athamanians, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceited some hope to conquer *Athamania*, led his army thither, and sent his captives aforeshand into and withall made report of the King his clemency and reputation among their countreimen, fully besides he alsed them: And *Aminander* verily, whose preience and majesty had kept some of them in allegiance, fearing lest he should be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had been his mortall enemy) and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children, and retired himself to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became subject to King *Philip*, and at his pleasure.

The Consul sojournd certain daies at *Larissa*, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had been sea-sick, and afterwards were tired with long travel; and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little rest and repose, he marched to *Cræta*. At his coming thither, that lay there, were yielded up unto him, And having put unto their choice, either to be delivered unto King *Philip*; the rest he sent back dismayed to *Demetria*. Then he regained *Proci* ward the gulph of *Malea*: and when he approached the straights upon which the town *Thamambus* about the woods and passages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in fee if they could scare them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they persisted still in such fort, that he got between those armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance; whereby he possessed himself of the City, being void of defendants. They that lay in the forefront of the wood, and fell upon the sword. The Consul then departed from *Thamambus*, and the second day came as far as the river *Sperchius*, and so forward unto the territory of the *Hypæantii*, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrences, *Antiochus* lay at *Chalcis*, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in Greece, but the pleasure of one wintering, spent so deliciously in *Chalcis*, and a dishonourable marriage: began to blame the *Aetolians* for their vain promises, and especially *Thous*; but *Antiochus* he had in great admiration, reputing him not only for a sage and prudent man, but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to pass: howbeit for

Self

feet

feared that his cold slackness might not overthrow that quite, which his rash folly had begun and enterprised. he sent out his couriers into *Ætolia*, to give them warning to levy all their youth and assemble them together: and himself for his own part had brought thither almost 10000 footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of *Asia*, and 500 horsemen besides. To this place, perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and some few of their warriors, who protested that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with absolute command, were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refused warfare: and seeing himself thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his own subjects who dragged behind in *Asia*, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, he withdrew himself within the Straights of *Thermopila*.

in *Gales*.

This mountain divideth *Greece* in the very middle, like as *Italy* is parted in twain by the ridge of the *Appennine*. On the fore-part of this straight and forest of *Thermopila* toward the North lyeth *Epirus* and *Perrhebia*, *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, also the Phthiotæ of *Achaia*, and the gulph *Malea*: but more to the southward is discovered the greatest part of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, *Phocia*, *Locris*, and *Boeotia*, together with the Island *Eubœa* joining close thereto: behind it is situate the country of *Attica* running into the sea like a promontory, and besides it *Peloponessus*. This mountain taking his beginning at *Leucas* and the Pontus or Western sea, reacheth through *Ætolia* to the Levant or Easterly Ocean, and is so full of rocks and rough crags between, that no whole armies, nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much ado the waies and paths to pass through: the utmost brows and the hills of this mountain bending toward the east, they call *Ossa*: and the highest pitch and knop thereof, is called *Callidromos*: at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulph of *Malea*, wherein the plain is not above three or four paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way to which any army may march, if it be not otherwise impeached. And hereupon it is, that the passage is called "Pylæ": and of some (because there are found therein certain natural hot waters or bays) *Thermopila*: even that very place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the *Lacedæmonians* more than for any worthy battell against the *Persians*. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this present, carrying nothing that mind nor resolution as those *Lacedæmonians* did: within the gates as it were of the Straights, where he enclosed and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences: And when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea, and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of stone lying every where) and had made all sure: presuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through those barriers: that way he sent of those 4000 *Ætolians* (for so many were met together) some to keep a garrison in *Heraclea*, situate even before the very gulph and freight: and others to *Hypata*: for that he made no doubt but the Consul would assail *Heraclea*, and many posts brought word, that all about *Hypata* was already walled.

Now the Consul having spoiled the territory of *Hypata* first, and then of *Heraclea* (where the *Ætolians* aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over-against the King, even in the very mouth of the gulph, near the fountains of the hot waters aforesaid: both those regiments above-named of the *Ætolians* were got within the town *Heraclea*, and there kept themselves sure. *Antiochus*, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was fast enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to fear lest the Roman soldiers would find out some privy paths and waies, thereby they might pass and get over those high hills that commanded his camp: for a rumour ran, that the *Lacedæmonians* in times past were so enclosed by the *Persians*, and of late daies also King *Philip* was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the *Ætolians* in *Heraclea*, willing them to do him thus much service yet in these his wars, as to seize the tops of those hills and to keep them that the Romans might have no passage that way. Upon this message received, there arose some dissension among the *Ætolians*. Some were of mind to obey the King his will and commandment, and to go accordingly; but others thought better to tarry still at *Heraclea*, to attend upon fortune and see what would happen: to the end, that if the King should chance to be vanquished by the Consul, they might have in readiness their forces fresh and in heart, to succour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Consul, then they might follow the Romans in chase, when they were disbanded and scattered asunder. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not only persisted still in their several designs, but also put the same in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at *Heraclea*; the other two thousand parted themselves three waies, namely, to *Callidromos*, to *Rhodania*, and *Tichius*, (these are the names of three principall high hills;) and each company took and held one. The Consul when he saw that the *Ætolians* were possessed of these higher places, sent *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Consuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the *Ætolians*, to wit, *Flaccus* against *Rhodania* and *Tichius*, and *Cato* against *Callidromos*: himself before that he advanced his battell against his enemies, made a brief speech unto his soldiers in this manner: "My soldiers, I see that the most part of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province sometime served under the conduct, charge, and government of *T. Quimius* in the Macedonian war. The Straights of

A "of that passage then, near the river *Aous*, were it more difficult to gain and get over than this is; for here are very gates, yea, and one natural way (as it were) to pass through, as if all else were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defence, and conces against them at that time, and those planted in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are Syrians and Asiatick Greeks, or half Asiatick the vainest kind of people of all others, and born to serve. The King there, namely *Philip* a most noble warrior excelled and excelled ever from his youth in the neighbour wars of the Thracians and Illyrians. & all the nations bordering upon him: but this *Antiochus* (to say nothing of all his line besides) is he who being come out of *Asia* into *Europe*, for to make war upon the people of *Rome* hath done all the long winter time nothing more memorable than this. That for to please his wanton lust he hath taken to wife the daughter of a privat person; a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens: & this new married man, fat and franked (as I may to say) with dainty suppers & delicate bread-bankets, is come forth (forsooth) to fight a battell, his whole strength and all his hope hath been in the *Ætolians*, a people of all others most vain, unconstant, and unskillful, as ye have tried heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great number, nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which is more, they mutine among themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, they have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the mountains; others have shut themselves within *Heraclea*. The King himself hath confessed plainly, that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and affront the enemy, nor nor so much as to pitch his camp in open ground; in that abandoning all that country before him which he vanquished and bragged that he had taken from us and *Philip*, he hath hidden himself among the rocks. He hath not encamped before the entrance of the gulph and Straights (as the same goeth of the *Lacedæmonians* in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly fear, what difference is there between doing, and houting himself within the walls of some City for to be besieged? But neither shall those narrow Straights save him no more than those steep hills defend the *Ætolians*, which they have seized. This one thing hath bene our aid and provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies.

D "Now must ye resolve upon this point. That ye fight not only for the liberty of *Greece* (and yet even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said for to deliver the same now out of the hands of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, which before you freed from King *Philip*) nor that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains, but that which we shall find now in the Kings camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected from *Ephesus*, shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Roman Empire into *Asia*, *Syria*, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the Levant. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gades* to the red sea we bound and limit our State and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall honour and worship the Roman name next unto the immortal gods? Prepare your hearts therefore and courages answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we may to-morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the soldiers being dismissed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the morning, by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signal of battell, and let his army in array, seeing the ensigns of his enemies, led forth his forces likewise. Part of his light armours he placed before the rampier and trench in the forefront, then he placed the flower and strength of the Macedonians, whom they call *Sarissephori*, i.e. Pikemen, for the fury and safeguard of his defences and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the flingers of darts, and flingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill, that from the higher ground they might all edge and point of the mures and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes, quagmires, and quicksands, he let the Elephants with their ordinary and usual guard. After them his horsemens and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his forces in the second ward or middle battallion. The Macedonians who were belted before the camp and the trench, the first sustained the Romans easily enough (who assailed on every side to make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out of their slings, as thick as an hail storm, who lanced darts also, and shot arrows besides. But when as afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifications, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it were) another palliade with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of their camp-mure was so reasonable, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their own men to fight upon it, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy under them, in so much as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,

were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or else more of them had died for it, but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Callidromus* the *Ætoli-ans*, and slain a great part of them (for he surprised them suddenly at unawares, and most of them fast asleep) appeared upon the hill that commandeth the camp. *Flaccus* sped not so well at *Tichinus* and *Rhoduntis*, who laboured to get up those cliffs and holds, but to no purpose. The Macedonians and the rest that were in the Kings host and camp, at first, when they perceived aff right nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the *Ætoli-ans*, who having discovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them. But so soon as they beheld and discerned near at hand the engines and armour of the Romans, they took themselves in their own error and were upon a sudden stricken with such fear, that they all flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way & also the narrowness of the vale through which they were to be pursued, hindered the Romans in following the chafe. And the Elephants above all which were in the rearward took up the ground so, as that the footmen could hardly pass by them, and the horsemen by no means possible: so affrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they did during the battell. Besides the Romans staid sometime behind, whilst they rifled and rancked the camp. However, they had the enemy in chase that day as far as *Lylæum*, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horses and men, but also slaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done, they returned to their own camp, which that day had been assailed by the *Ætoli-ans*, who were of the garrison of *Heraclea*; but that enterprise, as it was exceeding bold and audacious, so it took no effect at all. The Consul having at the relief of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavalry to pursue the enemy, advanced likewise the ensigns of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won some ground, and got a good way before; for he never gave over galloping with bridle in horse neck, until he had recovered *Elatia*. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus dispersed in flight, and so having rallied a small and poor troop of footsiders, and the same earned by the halts, he retired to *Chalcis*. The Roman Cavalry was not able to overtake the King himself at *Elatia*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for weariness rested themselves dragging behind, or else were scattered one from the other, as missing their way in those unknown quarters, going as they did without their guides: and letting aside five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that escaped of the whole army. Which was but a small number in proportion *L* of 10000. (if they were no more) for so many (according to *Polybius*) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into *Greece*. What were they then to that great power, which (if we believe *Valerius Antias*) came with the King for he writeth that he had in his host three score thousand, and that forty thousand were slain of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the loss of military ensigns two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there died in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Consul marched with his army through *Phocis* and *Bœotia*, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt and partly culpable, stood without their gates with their infants and veils in token of peace, and craved mercy, fearing they should have been pillaged and rancked as enemies. But his host journeyed every day in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt or wrong to any earthly creature, until they were come into the territory of *Corona*: where the State or Image of *Antiochus* erected in the Temple of *Minerva* kindled their choler. And the footsiders were permitted to spoil the country lying about that Temple. But bethinking themselves that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publique consent of all *Bœotia*) it was an indignity to deal so hardly with that territory only of *Corona*, the footsiders were immediately called in and reclaimed, and so they ceased the waiting and spoiling thereof. The *Bœotians* only had a check and rebuke by words for carrying so unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the battell aforesaid, there rode at anchor ten ships of the Kings, in the gulph of *Malea* near to *Thronium* under the charge and conduct of *Isidorus*. To which place *Alexander* the Acarnanian, being fled from the conflict, fresh bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunate fight. Whereupon the ships in great fear for this late terror, made haste and away to *Ceneum* in *Eubœa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three other ships which were come out of *Asia*, and lay in the same road, upon the news of the defeat of the army returned to *Ephesus*. And *Isidorus* crossed the seas from *Ceneum* to *Demetrias*, if peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Attilius* the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and surprised great store of the Kings provisions, which had passed already the straits near the Island *Andros*. Some ships he sunk, others he boarded and took: as for those that came hindmost in the rearward, they turned sail and shaped their course into *Asia*, *Attilius* being returned to *Pyrgæum* (from whence he came) with a fleet of ships taken from the enemies, divided great store of corn both among the Athenians and other allies also of that country.

Antiochus somewhat before the Consul his coming, loosed from *Chalcis*, and first fell with the Island *Tenaris*, and afterwards sailed to *Ephesus*. Against the Consul his arrivall at *Chalcis* the gates were left open for him, and *Ariftoles* the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachment of the Consul. In like manner other Cities in *Eubœa* yielded without resistance. And so within few daies (when all troubles were appeased and set in quiet order without the hurt and damage

A damage of any one City) the army was brought back to *Thermopylae*, and won much more honour and commendation for the modesty used after victory, than for the victory it self.

From thence the Consul dispatched *M. Cato* to *Rome* by whose certain and true relation the Senate and people might have full knowledge of all the affairs that had passed. Who taking sea at *Cresusa* (a port town of Merchandise standing within the immortall gulph of *Corinth*), arrived at *Tutris*, a City in *Abas*, from *Patris*, he coasted along the rivers of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, as far as *Corinthus*, and so cut over to *Hydruntum* in *Italy*, from whence he travelled by land, and exceeding great haste within five daies came to *Rome*. Early in the morning before day light he entered the City, and from the gate rode directly to *M. Junius* the Prætor, who attended the Senate sometimes by the break of day: and thither, *L. Cornelius Scipio* (whose some daies before had been dismissed B and sent away from the camp by the Consul) hearing at his first coming that *Cato* was got before him, and in the Senate repaired, even as he was relating the news. Then these two Licentiates by the commandment of the Senate were presented in the general assembly of the people where they declared the fame which they had done before in the Senate house, as touching the deeds achieved in *Ætolia*. And ordained it was that a solemn procession for three daies should be holden, and that the Prætor should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, in the honour of what gods he would himself.

And at the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two years before went as Prætor into the farthest Spain, entered the City in pomp of an Ovation, or petty triumph. He came to be born before him of silver bigs 130000. And besides that, silver in coin and ready money, 12000 pound C weight. Also in gold the weight of 127 pound. *Atilius* the Consul sent certain messengers from *Thermopylae* to the *Ætoli-ans* at *Heraclea*, to advertise them that before he came they would now at last be wiser, and bethink themselves (after such experience of the King his vanity and infidelity) for to deliver up *Heraclea*, and crave pardon of the Senate, either for their willful folly, or their blind error. Who used these and such like motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other Cities likewise of *Greece* (during this war) abandoned the Romans and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefits: yet because that after the King was fled (upon whose assurance they had disloyally broken their allegiance) they stood not out still, nor permitted obstinately in their fault and folly, were received to mercy and protection. The *Ætoli-ans* likewise albeit they followed not the King, but sent for him, and were rather conductors and D leaders, than companions and associates in this war, yet if they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answer returned they tending to peace: nay, it appeared, that the matter would come to a trial by arms, and for all the King was vanquished, yet the *Ætolian* war was behind as wholly and entire as before time. Whereupon the Consul dislodged from *Thermopylae*, and marched directly against *Heraclea*: yea, and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Heraclea* is seated at the foot of the mountain *Oeta*: & though the town it self standeth in a plain, yet a fortress it hath built upon an high ground, which as it overlooketh the City, so it is so steep on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and known, he determined to assault the town in four places at once. Unto *L. Valerius* he gave in charge to plant his platforms and to batter that side where the river *Asopus* runneth, and where the publique place of exercise is built. *T. Sempronius Longus* had commission to assault the Castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited and more peopled (as a man would say) then the town it self. On that side which standeth toward the gulph of *Mælea*, which part yielded the hardest access, he appointed *M. Babius*. And from another petty river which they call *Atis*, he set *Appius Claudius* opposite against the Temple of *Diana*. Through the great industry and earnest labour of these four gallants, striving who could perform the best service, the work went so well forward, that within few daies the frames and platforms, the Rams and all other engines of battery meet for the assault of Cities were finished. For besides that the territory about *Heraclea*, being a moory ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plenty enough of timber to frame and percing F all sorts of fabrics: the houses also in the entry of the City without in the Suburbs standing void, by reason that the *Ætoli-ans* had put themselves within the walls, yielded unto them not only posts, beams, joists, planks, and boards, but brick, and tile, plaster, mortar, and stone of all sizes for divers and sundry uses. So, the Romans assaulted the town rather with fabrics, ordnance, and artillery, than by force of arms: but the *Ætoli-ans* contrariwise defended themselves by main strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the Rams, they caught not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their force: but armed in great number, they carried fire with they to fling upon the terraces and the fabrics. They had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls at which they could readily and safely fall out: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or made G new for the ruin, they would remember to make more of those vaults still, that in many places at once they might break forth upon their enemies. Thus for the first daies, whilst they were fresh in heart, they issued forth oftentimes and many together, and quit themselves right lustily: but afterwards in fewer numbers, and more feckly every day than other. For being ever more employed about many things at once, nothing so much tamed and wearied them, as watching. For whereas the Romans had a great number of footsiders, and one guarded after another successively by turns; the *Ætoli-ans* being so few, were constrained without any change, to continue in unceasing

stant labour night and day. Thus for the space of twenty four daies they had no rest nor respite but day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight fill, and labouring without intermission against the enemies that assailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Consul knew once that the Ætoliens were wearied and overtired (partly by counting the time, and partly by that which he had learned of certain fugitives) he used this policy and stratagem. About midnight he founded the retreat, and having drawn all his soldiers at once from the assault, held them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the day. After that, he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and so gave over again until the same hour before noon. The Ætoliens supposing verily that the cause why they surceased the assault, was for very weariness (like as themselves were tired out) so soon as the Romans had the retreat sounded unto them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signall were called away, and shewed not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the next day.

* Three of the clock in the morning.

The Consul having at one time given over the battery aforesaid at midnight, began at the fourth watch a fresh assault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one side, he gave commandment to T. Scampronius to keep his men together, and intently to observe and wait for the signall: assuring himself that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to those places from whence they heard the noise. The Ætoliens many of them being found asleep, had much to do to rouse themselves, and were loath to rise up from their sweet sleep, their bodies being so weary with toiling mowing, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake ran in the dark to the place where the assailants made a noise. Their enemies laboured to get into the town, some by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken wall, others by scaling and climbing with ladders. And against them the Ætoliens ran from all parts ready to succour and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the City, was neither defended nor assailed: but as there were some ready and waited for the signall to give the assault, so there was not one of the other part for to resist and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Consul put forth the signall, and the soldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withstand them: some entered at the walls half broken down, others scaled them with ladders where they stood whole and found. And the cry was not so soon heard that the City was taken, but the Ætoliens left their guards on all sides, and fled into the Castle. The soldiers that had won the town were permitted by the Consul to ransack it: which was not done so much upon anger and despite, as in this regard, that the soldiers who had been kept short & fasting thus long (notwithstanding so many towns recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place taste the fruit of victory. The Consul, having called from thence about noon, the soldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commanded the one to cast about the foot of the hills unto a rock or cliff, which being in height equal to the Castle aforesaid, was notwithstanding divided from it by a valley between, seeming as if it had been sometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now these two points of the hills flew up so near together in the head that from the top of the one a man might lance a dart into the Castle or fortres. The Consul, with the other half of the soldiers staid beneath, expecting a sign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready thereupon to mount up from the town side into the fort. The Ætoliens that were within the Castle could neither abide at the first the shout of those that had seized the cliff, nor afterwards the assault of the Romans from the City, both for that their hearts failed them and were dained already, and also because they were unprovided of all necessities for to endure any long siege and assault: considering that women and children and all the other impotent multitude unmeet to bear arms, were got thither in so great numbers that the place was hardly able to receive and contain much less to keep and maintain them: and therefore at the first assault they cast down their weapons and yielded. Among other principal personages of the Ætoliens, Damocritus also was delivered: he, who in the beginning of the war when T. Quintus desired to see a copy of the Decree of the Ætoliens for the sending for Antiochus, answered, That he would shew it him in Italy, when the Ætoliens lay there encamped. For this proud speech of his, the Romans now conquerors, were the gladder that they had got him into their hands.

During the time that the Romans assailed Heraclea, Philip also besieged and battered Lania, according as it was before agreed between them for to be near unto Thermopylae, at what time as the Consul returned out of Boeotia, he met with him, of purpose to signify his joy in the behalf of him and the people of Rome for their achieved victory; and also to excuse himself by occasion of sickness that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted asunder, and took divers waies, for to assault these two Cities (as I said) both at once: and distant they were one from the other near seven miles. And so far as Lania was feared upon an hill therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about, but especially on that side toward Heraclea, where, by reason that it seemeth a less compass, it representeth a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians labouring and striving who could do better, were day and night employed either about their fabrics and pioneers work, or else in skirmish and fight: the Macedonians found more difficulty than they, in this respect, that the Romans were busied in platforms, mantles, and works all above ground: but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in such stony and craggy ground) they met with hard flints and rags not minable, and such as no iron or steel tool was able to touch and pierce. The King seeing little good done by this means, and his enterprise going but slowly forward,

A ward, began to sound the townsmen, and to tempt them to render the City, using the mediation therein of their chief Citizens whom he paried withall: for this is known he made, that if Heraclea were forced before it, they within the City would sooner yield unto the Romans than to him, and so the Consul should win all the thank to himself for leaving the siege. And nothing was he short of his count: for immediately upon the winning of Heraclea, a messenger came unto him from the Consul, willing him to surseale the assault and the siege: alleging, it was more reason, that the Roman soldiers who had fought in ranged battell with the Ætoliens, should have the reward and recompence of the victory. By this means Lania was abandoned, and by therein of Heraclea her neighbour City avoided and escaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few daies before that Heraclea was won, the Ætoliens having assembled a Diet at Hydruntum, addressed Embassadors unto Antiochus, and Thas among the rest even he, who aforesaid had been lent unto him. His commission and charge was, first, To request the King that he might have would rally his forces as well by land as at sea, and in person pass over into Greece: secondly, If any other important affairs hindered him, yet that he would lend unto them both men and money: so it made for the safeguard and security of his own Realm and Royall estate, not to suffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the Ætoliens) to fall over into Asia at their ease and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money presently to the Embassadors, sufficient to defray the charges of the war, and promised certainly to lend unto the King both by land and sea. Thas alone of all the Embassadors he kept still with him, who was not himself unwilling to stay behind, because he might be ever at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and behest. But the winning of Heraclea killed the hearts clean of the Ætoliens in the end: and within few daies after that they had dispatched their Embassadors into Asia, about the renewing of the war and sending for the King, they laid apart all designs of arms, and addressed their Orators unto the Romans to crave peace. Who, as they began to make some speech, the Consul cut them off, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to dispatch: and commanded them to content themselves with a truce for ten daies, and to return to Hydruntum, and with them he sent L. Valerius Flaccus, unto whom they should declare those things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatsoever else they desired in the lodging of Flaccus, consulting with him what course they were to take in their treaty with the Consul. And when they went in hand to allege the ancient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good demerits, and what they had done for the Romans: Flaccus bad "them lay a straw there, and speak no more of the privilege of those covenants and accords which they themselves had broken: shewing unto them, that they should speed better and gain more by a simple confession of their trespass, and in recourse only to prayer and humble supplication: forasmuch as all the hope they might have of safety, relied not in their own desert and goodness of their cause, but in the meer clemency and mercy of the people of Rome: promising for his part to assist them and second their petitions as well to the Consul as the Senate of Rome, since that thither also they must of necessity send an Embassage. This way seemed to them all, the best simply for their safety, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and devotion of the Romans: for they supplied by this means to drive the Romans for very shame to have regard of them & not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, coming in the habit of poor suppliants: and yet withall, if any opportunity of better fortune should in the mean time offer itself unto them, to be their own Masters nevertheless and at their choice. When they were come before the Consul, Phanceus the chief of that embassie, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words sundry waies right artificially, to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conqueror, which he knit up and concluded with this speech, saying, That the Ætoliens committed themselves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of Rome. When the Consul heard those words: See you do so then indeed (qd. he) ye Ætoliens, and take heed I advise you that you deal herein bona fide. Then Phanceus brought forth and shewed a fair instrument of a Decree, wherein the same was enrolled in plain terms. Since that (qd. he again) you mean good earnest of yours, and Menaeus of Epirus, (who being entered into N. Napellum with a garrison, had compelled the City to revolt) also Aminander and all the Nobles of the Athamans, by whose counsell and suggestions ye fell from us and rebelled. Phanceus interrupted the Consul before he had as allies to be protected by you: and I am verily persuaded you know not what you do, to impose those things upon us against all the manner and custome of the Greeks. The Consul replied again: In good faith, I pass not (qd. he) greatly what the Ætoliens deem well or ill done according to the fashions of the Greeks: all the whiles that I, after the custome of the Romans, have that power and command over them, who erewhile by virtue of their own decree yielded unto us. And heretofore by force of our arms have been vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, be bound hand and foot: and with that he commanded chains and gyves to be brought forth, and the Lictors to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of

Phœnus and the rest of the *Ætolians*, was well cooled & abated: and so at length they saw in what poor plight they were. And *Phœnus* made answer, That both himself and the *Ætolians* there present in place, knew well, that those things were to be performed which were imposed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Council of the *Ætolians* for to enact a decree thereof, and therefore he requested the Consul to allow a surcease of arms only for ten daies. Then *Flaccus* began to speak for the *Ætolians*, and at his request the said abstinence was granted, and so they returned to *Hypata*. When *Phœnus* had related in the privy Council of those elect peers of that nation called *Apollates*, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have fallen upon themselves in person, the peers sighed deeply and groaned again, to see their miserable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor must of necessity be obeyed: and a general Parliament assembled of the *Ætolian* Burgeses out of all their towns and Cities. When all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the same related again, their hearts so fretted within them at the cruelty and indignity of those Lordly commands, that if they had been well settled in peace, yet such a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms. And to stir the lume and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well: for how possibly could they compass to deliver *Aminander*, being as he was an absolute King? But even then there was presented unto them by chance a new hope, For *Nicander* at that very time, coming from King *Antiochus*, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous provision for war, as well by sea as land. This *Nicander* having accomplished his Embassy, and made return again into *Ætolia*, within the compass of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at *Phaleria* in the gulph of *Mæotis* from whence he had brought the monies which he had, down to *Lamia*, whiles himself with certain noble men and light appointed, travelled toward *Hypata* in the evening, between the Roman and *Ætolian* camp, through paths that he well knew: he chanced to stumble, ere he was aware, upon the *corps de guard* of the Macedonians, and was brought to the King before supper was done, the table taken up, and the King risen. When *Philip* was advertised thereof, he shewed no other countenance, than if a friend or guest, and not an enemy was come; he bad him sit down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him still in the room, and voided all the rest, willing him in no case to be afraid. "He blamed greatly the bad counsels and designs of the *Ætolians* (which evermore lighted upon their own pates) who first had brought the Romans, and then *Antiochus* into Greece. But for my part (quoth he) since things done and I am past, may sooner be blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot, and will never be the man that will seek to insult over them in their distress and adversity. And so should the *Ætolians* likewise take up in time, and lay aside all their rancor and malice to me: and *Nicander* especially ought to remember this day, on which by my life was preserved. With that he sent him away with a good convoy, until he was past all danger: and this *Nicander*, as is before said, came to *Hypata*, even as the *Ætolians* were in deep consultation about peace with the Romans.

M. Acilius having either sold outright, or given away to the souldiers the booty of the country about *Heraclea*, and hearing that the Council at *Hypata* nothing tended to peace, and that the *Ætolians* were run together to *Naupactum*, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war: he sent *App. Claudius* alone with 4000 souldiers to seize the tops of the mountains, where as the passages were difficult; and himself ascended up to the hill *Ossa*, and sacrificed to *Heracles* in that very place which they call *Pyra*, by occasion that the mortal body of that god was there consumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army & performed the rest of his journey well and marched with ease. Being come to *Corax* (an exceeding high mountain between *Calipolis* and *Naupactum*) he lost there many of his labouring beasts and sumpter hories, which together with their loads and fardels, as they went, tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men also were much troubled and encumbered. Whereby it was soon seen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not better and kept with a guard that difficult passage, to empeach and shut up the thorough-fare from the enemies. Howbeit, as much toiled and troubled as his army was, he defended to *Naupactum*. And having erected one Fort against the Castle, he invested all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the situation of the walls. This siege he found as toilsome and painful, as that at *Heraclea*.

At the same time began the *Achaens* to lay siege to *Messene* also in *Peloponnesus*, for that it refused to be of their Council and association. For these two Cities, *Messene* and *Elis*, were exempt from the *Achaean* Diet and accorded with the *Ætolians*. Howbeit, the *Eliaus*, after that *Antiochus* was chased out of Greece, gave the Embassadors of *Achaia* a more mild answer, to wit, That when they had discharged and sent away the Kings garrison, they would consider of the matter what to do. But the *Messenians* having without any answer at all, sent the Embassadors away, had levied war: and fearing much their own estate, seeing their territory overpread with an army, and every where burned, yea, and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addressed unto *Chalcis* their embassadors to *T. Quintius* (the very man who before had sent them at liberty) to signify unto him, That the *Messenians* were ready both to open their gates & also to surrender their City unto the Romans & not to the *Achaens*. *Quintius* so soon as he had heard their embassy, sent a messenger inconspicuously to *Megalopolis*, unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor there of the *Achaens*, to command him presently to retire his host from *Messene*, and to repair unto him. *Diophanes* obeyed

A. obeyed his commandment and having raised his siege, marched himself lightly appointed for speed before the rest of his army, and about *Andania*, a small town between *Megalopolis* and *Messene*, encountered *Quintius*. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of so great consequence without stir and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The *Messenians* likewise he charged to call home their banished persons into their City, and to join with the *Achaens* in their general Diet and Assembly. And if they either had any matters to retuse, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at *Corinthus* and enjoyed *Diophanes* immediately to summon the Diet of the *Achaens* for him, where personally himself would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island *Zacynthus*, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it should be restored to the Romans. Now this Isle had sometime appertained to *Philip* the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in consideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of *Ætolia*, through *Albanania*: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the *Ætolians* hearts were so abated and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. *Aminander* made first *Philip* the Megapolitan governour of this Island; but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* against the Romans, he called him away from thence to employ him in martial affairs, and sent *Heracles* the Argentinian to succeed him in his place. This *Heracles*, after the defeat and flight of *Antiochus* from *Thermopile*, and the expulsion of *Antiochus* out of the Prætor of the *Achaens*, and for a sum of money agreed upon between them, betrayed the Island to the *Achaens*. The Romans thought it great reason, that this Island should be theirs, in recompence for the wars which they had maintained; forasmuch as *M. Acilius* the Consul, and the Roman legions fought not at *Thermopile* for *Diophanes* nor yet for the *Achaens*. *Diophanes* to these challenges and demands sometime excused himself and the whole nation, otherwhiles flood to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Somewhere were of the *Achaens* at this present much blamed the Prætor for his wilful obstinacy. And by their advice and authority an act was let down, that the whole matter should be referred and put to *Quintius*, to determine what he pleased. Now had *Quintius* this matter, if a man crossed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell; if one yielded and gave place, he was gentle again and pliable. And therefore, without heaving any sign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake. "If I thought (quoth he) and were periwaded in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the *Achaens* to hold and possess this Island in question, I would advise the Senat & people of Rome to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as she keepeth her self close within her shell (I see) is sure and safe enough, against all blows and offense: whatsoever; but when the once putteth forth any parts, look whatsoever is discovered and naked, the same is weak and subject to injury: even so you *Achaens*, being enclosed round about with the sea, are able easily to adjoin unto your selves whatsoever lyeth within the precinct of *Peloponnesus*, and to keep the same also when you have laid it to you: but so soon as for a greedy desire of having more and encroaching further, you go beyond those bonds, you lie open without, and are exposed to all hurt and damage. Thus *Zacynthus* was delivered to the Romans with the assent of all the Council there assembled, and *Diophanes* durst not say a word more to the contrary.

At the same time King *Philip* asked the Consul as he marched to *Naupactum*, Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the mean while should recover and regain those Cities which were revolted from the association of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces against *Demetrius*, knowing well enough in what terms of troubles that City then stood. For being forlorn and in utter despair, seeing *Antiochus* had forsaken them and no hope at all remaining in the *Ætolians*: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their heavy friend; or else even the Romans themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confused and disordered sort there were of King *Antiochus* his souldiers, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more and most of them unarmed; such as after the field was lost [at *Thermopile*] thither changed to flee, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when *Philip* sent certain messengers before unto them, to signify, that there was some hope that they might merrily enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certain chief men of mark quit the City and departed, and *Ensilichus* killed himself. The garrison souldiers of *Antiochus* (for so they had capitulated) were conducted to *Gysmachia* through *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, accompanied with a convoy of Macedonians, for fear that any man should do them harm. There were some few ships also in the rode of *Demetrius*, under the command of *Isidorus*, which together with their leader and Captain were dismissed. After this, he regained *Dolopia*, *Aperantis*, and certain Cities of *Perrhæbia*.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in these affairs, *Quintius* having recovered the Island *Zacynthus*, departed from the Diet of the *Achaens*, and crossed the seas to *Naupactum*, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and lost: which

if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Ætolians there would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory, at what time as he set Greece free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just so indeed) would have discomfited and feared them from foolish and furious designs: yet, supposing that it was a special part of his charge and work, that no nation of Greece (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under the walls, to the end that he might be seen, and soon known of the Ætolians. And anon the very formost guards took notice of him, & noised it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintius* was there, And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voice called by name unto *Quintius*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their piteous cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused and denied them: asking withal, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consul, "Know you not (quoth he) O *M. Atilius* whereabouts we are, and what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteem you not that it mainly concerneth the common-weal? He let the Consul by these words a longing, and caused him to give more attentive ear what he would say, and withal, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Consul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintius*: "See you not that after you have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and assault of two Cities, when as now the year of your government is well near come about? And *Philip* in the mean time without seeing a battell or the enigns of his enemies displayed, hath gained and joyne'd to himself not Cities only, but so many nations already, namely, *Atabamania*, *Perrhebia*, *perantia* and *Dolopia*? But it is nothing to good and expedient for us, nor standeth it so much upon, to take down the Ætolians and pare their nails, as to look unto *Philip* that he wax not too great: and (seeing you and your soldiers have not got yet two Cities in reward and recompence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of Greece. The Consul accorded hereunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintius*. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Ætolians called and cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pity of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediately, *Phancas* himself with other principal persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him; unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: "Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard estate wherein you are, caused me both to temper my choler and also to stay my tongue. Those things you now see are faine out, which I foretold would come to pass. And now so much as this is left unto you, That the calamities fall upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to nurse up Greece, I will not cease even to do you good, as thankless and ungrateful persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul, to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, until you may address your Embassadors to *Rome*, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not fail to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senat. And, as *Quintius* counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embasie, but granted them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Embassage to *Rome*: so he dislodged the siege was raised, and the army sent unto *Phocis*. The Consul together with *Quintius* passed over the sea to *Ægium*, unto the general Council of *Achaia*. There was much treaty and parly about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians exiles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from their special grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæans Parliament of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epilots came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves found and upright in the entreating of the Roman amity: howbeit, they had not levied a souldier for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with money; and deny themselves they could not butt they had sent their Embassadors unto the King. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and thereof the Senat should be judge; and therefore he referred their whole entire cause to *Rome*. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of fourscore and ten daies. The Epilots thus sent to *Rome*, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon these terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than in declaring themselves of those matters that were laid against them: they received (such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The Embassadors also of King *Philip* about that time had audience given them in the Senat, who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and wishing theirs

A theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max*; the Senat gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing one hundred pound, These Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, who had lien as an hostage at *Rome*, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unwaged against King *Antiochus* in Greece.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who's lot was to govern the Province of *Gaul*, before that he took his journey to that war which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him, for to perform those plaies and games which he had promised by vow, as Vice-Prætor in *Spain*, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battell. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoils got from the enemies, (it haply he had reserved any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else delay the charges out of his own purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddess *Came Cybele* (or *Idas*) was dedicated. This goddess being brought out of *Asia* in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (furnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount *Palatine*. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to an act of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Bruns* dedicated it. and for the honour of this dedication were the first five plaies exhibited, (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon *Megeseis*. In like manner *C. Lucius* Race called *Circus Maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consul vowed thirteen years before, even that very day in which he defeated *Alexandus* and his army. The same *Livius* in his Consulate were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plaies were set forth: and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King *Antiochus*. In the beginning of this year in which these things passed, whiles *P. Cornelius* the Consul staid still behind at *Rome*, (for *M. Atilius* was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, there, And the soothsayers gave expresse order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into *Iber*. Also it was reported, that at *Tarracina* and *Amicinium*, it rained stones sundry times. Item, That in *Minturnæ* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the marketplace were blasted and smitten with lightning; and in the very mouth of the river *Volturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearful prodigies, the Decemvirs by order from the Senat went to the books of *Sibylla* and perused them: and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemn fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, and the same to be observed and holden every five year: also that a novendial sacrifice for nine daies together could continue; and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreaths of flowers upon their heads: lastly, That the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beasts, the Decemvirs would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified as well by the accomplishment of the vows accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signs the Consul took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded *Cneus Domitius* the Pro-Prætor (after he had called his army) to depart to *Rome*: and himself entred with his legions into the territory of the Boians.

Within a little of that time the Ligurians (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp unawares to *Quintius Minutius* the Pro-Consul. *Minutius* kept his souldiers in order of battell until day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defenses in any place. And at the day break he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the Ligurians repulled (as he hoped they should) at the first charge: for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleep also) turned their backs, the Ligurians in the end (besides other thousand; of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after or somewhat less, *P. Cornelius* the Consul gave battell to the Boians and won the day: slew 28000 enemies. (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 34000 prisoners, gained 124 military ensigs, 12000 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how little credit soever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writer, (for in that point there is none over-reacheth more than he) yet apparant it is, that a right great victory it was: both for that the camp was won, and the Boians after that battell presently yielded themselves: as for that in regard of this victory a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater beasts slain for sacrifice.

menes who was gone to *Elaa* toward his fleet, within few daies after, with four and twenty covered ships, and more uncovered, returned to the Romans; whom he found preparing and marshalling themselves (a little short of *Phocæa*) for a battel at sea. Then set they all forward with a hundred and fifty clove covered ships, and more open and without hatches: and being with side Northern winds, at the first driven to the sea shore, they were forced to sail single in rank one after another. But afterwards, as the violence of the wind began to be allayed, they assailed to cross over to the haven *Corycus*, which is above *Cyffus*. *Polyxenidas*, as soon as he heard that the enemies were at hand, rejoiced that he had occasion presented unto him of a naval battel: and himself stretched forth the left point of his fleet embattled far into the sea, willing the Captains of the ships to display the right wing broad, toward the land: and so with an even front, he advanced forward to the fight. Which the Roman Admiral seeing, struck sail, took down the masts, and laying together all the tackling of the ships in one place, attended their coming that followed after. By which time there were thirty in a rank afront, with which, because he would make them equal to the left wing of the enemy, he set up the trinkets or small sails, meaning to make way into the deep, commanding them that followed still, to make head, and direct their prow against the right wing near the land. *Eumenes* was the reer-Admiral, and kept the reeward clove together: but so soon as they began to be troubled with taking down their tackling, he set forward with all speed and hait that he could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Carthaginian ships led before the Roman navy, which were encountered with three of the Kings ships. And considering the odds of the number, two of the Kings came about one. And first they wiped away the oars on both sides, then they threw themselves aloft with their weapons, and boarded her, and after they had either overturned or killed the defendants, they were masters of that ship. The other that was in single fight, and assailed but by one, seeing the other ship taken by the enemies, fled back into the main fleet, before she was environed by the three enemies. *Livius* chafing hereat, and angry at the heart, advanced forward with the Admiral ship afront the enemy: against her, those other two which had enclosed the Carthaginian ship afore said, hoping to do the like by this, came onward; which *Livius* perceiving, commanded the rowers to let their oars hang in the water on both sides, for the more stay and headiness of the ships, and likewise to cast their iron hooks fashioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ships, as they approached and came near unto them: and when they were come to clove fight in manner of land-service, then to remember the valour of the Romans, and not to hold the Kings slaves for men of any worth. And with much more facility and ease, than the two ships before conquered one, this one forth gained two. By this time the main fleet on both sides encountered on all sides, and fought pell-mell. *Eumenes* who being in the reeward, came last in place, after the conflict was begun, perceiving that *Livius* had disordered the left wing of the enemies, made head against the right, where he saw them fighting on even hand, not long after the left wing began to flee. For *Polyxenidas*, so soon as he saw himself without all question overmatched in valour of the souldiers, caused the trinkets and all the cloth he had to be set up, and purposed to flee amain. Those likewise that were toward the land, and fought with *Eumenes*, within a while did no less. The Romans and *Eumenes*, so long as the mariners were able to plie their oars, and so long as they were in hope to annoy the tail of the enemies, followed the chase lustily enough: but after that they perceived their own ships (charged and heavily loaden with victuals) follow after to no purpose, and to lag behind, nor like to overtake them which were the swifter, because they were the lighter: staid at length their pursuit, after they had taken 13 ships both with their souldiers and mariners, and sunk ten. Of the Roman Armado there perished but one Carthaginian, which at the first encounter was beset with two ships. *Polyxenidas* never gave over flight, but made way still, until he had recovered the haven of *Ephesus*. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the Kings armado came, purposing on the morrow to make fresh sail after the enemy. And in the mids of their course they met with those 35 Rhodian ships covered, conducted by *Pifistratus* their Admiral: and taking thole also with them, they followed the enemy even as far as *Ephesus*, where in the mouth of the haven, they rid in order of battel: by which bravado, having wrung as it were from the enemies a plain confession that they were vanquished, the Rhodians and *Eumenes* were sent home. The Romans setting their course for *Chius*, first sailed by *Phameus*, an haven Town of *Erythraea*, and having cast anchor that night, the next day they weighed, and arrived within the Island, close to the City it self, where having sojournd some few daies, especially to refresh their rowers, they passed forward to *Phocæa*. Where leaving four quinqueme Galeaces, the fleet arrived at *Cana*, and because the Winter approached, the ships were laid up in their docks on drie Land, and for their safety were trenced and paled about. In the years end the General assembly for election of Magistrats was holden at *Rome*, wherein were created Consuls, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lelius*. For now all men had an eye to the finishing of the war against *Antiochus*. The next morrow were the Pretors also chosen, namely, *M. Tuccius*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *Cneus Fulvius*, *L. Æmilius*, *P. Junius*, and *C. Arvinius Labeo*.

The

The seven and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the seven and thirtieth Book.

B Lucius Cornelius Scipio the Consul, having for his Lieutenant P. Scipio Africanus (according as he had promised; but he would be Lieutenant to his brother, if Greece and Asia were ordained to be his Province, whereas it was thought that C. Lelius, for the great credit that he was in with the Senat, should have had that Province given him) took his voyage for to war against *Antiochus*, and was the first Roman that ever sailed over into Asia, as Captain and Commander of an army. *Æmilius Regillus* the son of Africanus taken prisoner by *Antiochus*, was sent home to his father. *M. Acilius Glabrio* triumphed over *Antiochus*, whom he had driven out of Greece, as also over the Rhodians. Afterwards, when *Antiochus* was vanquished by L. Cornelius Scipio (with the assistance of King *Eumenes*, the son of *Attalus* King of Pergamus) he had peace granted unto him, upon condition, that he should quit and forgo all the Provinces on this side the mount *Taurus*. And *Eumenes*, by whose help *Antiochus* was overcome, had his Kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians also, for their helping hand, certain Cities were given and granted, One Colony was planted, called *Bononia*. *Æmilius Regillus*, who vanquished the Captains of *Antiochus* in a naval battel, obtained also a naval triumph. L. Cornelius Scipio, who finished the war with *Antiochus*, had the like surname given him as his brother, and was called after *Anaticus*.

The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Vhen L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lelius were Consuls, after order taken for the service of the Gods, there was no matter treated of in the Senate, before the suit of the *Ætolians*. And as their Embassadors were instant and earnest, because the term of their truce was but short, so T. Quintius, who then was returned out of Greece to Rome, seconded them. The *Ætolians*, relying more upon the mercy of the Senate, than the justice of their cause, and ballancing their old good turns done to the Romans, to the late harms and trespasses committed, used humble supplication. But so long as they were in presence before the Senators, they were wearied with their interrogatories of all hands, who sought rather to fetch and wring from them confession of a fault, than any other answer; and when they were bidden to void out of the Senat-house, they caused much debate within. For in the handling of their matter it was seen that anger bare more sway than pity, because they were not so much offended with them for being enemies, as they blamed them for an unruly, untamed, and unobedient nation. And after much hard hold for certain daies together, they relolved at length, neither to grant nor deny them peace. Two conditions were tendered and presented unto them, either to refer themselves wholly to the pleasure and disposition of the Senate, or else to deliver a 1000 talents: and withal to hold thole for friends or foes, whomsoever the Romans reputed theirs. And when they were desirous to draw from the Senators thus much, as to know in what points, and how far forth, they should submit themselves to the discretion of the Senat: they could have no certain answer to build upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were dismissed, with express commandment to void the City that very day, and to begone out of Italy within 15 daies following. Then they felt to consultation in the Senat about the government of the Consular provinces. Both Consuls desired to have the charge of Greece. And *Lelius* was a great man with the Senat. Now when the house was minded that the Consuls should either cast lots or agree between themselves for their Provinces, he rose up and said, That it was more decent and becoming to put the matter to the judgment of that honorable court, than to the blind hazard of lots. To this *Scipio* for the present made answer, that he would consider better of it: and after he had conferred secretly with his brother apart (who advised him to be bold and put it to the Senat) he gave *Lelius* to understand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this strange course and manner of proceeding (either new and unheard of before, or else after so long disuse of the practice thereof forgotten and taken up again) caused the Senat to arm themselves against a great strife and contention, then P. Scipio Africanus said, That if they would ordain his brother L. Scipio to have the Province of Greece, he would accompany him in that voiage in quality of his Lieutenant. This one word of his (accepted of them all with a general consent) staid all debate: for a great mind Africanus the Conqueror assist the Consul and the Roman legions. And all in a manner assigned Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Lelius. But the Pretors had their Provinces, set out to them by lot: L. Aurunculeius obtained the civil jurisdiction of citizens, and L. Fulvius of forainers: L. Æmilius Regillus was L. Admiral of the armado, P. Iunius governed *Tuscan*, M. Tuccius *Apulia* and the *Brutii*.

T t t 2

Brutii, and *L. Atinius Sicius*. Moreover that Consul, who was to be employed in Greece, had a commission granted, besides that army which he should receive of *M. Acilius* (and those were two legions) to furnish himself with a supply of 3000 footmen, and 100 horsemen of Roman citizens: also of 3000 foot, and 200 horse of allies that were Latins: and besides granted it was in the same commission, that when he was arrived into his Province, he should pass over with his army into *Asia*, if he thought it to expedient for the Common-wealth.

Unto the other Consul was allowed an entire whole army of new souldiers, consisting of two Roman legions, and fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin allies. *Q. Minucius* had direction (by reason that he wrote how he had performed in his Province all that there was to be done, and that the whole Nation of the Ligurians had yielded subjection) to translate his forces out of *Liguria* into the Bolians country, and to deliver the same to *P. Cornelius* the Proconsul. Out of that territory which he had taken away from them after they were vanquished, those City legions were withdrawn, which had been levied and enrolled the year before: and committed they were to the charge of *M. Tullius* the Pretor, besides 15000 foot, and 6000 horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for to defend and keep in obedience, *Apulia* and the Brutians country: As for *A. Cornelius* the Pretor of the former year, (who with an army had the government of the Brutii) he was commanded to deliver unto *M. Acilius* (if the Consul thought it good) the legions transported over into *Etolia*, if he would remain there still: but if *Acilius* would rather return to *Rome*, then *A. Cornelius* with that army, was to remain in *Etolia*. Thought good it was, that *C. Atinius Labes* should receive of *M. Acilius*, the government of *Sicily* and his army: and if it pleased him, to take up and enrol out of that very Province 2000 foot and 200 horse, for to supply and fulfill the broken companies. *P. Junius Brutus* had commandment to levy a new army for the government of *Tuscany* to wit, one Roman Legion, and 10000 foot of Latine allies, and 400 horse. Also *L. Aemilius* the Admiral, was to receive of *M. Junius* the Pretor of the former year, twenty Gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging: and besides, to levy himself 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and souldiers to sail into *Asia*, and to receive the fleet of *C. Livius*. As for them that were already in the government of both the Provinces of *Spain* and of *Sardinia*, they were to continue there still for one year longer, and to have the same armies at command. This year were two centurions of corn levied of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and order was given for all the Sicilian corn to be sent into *Etolia* to the army: but out of *Sardinia*, that one part should be brought to *Rome*, and the other transported over into *Etolia*, even to the same place that the other of *Sicily* afore said.

Before the Consuls set forward into their Provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifices should give order for the expiation of certain prodigies: for at *Rome* the Temple of *Ino Lucina* was smitten with lightning: so as both the lantern-yeas, and the leaved dories thereof, were foully disfigured. Likewise at *Puteoli*, the Town walls in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were stricken dead therewith. At *Narfa* it was for certain known, that the day being fair and clear, there arose a stormy tempest, wherein also two free men lost their lives. The Tuscans reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of *Reate* brought word, that within their territory a female mule foled. These prodigies (I say) were expiated: and the like festive holy-daies were celebrated anew, for that the dole of itself was not given unto the Lauretains, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemn supplication was ordained, in regard of all errors and faults escaped in divine service and religious observances. Also out of the books of *Sibylla*, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what Gods, sacrifice should be made: and ten young princely free born, and ten Virgins likewise, whole Fathers and Mothers yet lived, were employed about the ministry of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed young sucklings. And *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, before he took his journey, erected an arch in the Capitol (over-against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two ceterms or lavers of marble. About this time, 43 principal persons of *Etolia*, (among whom were *Demetrius* and his brother) were conveyed to *Rome*, by two Squadrons or cohorts sent of purpose from *M. Acilius*: and there were laid up fast in the prison called "The strong quaries": which done, the cohorts afore said were commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Consul, to make return to the army. From *Prolemus* and *Cleopatra* (King and Queen of *Egypt*): there came Embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalf of the Romans, in these terms, That *M. Acilius* the Consul had chased King *Antiochus* out of *Greece*: exhorting also the Romans to transport an army into *Asia* for that not in *Asia* only, but likewise in *Syria*, all men were smitten with fear and amazed. As for the KK. of *Egypt*, they would be ready to do for their parts, whatsoever the Senat should set down. Thanks were returned to the K. and Q. afore said, and order was taken, that to the Embassadors for a reward should be given 4000 brazen Ases apiece.

L. Cornelius the Consul, having accomplished all things to be done at *Rome*, published an Edict in a general assembly, That as well those souldiers whom himself had enrolled for supply, as they who were with *A. Cornelius* in the Brutians country, should all meet at *Brundisium* upon the Ides of *Quintilis*. Moreover he nominated three Lieutenants, *Sex. Digritus*, *L. Apustius*, and *C. Fabius* *Luscinus*, for to gather ships together out of all the Sea-coasts into *Brundisium*. And when he had prepared and set all things in good order, he departed from the City, clad in his rich

A rich coat of arms. There prelent unto the Consul as he went forth, to the number of 3000 volunteers, Romans and allies together, who had served their full years in the wars under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and now were exempt from souldiery, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled as prest souldiers. Much at the time that the Consul took his journey (during the festival Apollinare games in the honour of *Apollo*, upon the fifth day before the Ides of *July*) it changed, that in the day time when the air was clear and fair, there arose a sudden darkness during the Eclipse of the sun, by reason that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and rundle of the sun. *L. Aemilius Regillus* also Admiral of the war, at the same time went to Sea. *L. Anronius* was charged by order from the Senat, to build 30 Gallies with five banks of oars, and 20 Gallies with three banks, because a bruit was blown and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus* upon the late battail at Sea, was about to prepare a much greater armada.

The *Etolians*, after their Embassadors were returned from *Rome* and had made relation, that there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coasts (except only toward *P. Ispontus*) were spoiled and wasted by the Achaeans, yet minding more their perill to come, than remembering their loils received, seized the mountain *Corax*, intending to impeach and stop the passage of the Romans. For they made no question nor doubt, but that the next spring they would return to besiege and assault *Nausipatum*, *Acilius*, who witt well what they expected, thought it better to go in hand with an enterprise unlooked for, and namely, to assault *Lamia*: for thus he thought. That seeing they had been already brought to a great strait and extremity by King *Philip*: if now they might be taken suddenly and surprised at unawares, because they stood in fear of nothing else. Whereupon, removing from *Elatis*, he encamped first in the country of his enemies next to the River *Sperchius*: from whence by night he dilogged, and advanced forth with his ensigns, and by the day break had invetted their walls round about. Great fear and hurly there was, as in an accident unlooked for: yet all that day they defended the City more resolutely, than a man would have believed and thought they could have done in so sudden a danger: whies mentioed at defence upon the walls, women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts of all sorts: yea, and rones up to the walls unto them. *Acilius*, after he had founded the retreat, brought back his men into the camp about noon: and after they had there refreshed their bodies with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the *Pretorium*) that ere day-light the next morning they should be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with them into the camp, before they were masters of the Town. At the same time as the day before, he gave assault in many places: and for as much as the Townsmens strength decayed, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts faint, within few hours he won the City. After he had made a riddance of the pillage, fold home part, and given away the rest, he fell to take counsel what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against *Nausipatum*, considering that the *Etolians* held and kept the pass of *Corax*. Howbeit *Acilius*, to the end that he would not keep the field in summer without doing some exploit, and that the *Etolians* might not enjoy that peace by the slackness of the Roman souldiers, which obtain they could not at the Senats hand, he purposed to besiege *Amphissa*: and so the army was conducted thither in *Heraclea*, by the mountain *Oeta*. When he had encamped himself under the Town walls, he began not to invent it round with men as he did *Lamia*, but with ordnance and engines to batter it. In many places at once he ran with the ram against the walls: and albeit they were shaken, the Townsmen went not about either to make ready, or to devise and invent any means of defence against that instrument or engine. All their hope was in trusty armour and hardy valour. And so often they failed forth, that they disordered and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but also those that attended about the fabricks and artillery. Howbeit, in many places the wall was battered and breaches made: and even at that very instant news came unto him, that his successor had landed his army at *Apollonia*, and was coming by the way of *Epirus* and *Thessaly*. Now came the Consul with a power of 12000 foot, and five hundred horse. And by this time was he passed as far as to the vale and level of *Malea*: and having sent certain afore to summon the City *Hypata*, and received answer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the *Etolians*: because the siege of *Hypata* should not stay him, and *Amphissa* not yet won, he led his forces against it, and sent his brother *Africanus* before. Ere they came, the Oppidans had quit the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed and unarmed into a Castle which they had, impregnable. The Consul pitched his tents six miles from the Town.

Thither arrived the Athenian Embassadors, and first they repaired to *P. Scipio*, who, as we have said, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Consul, intreating for the *Etolians*. Of the twain they received a gentler answer at the hands of *Africanus*, who seeking some hope of occasion to leave the *Etolian* war, set his heart and eye wholly upon *Asia* and King *Antiochus*: and to this purpose he willed the Athenians to persuade not only with the Romans but also with the *Etolians*, to prefer peace before war. And speedily, through the motion and perswasion of the Athenians there was a solemn embassy of the *Etolians* dispatched from *Hypata*. Induced they were the rather to hope for peace by the speech of *Africanus* (for to him they came first) "who discoursed unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in *Spain* first, afterwards in *Africa*, had put themselves under his protection, and in them all he had left greater testimonies of his clemency and bounty, than of his warlike valour and martial prowels. Thus they had

brought the matter (as they thought) to a good pass, and made it sure: but when they came before the Consul, they had the same answer of him, with which they were sent away from the Senate, and commanded to avoid. The Aetolians wounded therewith anew, seeing they could win nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenian embassy; nor the gracious answer of *Africanus*: said, they would make report thereof unto their States and country-men. So, they returned from thence to *Hypata*, where they were to seek what to do, and could not resolve: for neither had they whereof to raise a thousand talents: and again, if they should absolutely put themselves into their hands, they feared to feel the smart thereof in their bodies. Therefore they commanded the same Embassadors to go again to the Consul and to *Africanus*, and to exhibit a petition, that if they were minded indeed and verily to grant them peace, and not by vain flattery and semblance only to frustrate and delude the hope of poor suppliants, they would either rebate them a quantity of that grand sum of money, or else accept of their absolute surrender, that no free citizen might be touched thereby in his person. But nothing could be gotten at the Consuls hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this embassy also sent away as it came, and nothing done. The Athenians came after them in place, the principal man of whose embassy, *Echedemus*, seeing the Aetolians wearied with so many repulses, and lamentably to no purpose bewailing the miserie of their country: put them still in some new hope, and gave them counsel to crave truce for six months, that they might address their Embassador to *Rome*, and receive an answer from thence: shewing unto them, that this delay could not augment their present calamity, which could not worse be; but contrary-wise, time and space coming between might afford many accidents whereby their present misery might be mitigated and allayed. So by the advice of *Echedemus*, the same men were sent once again, who had communed before with *P. Scipio*, and by his means obtained of the Consul a truce for that term: which was the thing they craved. The siege being raised before *Amphissa*, *M. Acilius*, after he had delivered up his army into the hands of the Consul, resigned his government, and departed out of the Province: and the Consul likewise from *Amphissa* returned unto *Thessaly*, intending through *Macedony* and *Thracia* to conduct his army into *Asia*.

Then *Africanus* entered into speech with his brother, and said: "The journey which you entreat, *Scipio*, I for my part approve and think well of, but all resteth in the will and pleasure of *Philip*: who if he be fast and faithful to the fate and Empire of *Rome*, he will grant us a passage, he will afford us victuals: he will furnish us with all things, which in so long a voyage are necessary to the help and sustenance of our army: but if he fail and forsake us once, you must make account of no safety and security throughout all *Thracia*: therefore I am of advice that the Kings affection be first sounded, and that will best be done if the messenger who shall be dispatched unto him, may come upon him on a sudden, and take him unprovided and having no time to put any preprepared plot in practise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a most nimble and active young Gentleman, was at that time chosen for the fittest person to perform this action: who taking fresh post Hories all the way as he rode, with incredible celerity made such speed, that from *Amphissa* (for thence he had his dispatch) in three dayes pace, he arrived at *Pella*. The King was at a feast or banquet when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And finding him thus disposed to solace and recreate his spirits, he had no reason to suspect that he was minded and inclined to any change or alteration: and so for that time this guest was bidden welcome, and had good cheer made him. The morrow after, he saw the provision of victuals in great store ready for the armies, he beheld the Bridges made over the Rivers, and the high wayes mended and prepared: where passage was difficult. With these intelligences he returned to the Consul, with as great speed as he went and met him at *Thaumaci*. From whence, the army in much joy, and with greater and more assured hope, entered into *Macedony*: where all was provided to their hands. The King at their coming received them right lately, and at their departure conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, ready and courteous he shewed himself: which *Africanus* much liked and highly commended, being a man as in all other things singular, so in allowing of elegancy and humanity, if it were without superfluity and excess, nothing nice and freight-faced. Thus they held on their journey unto *Hellaspontus*, passing through *Macedony* and *Thrace*, and *Philip* still accompanied them, and provided all things for their use as of necessity.

After the battail fought at Sea near *Corycum*, *Antiochus* having had all the winter time free without anyvemeachment to furnish himself with forces both for Land and Sea, above all things studied and devised how to repair his fleet, for fear he should be quite diseizied and dispossessed of the Sea. And evermore this ran in his mind, that he had an overthrow, and yet the Rhodians fleet was away. For thus he cast with himself, that if they also should be present at the next conflict (and surely the Rhodians thought he, will not for any thing be behind again) he then should have need of a mighty number of ships to match the enemies Armado as well in greatnes as goodnes. And therefore he had both sent *Antibal* into *Syracusa* for to take up the ships of the Phenicians, and also commanded *Polyxenidas* to repair those vessels which he had already, and to make and rig others, with so much more diligence as his fight afore was less fortunate. Himself passed the winter in *Phrygia*, and seeking for aid out of all places, he sent out as far as into *Gallatracia*. The people there at that time were great warriors: keeping still the courages of Gauls, for that the race of that nation was not yet extinct and worn out. His son *Selenus* he had left in *Eolia* with

an army to keep the maritime Cities in obedience, which *Eumenes* from *Pergamus* of one side, and the Romans from *Phocaea* and *Erythra* on the other side, solicited to rebellion. The Roman fleet, as I said before, wintered at *Cenchrea*. Thither in the mid almost of winter came *Eumenes* with two thousand foot, and a hundred horse. Who having given out unto *Livius*, that great prizes might be raised out of the enemies territory about *Tyritus*, had so periwaded and wrought with him, that he went with him five thousand foot and soldiers: who being let forth to this rode and expedition, in few dayes drove away a mighty booty. Amid these matters, there hapned a mutiny in *Phocaea*, by occasion of some that would have withdrawn and turned away the hearts of the multitude unto King *Antiochus*. The wintering of the fleet was chargeable to that City. The imposition of a tribute was heavy, in regard that they were put to the finding of five hundred side callocks, and as many coats for liveries: the scarcity of corn also was grievous unto them: for which default the ships and the Roman garrison abandoned the place and departed: whereupon that faction which in all their speeches and assemblies drew the common people to side with *Antiochus*, was rid of all fear. The Senat and the principal citizens of *Phocaea* were of opinion to continue to the last, in the association of the Romans: but the periwaders and counsellors of a revolt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not so slow the summer past, but they were as forward now in the spring: for before mid *March*, they sent out the same *Pausistratus* Admiral of a fleet of six and thirty sail, and by this time *Livius* looked from *Cenchrea*, and sailed toward *Hellaspontus*, with thirty ships, and seven Gallies of four banks of oars, which King *Eumenes* had brought with him, to the end that he might prepare things necessary for the passage of the army, which he supposed would come by Land. And first he fell with the bay or port which they call, The rode of the Achaeans, from whence he sent up to *Ilium*, where, after he had sacrificed to *Minerva*, he gave gracious audience to the embassages of the neighbors bordering, which came from *Elenus*, *Dardanius*, and *Rhetimus*, who committed their Cities unto his protection. From thence he directed his course to the straits of *Hellaspontus*, and leaving ten ships in the rode over against *Abydus*, with the rest of the fleet, he passed over into *Europe*, to assault *Sestos*. As the armed soldiers approached their walls, the frantic Priests of *Cybele* called *Galls*, bereft of their wits, presented themselves first unto him before their gates, in their solem habit and vestments, laying, That they being the servants and ministers of Dame *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, were come by the instinct and commandment of that goddess to beseech the Roman General to spare the walls and the City. And not one of them had any harm done unto them. Among the whole body of the Senat which the Magistrates came forth to yield the Town, from thence they crossed over to *Abydus*, where (after many parties, in which they had sounded their minds, and could have no answer tending to peace) they addressed themselves to lay siege to the City, and to assault it.

Whiles these things stood thus about *Hellaspontus*, *Polyxenidas* a Rhodian born, but banished his country, and a Captain for King *Antiochus*, hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to Sea, and that *Pausistratus* their Admiral, had in open audience given out certain proud and disdainful speeches against him, entered into a privat quarrel with him, toiling and devising in his mind night and day nothing else, but how he might by some effectual and worthy deeds, check and confute those brave and glorious words of his. He dispatched therefore unto him as a messenger, a man well known unto him, with credence and instructions to give him to understand, that himself would (if he might) stand both *Pausistratus* and his country in good stead: and that *Pausistratus* (if it pleased him) had means to restore him again into his native country. When *Pausistratus* marvelled hereat, and was very inquisitive to know how this might be effected: and gave him his faithful promise (at his request) either to joyne with him in the action, or else to conceal all and keep counsel: then the messenger declared, that *Polyxenidas* would make over unto him the Kings navy either entire, or the greater part thereof: and in consideration and recompence of this so great demerit, he desired no more but that he might return into his country. The importance of this matter was so great, that he neither believed his words, nor yet neglected and despised the same. So he went to *Panormus*, a place in the Land of *Samos*, and there he abode to view and see the thing that was offered unto him, Couriers there ran between, and never would *Pausistratus* give credit to the party, until *Polyxenidas* wrote a letter with his own hand in the presence of his said messenger, that he would perform whatsoever he had promised, yea, and sent the same letters sealed with his own sign Manual. By this sure pledge or oage, *Pausistratus* made full account that he had the traitor surely bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that *Polyxenidas* living as a subject under the Kings, would never hazard the danger of such pregnant matter to appear against himself, testified under his own hand-writing: so from that time forward the means of this pretended and counterfeit treason was devised and agreed upon. *Polyxenidas* gave him to understand, that he would of purpose lay aside and neglect preparation of all furniture, that he would neither have rowers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: moreover, under a colour of calking and calstraining he would lay up some ships on dry Land: others he would send away into the havens near at hand, and keep some few riding at anchor before *Ephesus* in the haven, and those (if he were forced to battail) he would set out to fight. The same negligence that *Pausistratus* heard say *Polyxenidas* would use in his fleet, the same himself presently shewed in his own. For some of his ships he sent to *Halicarnassus* for victuals, and other to *Samos* the City, to the end that he might be in readines when the traitor gave the signal of assault.

Poly-

Polyxenidas still by false semblance increased the errors and vain imaginations of *Paussanatus*; for he some ships indeed he drew aloft and hid up dry, and as if he meant to hale up more, he repaired and amended the docks. Ormen and mariners he sent not forth out of their winter harbors to go to *Ephesus*, but secretly assembled them to *Magnesia*. Now it fortuned that a certain souldier serving under King *Antiochus*, who was come to *Samos* about some private affairs of his own, was apprehended there for a spy, and brought to *Paussanatus* before the Admiral *Paussanatus*. Who, being demanded what they did at *Ephesus*? I know not whether for fear, or upon small loyalty that he bare to his Prince and country, discovered all: namely, that the fleet hid in the haven rigged, decked and trimmed in readinesse. *Items*, that all the towers and mariners were sent to *Sipylus* in *Magnesia*: *Items*, that some vessels, and thoe very few, were drawn up to land, and the docks and harbors were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navy was so carefully I harbored, nor Sea-affairs so well managed. But the mind of *Paussanatus* was so possessed before, with foolish conceits and vain hopes, that he would not believe these informations and intelligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having set all things forward and in good readinesse, by night sent for the towers and mariners from *Magnesia*: and having in great haile shot to Sea, and let afloat thoe vessels which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not to much in making provision, as trifling out the time on set purpose, because he would not have the fleet to be seen when it set forth, weighed anchor and loosed after the sun was gone down: and with 70 sail of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entered the Bay of *Pygada* before day, where resting all the livelong day for the same purpose as before, the next night he sailed to the neereit coasts of *Samos*. From whence he gave commandment to one *Nicanor* an Archpirat, to let sail K for *Palinurus*, with five close covered ships, there to land: and from thence to march with his armed souldiers over the fields the neereit way to *Pavimnus*, and to come upon the back of the enemies: himself in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to *Pavimnus*, there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both sides. *Paussanatus* at first was troubled for a while at this unexpected current: but afterwards, as one that was an old bearded souldier, he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, supposed that he might more easily repulse the enemies by Land than by Sea: and led his souldiers in two Squadrons unto the promontories which bearing out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes or heads he supposed that he might easily set back and put by the enemies with shooting darts from both sides. But *Nicanor* who was sent by Land, impeached this design of his, so that he was L forced suddenly to change his mind and alter that counsell, and therefore commanded all his men to go a shipboard and away. Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the souldiers and also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, seeing themselves environed at once both by Land and Sea. *Paussanatus* supposing the only way to escape and save themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover the sea-room: after he had seen all his men embarked, commanded the rest to follow, and himself first plying and labouring hard with oars, scudded again with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when she was once past the freight and come into the open Sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him with three Galeaces of five banks of oars, and so to beat him. The poor ship was wounded with the iron pikes bearing out in the beak heads of the Galeaces, and so bogged and sunk withal. M The defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the rest, *Paussanatus* himself manfully fighting lost his life. The rest of the ships were boarded and taken, some before the haven, others within: and some there that by *Nicanor* were seized as they laboured to loofe from the land, and to launch forth. Five ships only of *Rhodes*, and two of *Cous*, escaped cleer and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickest of their enemies, by the means of a fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they set me two long perches or poles bearing forward at the prow, like two spit-hails, in every ship, carrying iron pots and pans after them full of light fire. The Gallies of *Erythraea*, meeting the Rhodian ships not far from *Samos* as they fled, which were coming to help them, turned their course backward into *Hellepontus*, unto the Romans. About the same time *Selenus* gained the City of *Phecia* by treason, entering N at a gate which the warders set open of purpose for him: And for fear, *Cyma* and other Towns of that Coast revolted unto him.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Eolia*, and that *Abydus* had endured the siege for certain days by the defence of the Kings garrison that manned the walls: now that all were overtired and wearied, the Magistrates of the City (by the permission of *Philotas* Captain of the garrison) enticed with *Livius* upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they stood, and which they feared the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings souldiers should be sent away armed or disarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the Rhodians defeat, and so the opportunity of gaining the Town slipped out of their hands. For *Livius* fearing, lest *Polyxenidas* puffed up with the success of so great an exploit, would surprize the fleet that rid at *Cana*, leaving presently the siege before *Abydus*, and the guarding of *Hellepontus*, put to sea afresh thoe ships that lay dry at *Cana*. And *Eumenes* came to *Elen*: But *Livius* went to *Phecia* with all his fleet, to which he had adjoynd two triveme gallies of *Mitylena*. But when he heard say it was kept with a strong garrison of the Kings, and that *Selenus* was encamped not far off: after he had pill'd the sea-coast, and charged hastily his ships with a good booty, & thoe were prizes of men especially, he stayed no longer there than until *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet, but

A but directed his course straight to *Samos*. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their overthrow, feared much, and withal mightily sorrowed: for besides the loss of their Sea-souldiers and ships, they lost also the very front and strength of their youth: for almost as many young Gentlemen of their nobility, accompanied *Paussanatus* among other motives, in regard of his authority, which was right great and for good desert among his country-men. But afterwards considering how treacherously they were over-wrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born among them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediately, and few days after other ten, under the conduct of *Eudamus* the Admiral over them all: who albeit he was not for other fears of arms and martial skill equal to *Paussanatus*, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader so much the more way and cir- B spect, as he was the leishardy and courageous. The Romans and King *Eumenes* first fell with the land *Erythraea*, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of *Corymbus*, a promontory of the Teians, from whence when they purposed to cross over to the neereit parts of *Samos*, not waiting for the sun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they hoisted up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from North-east to full North, as they were in the mids of their course, whereby they began to be mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough and angry Sea. *Polyxenidas* supposing that the enemies would take their course directly to *Samos*, there to joyne with the Rhodian fleet, departed from *Ephesus*, and first anchored at *Myonaeus*: from thence he sailed to an land called *Macris*, to the end that as the enemies fleet sailed by, he might take advantage to let upon C either some ships singled and severed from the body of the fleet, or play upon the tail and reargard thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought first to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and raising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come neer to board them, he cut over to the land *Ethalia*, minding the next day to assail the ships in the main Sea as they passed to *Samos*. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of *Samia*, which they found void and empty: the rest of the fleet after they had been tossed and tormented all the night long in the deep, at length light upon the same harbor. Where being advertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of *Athalas*, they fell to confulk, whether presently to bid battail and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the Rhodian fleet. Desiring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed) D they travelled to *Corymbus*, from whence they came, *Polyxenidas* likewise, having laid at anchor in vain, returned to *Ephesus*: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus cleer of enemies, sailed over to *Samos*. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few days after: and that it might appear how long looked for it was, they all presently let sail for *Ephesus*, with purpose either to try an issue by a battel at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the tryal, to expels and wring from him a plain confession of cowardice: which was a material point and of great importance to move the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattailed their ships and stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make sail nor for out against them, the one part thereof rode afloat at anchor still in the very haven mouth: the other discharged the souldiers and let them a land, upon whom (as they were driving a mighty booty which they had raised by foraging all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who lay E in garrison at *Ephesus*, sallied forth, even as they approached the walls of the City: and having eased them of a great part of their prey afore said, he chased them to the Sea unto their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the mid-way between, marched in order of battail against the City, to see if peradventure they could train forth the Macedonian again without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for suspicion and fear of an await, they returned to their ships again: and when they saw their enemies would not abide them neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet sailed again to *Samos* from whence it came. Thence the Pretor made out two Gallies of Italian confederates, and as many Rhodians under the F conduct of *Epicrates* the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the freights of *Cephalenia*, which *Hidrilas* the Lacedaemonian together with the youth of the Cephalens, infested with his roving and robbing in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea to and fro with victuals between *Italy* and that coast. At *Pyraeum* *Epicrates* met with *L. Aemilius Regillus* coming to succeed in the Admiralty: who hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, and having himself but two Quinquere me Galliees, brought *Epicrates* back with him into *Apa* with four ships. There accompanied them also the open ships of the Athenians. And he passed over by the Sea *Agema*. Thither also arrived *Timarchus* the Rhodian in the dead of the night with two Quadrime gallies from *Samos*. Who being brought unto *Aemilius*, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that Sea-coast, which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their often excursions from *Hellepontus* and *Aegaeus*, had made too hot for the Huls and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As *Eumilius* sailed from *Chios* to *Samos*, two Rhodian Quadrime Gallies were sent by *Livius* to meet him and King *Eumenes* also with two Quinquere me galliees presented himself unto him. Being all arrived at *Samos*, *Aemilius* after he had received the navy of *Livius*, and sacrificed orderly as the manner was, called a council. At which C. *Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spake and said, "That no man giveth more found and faithful counsell than he, who periwadeth another man to that which himself would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was, to

“go against Ephesus with the whole armada, and thither to bring with me the vessels of burden charged with heavy ballast of gravel and sand, and so sink them in the very haven mouth, for to choke it up. And to make this bar against the haven, it was a matter (said he) of less difficulty, for that the mouth and gullet of the haven, was in manner of a tyne long, narrow, and full of shells and shallows. By which mean I should have cut off the benefit of the Sea from the enemy, and make him lose the use altogether of his navy. But no man there besides himself thought yell of this device. King Eumenes demanded, what they would do then after this choking up and stoppage of the haven passage, by sinking the ships? whether they would depart from thence with their own navy at liberty, to help their allies and terrify and affright their enemies; or never the later (ill), keep the haven (as it were) in siege with the whole fleet? For if they departed, who could make doubt but that the enemy would pluck up shells and barks that there lay, and drown; yea, and with less ado and trouble, open the haven again, than it was stopped? And if they meant to tarry there nevertheless, to what purpose then was he have shut up? But contrary-wise, they within Ephesus (quoth he) being in fury for any danger from their haven, and having a most rich and wealthy City of their own, furnished with all things out of Asia, would pass the summer season in rest and repose: whilst the Romans floating in the open wide Sea, exposed to the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempests, should be driven to keep a continual guard, disunited of all things, and rather tied up and debarr’d themselves, lest being able to effect those things that were needful to be done, than in case to approach and shut up their enemies. Then Eudemus the Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, opined for his part, and spake to the question, saying, That he rather disliked of that course, than knew himself a better, or could advise what was to be done. Epicrates the Rhodian was of mind, to leave Ephesus for the present, and to send part of his ships into Lycia, for to associate unto them Patara, the capital City of that nation: shewing two things of great consequence, that hereby would accrue. For both the Rhodians assured of peace, and secured from all danger of those quarters that lie about their Island, might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their forces upon the regard of this only war against Antiochus: and also the Armado which was prepared in Lycia might be stopped and unexpected, for ever joining with Polyxenides. This opinion impoised, and prevailed most. Howbeit, he thought good it was and agreed upon, that Regillus should present himself before Ephesus, with the whole fleet, to strike a terror into the enemies. And C. Livius was sent with four Rhodian quadremes Gallies, and two Smyrnean open ships to join, with direction to take Rhodes in the way, and with them to communicate all his counsels. The Cities which he passed by, namely, * Melane, * Myndus, * Halicarnassus, * Cnidus and Cos, performed willingly whatsoever was enjoined and impoised upon them. Being arrived at Rhodes, he declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his commission, and withal required their advice. They all approved the design, and when he had taken of them to the fleet that he had of his own three quadremes gallies more, he failed to Patara. At the first he had a merry gale of wind, that set them forward directly toward the City, and good hope they had with their suddain terror to do some good with the inhabitants: but afterwards, the wind being come about, the Sea rose, and the surging waves began to make it troublesome and dangerous: howbeit they laboured so with oars that they gat to the shore side. But neither was there about the City any lay bay to ride in, neither were they able to keep the Sea with anchor without the haven mouth of the enemies City, the Sea was so rough, and the night so near. So passing along by the wall side of the City, they failed to the port of Phnicus, less than two miles distant from thence, which was a safe rode for their ships from all danger of Sea, but high cliffs and rocks there were over their heads which commanded them, and those the Townsmen quickly seized, with the assistance of the Kings souldiers whom they had in garrison. Against whom Livius sent out the aid-souldiers of the Lycians, and the nimblest and most agile young men of the Smyrneans, notwithstanding the landing places were very difficult and unworward. These obtained the fight at first, so long as they shot darts, and made petty excursions and profers rather of skirmishes, than a direct batall, as being but few in number. But after that they ran out of the City in great numbers, and that the whole multitude was lifted forth, Livius feared not only those auxiliars should be environed and enclosed, but also the ships distressed and endangered from the land: so he brought forth to fight, not the souldiers only, but all the rabble of the mariners also and the rowers, armed and furnished with whatsoever weapons they could find. And even then also there was a doubtful and dangerous conflict, wherein besides certain souldiers L. Apollonius died in the conflict of this suddain and tumultuary skirmish. Yet in the end, the Lycians were discomfited, put to flight, and chased into their City. The Romans likewise retired to their ships, carrying away with them no bloudless victory for their part. From thence they thaped their course to the gulf or narrow strait of Telmessus (which of one side toucheth Caria, and Lycia on the other) laying aside all hope to assail Patara any more: and so the Rhodians were discharged and sent home. Livius after he had coasted along Asia crossed over into Greece, to the end, that having communed and conferred with the Scipios (who then abode about Thessaly) he might sail directly into Italy.

Emylus when he had intelligence, that the designment intended in Lycia was given over, and that Livius was departed into Italy, being himself also returned to Samos (for that he was by violence of tempest repul’d from Ephesus, without effect of his enterprise) thought it was a shame and dishonour, that the adventure was given upon Patara in vain, and therefore determined in proper

A proper person to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet, and to assault the City with all the force he could possible. And having passed along Miletus, and all that coast of the afflicts, they departed from the gulf or creek of Bargilla, and came a land near Iassus. The City was held by a garrison of the Kings: and the Romans waited by way of hostility, the territory about it. Then Emylus sent certain to parley with the chief citizens and the Magistrats, to found them how they were disposed, and also to sollicit them to revolt: but being answered again that it lay not in their own power to do as they would, he marched forward to give an assault to the City. Now there were certain Iassians, banished persons, in company with the Romans, who in great number belought and importuned the Rhodians, not to infer a City, so near a neighbour and linked in blood unto them, for to perish and come to ruin, especially having no way offended: alleging, B that the only cause of their banishment was their loyalty unto the Romans, and by the same violence of the Kings garrison souldiers, were they all held in awe who remained in the City, by which themselves had been expelled. For all the Iassians in general were of one mind, most willing and desirous to avoid and shake off the servitude under the King. The Rhodians were moved in compassion with their prayers, and joining unto them King Eumenes also, partly by shewing the conglanquinity and kindred between them, and partly by pitying and lamenting the distressed state of the City (besieged, as it were, already by the Kings garrison) they prevailed to much that they forbore to assail it. So they departed from thence, and because all other parts were peaceable, they failed along the coast of Asia, until they arrived at * Laryssa, a port of haven town even against Rhodes. There in the Principia began first a secret whispering among the Colonels (which afterwards came to the ears of Emylus himself) namely, That the navy was led away far enough off from Ephesus, where by right and of duty he was to war: to the end, that the enemy being left at liberty behind their backs, might attempt to do what he list without controulment, against to many Cities and States of the Roman allies, near unto him. Emylus was moved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them, Whether the whole armada might ride conveniently within the haven of Patara? And when they answered No, he took that occasion to pass no further, but to give over the voyage, and so brought back his ships to Samos.

In this same time Seleucus the son of Antiochus, after he had kept his army all winter time in Asia, employing it partly in succouring his afflicts, and partly in lacking and pilling those whom he could not draw into association, intended to invade the confines of King Eumenes his realm, whilst he (together with the Romans) was busied far from home, in assailing the maritime parts of Lycia. And first he approached Elea in countenance of an enemy, with banner displayed: but afterwards, leaving to besiege the City, after spoil made in hostile manner of the territory, he marched forward to besiege and assault the head City and capital strength of his Kingdom * Pergamus. At the beginning seemed rather to brave and provoke him unto fight with his strong guards that he had placed without the City, and excursions with his horsemen and light armoured, than to stand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his enemy: but at length, chafing by these light skirmishes that he was in no respect able to match Seleucus, he retired himself within his walls, and so the City began to be besieged. And much about the time time, Antiochus also being departed from Apamea, first lay encamped at Sardis, and afterwards, not far

E from the camp of Seleucus, near to the head or source of the river * Caycus, with a mighty army composed of diverse and sundry nations. The greatest threat of terror in this army was a redboubled Regiment of Gauls, to the number of four thousand, hired for wages, whom with some few other among them, he sent out to wait and destroy all parts of the territory about Pergamus. When news hereof came to Samos, Eumenes at the first, being called away by this war, (begun at home, even at his very dores) made halt with his fleet to Elea: where finding in readines certain horsemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by their sure convoy and safe conduct, he came to Pergamus before the enemies had knowledge thereof, or enterprised anything. Where once again they began to make light skirmishes by way of excursions, for in truth Eumenes lay off, and was not willing to hazard the main chance upon a throw. Few days after, both the Roman and Rhodian fleet came from Samos and were arrived at Elea for to aid the King Eumenes. When Antiochus was advertised that they had landed their forces at Elea, and that so many armados were met together in that one haven, and hearing withal about the same time, that the Consul was already with power in Macedonia making reparation of all things for his passage over Hellaspont: he appoised now it was high time (before that he were pressed at once both by Land and Sea) to treat for peace, and therefore he seized a certain hill over against Elea, to fortify and encamp in. Where, leaving his whole power of Infantry, he defended into the plain, under the very walls of Elea, with all his Cavalry, to the number of six thousand Horse. And sending an herald to Emylus, he gave him to understand, that he was desirous to have a treaty of peace, Emylus sent for Eumenes from Pergamus, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated G in council what to do. The Rhodians refused not the offer. But Eumenes laid it was neither honourable to parley of peace at that time, nor yet possible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. For being as we are (quoth he) pinned up within our walls and besieged, how can we receive from another, conditions of peace, saving our credit and honour? and who will hold that for a firm and assured peace, which we shall contract without the presence of the Consul, without the authority of the Senat, and without the grant of the people of Rome? For I demand of you, when ye have made a peace, whether you will return presently into Italy or no? whether you will

* withdraw

"withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Consul's mind and advice, the Senate's pleasure and ordinance, and the general assent of the people in that behalf. It remaineth then after that is done, that you stay till in Asia, and that your forces being brought back again into their wintering harbors, (after they have done with warfare) fall to continue and eat out our allies, by charging them with provision of victuals; and afterwards, if it shall so please the higher powers, and those that are in authority, to so ordain, we must begin that war anew, which now we are able (if we slack not the time, nor stop the forward course where we are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods, to finish and bring to a final end. This advice took place; and answer was returned unto Antiochus, that there could be no treaty of peace before the Consul's coming. Antiochus having thus in vain sought for peace, when he had first foraged and wasted the territory of Elaea, and afterwards of Pergamus, took his son Seleucus there, and went himself in person to Adramyttium, pillaging and spoiling all the way as he journeyed, in all kind of hostility. Now this territory is a rich country, called, The champaign plains of Thebe: much renowned by the Poet Homer in his poem; and in no one place besides of all Asia got the Kings soldiers a greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived also the Adramyttium both Amyntus and Eumenes (having first a compals by sea) for the defence of the said City. During this time, they sent for a thousand foot, and a hundred horse out of Aschod to come unto Elaea: all which forces were commanded by Captain Diophanes, so soon as they were disembarked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men sent from Attalus by his people to meet them, who by night conducted them to Pergamus. They were all old soldiers, and well experienced in feats of war: and their leader Diophanes had been brought up and trained under Philip the great warrior in those days of all the Greeks, who took but two days to retake his horse and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at what time they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings soldiers were approached almost to the very foot of the hill, where the City is situate. By means whereof they might forage behind at their will, and there was not one issued out of the City so much as to glance a dart also against the corps de guard of the enemies. After they were once so near driven forward, that they were fain to keep themselves close within the walls, the Kings soldiers without began first to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had shot their horses so much as fadded and bridled, and some few were left in arms and in ordinance of battle: the rest were gone aside and spread over all parts of the champaign: some went to play and took themselves to youthful sports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding pampering their bellies, and making good cheer under covert shade and many were laid along asleep. Diophanes beheld all this manner hereof aloft from an high turret of the City Pergamus, and presently gave commandment to his soldiers to take arms and to be ready at the gate. Himself went to Attalus and told him, that he purposed to assail the enemies corps de guard. Attalus (although he were very loth) gave him leave: for he saw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horse against three hundred: and one thousand foot against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he set him down upon the enemies corps de guard, waiting when some good opportunity and occasion would offer itself. Both they within Pergamus of one side, deemed this to be folly rather than hardiness; and also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to stir, altered nothing of their usual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and scorn of their small number. Diophanes kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them forth only for a show, to see and to be seen: but after he perceived once the enemies could be disbanded out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the hast they could after, whilst himself leading the way first among his horsemen, ran with his whole troop upon the spurs as hard as ever he could, and setting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with foot as horse, charged suddenly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man and horse both were greatly scared; and the horses especially having broken their collars and halters wherewith they stood tied, made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some few of the horses kept their standing till unaffrighted, and then as the Achæans, and with much more than so small a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arranged and well provided they fell upon those that were negligently dispersed abroad, ere they looked for them, and in manner half asleep. Great execution and butchery was committed upon them all the fields over, and they fled again. Diophanes, having followed the chase as they ran away in scattering wise, so far as he might well with safety of himself, returned to the guard and defence of the City, having won great honor to the nation of the Achæans by this exploit: for not only the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of Pergamus. The next day after, the Kings Corps de guard were better ordered and kept closer together, yea, and retired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themselves. The Achæans likewise much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many hours together they looked one upon another who would begin first, expecting every minute when the charge should be given. But after the sun was near going down, and that it was time to return into the camp, they of the Kings part began to ruffle their ensigns and guidons together, and set forward with their bands, ordered in manner of a march for the way, more like than marshalled for to fight a battail, Diophanes sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon their rearward,

Laudimili.

A ward, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into so great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to make head and resist, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were beaten into their camp. This boldness of the Achæans forced Seleucus to dislodge and remove out of the territory of Pergamus.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romans and Eumenes were come to the defence of Adramyttium, medled no more with the town itself, but after he had laid the fields waste, departed from thence, and forced Persea, a Colony of the Mitylenæans. As for Cotton and Corymbus, Aphrodisias and Pyrene, they were won at the first assault, and so he returned to Sardis by Thyana, &c. The Roman fleet together with Eumenes and the Rhodians sailed first to Mitylene, &c. The Rhodians from thence, returned to Elaea from whence they came. So they held on their course to Phocæa, and with an Island called Bacchus, situate above the City of the Phocæans: and after they had pillaged and rifed by way of hostility the Temples, which heretofore they had forborn, and taken away the Images (for the Island was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith) they crossed over to the City itself, which they assaulted in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts: but seeing that it might not be won with bare scaling and strength of arms, without planting engines of battery and other fabricks; and besides, that three thousand armed men sent from Antiochus for defence, were entered into the City presently they gave over the siege, and the fleet retired to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pillaged the territory about the City.

This done, it was thought good that Eumenes should have licence to depart into his own kingdom, that he might provide for the Consul and the army all necessities toward the passage over Hellespontus: also that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should return to Samos, and there remain in guard, and have an eye unto Polyxenidas, lest he removed from Ephesus and made some attempt that way. So, the King returned to Elaea, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos, where At. Amyntus the Prætor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funeral obsequies performed, sailed to Rhodes with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquerem galeace of Cons, and the other of Gnidos, there to lie in rode, ready to make head against the fleet, which as the bruit blazed, was aloft and coming out of Syria. Two days before that Eudamius loosed from Samos with the Armado, thirteen ships sent from Rhodes under the conduct of Admirall Pamphilus to encounter the said Syriack fleet, taking with them four other ships, which were for the guard of Caria, delivered from siege Dada, and other petty forts which the Kings soldiers assailed. Then it was advised that Eudamius should incontinently set forward on his voyage. And to that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoined also four open ships. Being departed, he made full in all haste that he possibly could, and arrived at the port called Megiste, where he overtook those that were gone before; from whence they came in one band and train jointly together unto Phælis, and then they judged it the best way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This Phælis standeth upon the confines between Lycia and Pamphylia. It lieth far within the sea, & is the first land that sheweth itself to them that sail from Chios to Rhodes; and from thence a man may ken and discover ships under full sail off: for which cause especially, this was chosen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet. But by reason the air was unwholsome, and the season of the year unhealthful (for it was midsummer) and the smells and stinking favours such as they had not been acquainted with; many contagious diseases and maladies which they forelaw now began to spread commonly abroad, and especially among the mariners: for fear of which plague and mortality, they departed from thence, and passed beyond the gulph of Pamphylus: and being arrived in the river Enymedon, they received advertisement from the Apicendians, that the enemies were already before Sida. Those of the Kings side had failed but slowly in regard of the adverse season of the winds named Sida, those which kept their set and certain time, like as those do which they call * Favonii, now of the Rhodians there were 32 quadrimere Gallies, and 4 other trimere besides. The Kings fleet consisted of 37, and those of greater burden and bulk: among which were three mighty Gallies of * 7 banks of oars on a side, and four of * 6, besides 10 ordinary trimere gallies. There were others also that knew by a sentinel or watch-tower standing on a certain high place, how the enemies were at hand. The next morning by break of day both these fleets set forth of the haven, as it they would have fought that very day. And after that the Rhodians had passed the cape which from Sida hitherto was debried by them. The left wing of the Kings fleet, flanked with the main sea, was commanded by Annibal: and Apollonius one of his gallants and courtiers led the right: so as now they had ranging their battell into files. In the vanguard the Admirall ship of Eudamius was foremost: Caryllus governed the rereguard; and Pamphilus had the conduct of the middle ward. Eudamius seeing the enemies battell arranged and ready for conflict, put forth into the open sea, commanding those that followed after in order to keep their array, and so directly to affront the enemy: which at the first caused some trouble, for he was not so far advanced into the deep, that all the ships could be set in array along the land side: and besides, himself making too much haste, with five ships only encountered Annibal, for the rest followed not after him, because they were bidden

Mitylin.

* Easterly winds yearly blowing about midsummer for the space of forty daies.
* Western winds in the spring &c.
Mycen winds.
* Epirotas.
* Sicatras.

[illegible]

red ships to the fleet that lay about *Pattara*.
Antiochus gathered together not only the garrisons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but also addressed his Embassadors with letters to *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia*, wherein he gave out hard words of the Romans for their passage into *Asia*: namely, "That their coming only was for this, to demolish put down, and overthrow all kind of domes; and to let the only Roman Empire that none else might stand in the whole world. That *Philadelphus* and *Mithridates* already subdued and depopled and now himself was to make the third, against whom they were come. Neither would they make an end there but go on still, like a continual fire that burneth forward, and ther would they make an end there and ever as they vanquished one, proceed to another that is next. And to take all afore them, and as they vanquished one, proceed to another that is next. And to no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to pass onward into *Bithynia*, now that *Eumenes* hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of voluntary servitude, *Prusias* was somewhat touched with these letters, but when there came others written from *Scipio* the Consul, and his brother *Africanus* especially he was wholly averted from entertaining any such insinuation. For *Africanus* besides the continual custom that the people of *Rome* had, to advance and amplify the Majesty of *Rome*, their allies and confederates of all kind of honour; alleged for his part, the domestic examples of their own honte and family: inducing *Prusias* thereby to enter into a desire to win his love and friendship. For he discomfited and said, "That those Princes and petty Kings in *Spain*, whom he had received into his protection, he left behind him when he went away mighty monarchs; although, that he not only had placed & established *Masaniass* in his fathers realm & throne, but

A "but fetled him in the kingdom also of *Syphax*, who before had chafed & expelled him: so as now
"he was not only the richest potentate and most wealthy *K*, of all *Africa*, but also formally &
"pulsant foras a paragon equal to any other *K*, in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *N. Euc-*
"emies they were and vanquished by *T. Quimius*, howbeit they remained *KK*, afterwards with
"their own Realms. And *Philip* verily the year that is past, had his tribute forgiven him and his
"son an hostage delivered unto him: yea, and some Cities without the dominion of *Macedony*,
"have received them as their *K*, and the Roman Generals have winked therat and been conten-
"ted. And surely *Nabis* had been likewise graced and honoured, but for his own peevish toll-
"firt, & the treacherous illflood afterwards of the *Aetolians*, which was his own peevish toll-
"overthrow. But the chief thing of all that most confirmed the mind of *K. Prusias*, was the com-
"ing of *Livius* unto him in embassage from *Rome*, he, who aforetime in quality of *Prator*, had been
"Admiral of the navy. Who shewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much
"more assured to the Romans than to *K. Antiochus*; and withall how the Romans would be the
"father and surer friend of the twin-yeare, and make more conscience of keeping amity,
"Antiochus beinge our besides all hope, and

Antiochus being put besides all hope of the affociation with *Prusias*, departed to *Ephesus* from *Sardis*, to viuit and fee the fleet, which for certain monthes had been rigged and in readines: and this he did the rather, because he saw that he could not hold out with the Roman Army: and two *Septuagint* commanders thereof, than that his sea-service in it self at any time before ioped well, or could assure him now of great and certain success. Yet I sometime dram he had of good hope for the present, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about *Cos*. Besides this, in some measure his spirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armado had been defeated at *Samus* by a cautelous plot and practice contrived beforehand: Having aid these consi-derations a ground, he sent *Polyxenidas* away with his navy, to hazard the fortune of a battel in some fort or towne (it made no matter how:) whiles himself in person led his whole army to *Nativum* (a towne of the Colophonians, seated upon the sea, and distant about twenty miles from the ancient City *Colophon*.) The City it self he had a good mind to conquer and bring in subjection unto him: for, being so near unto *Ephesus* as it was, there could not any thing be done either by sea or land, but it was within the eye of the Colophonians, and by their means notified (straightwaies to the Romans.) Now he made full account that they would remove take his time and good opportunity to affociate City of theirs, and so *Polyxenidas* might thereby hand to plant fabrics against *Colophon*, and execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in fides alike, even to the very sea he approached with mantlets and rampiers, and cast trenches on both sides alike, close unto the walls, and under the roof-works, plaid upon them with the push & force of the ram, The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with these dangers and distresses, sent their Orators to *Samus* unto *L. Amylius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and succour of him: he made so long abode at *Samus*, that *Amylius* was much discontented and offended in his heart, that *Polyxenidas*, whom twice before he used to employ, should now performe no service, Nothing less thought he than that

in the deep sea far off, they made all the sail they could, and fled. Yare of sterage they were and H
 good of sail, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpoe to rid way, and be-
 sides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered *Myonesus*, before the fleet could
 come any thing near unto them. The Prator thinking verily to force them out of the haven, made
 after, without direction of a skillfull pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this *Myonesus* is a
 promontory or cape between *Teios* and *Samos*, a very mountain made in fashion of a steep, broad
 enough at the foot, but rising narrower hill, and runneth up to the top sharp pointed. On the
 main or land side it hath one passage by a straight and narrow path, from the sea it is founded up
 on rocks, beaten and eaten with the continual surging waves of the sea, in some places the cliffs that hang over,
 bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under the harbor, take up of the sea. The Prator with his ships durst not approach near unto those crags, for fear of be-
 ing within the shot of the pirates, who were perched upon the top of those steep rocks, and so they
 spent that day and lay off. At the last a little before night they gave over that vain enterprise with-
 out effect, and the morrow after arrived at *Teios*; and having lodged their ships within the har-
 bor, which themselves call *Gerastrum*, (and it lieth out at the back side of the City) the Prator let
 ashore, and sent out his souldiers to forage the territory about the City. The *Teians* seeing how
 their lands were spoiled even under their very noses, addressed certain Orators to the Roman Ad-
 miral, arraigned all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed
 to excuse their City, for having done or said any thing against the Romans tending to hostility, he
 charged them directly, that they had relieved the fleet of the enemies with victuals, and if they K
 could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his souldiers from pillage, and
 also told them what quantity of wine moreover they had promised to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they
 could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his souldiers from pillage, and
 otherwise he would repute them for his enemies. The Embassadors aforesaid made relation of this
 heavy answer. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City assembled the people together, for to
 consult and conclude about this matter what they were best to do. Thither as it hapned, when he heard
Polyxenidas arrived with the Kings Armado; who having looted from *Crotophon*, when he heard
 that the Romans were departed from *Samos*, that they had chased the Pirates as far as *Myonesus*,
 and were now waiting and harrying the lands of the *Teians*, also that their ships anchored in the
 rode *Gerastrum*, himself also caft anchor over against *Myonesus*, hard by an Island which the sail-
 ers and mariners call *Macris*, in a secret bay hard by, escounting and epying from this near har-
 bor, what the enemies did and intended. And at the first in good hope he was to discomfit and L
 defeat the Roman fleet, like as he had beforetime the Rhodian Armado near unto *Samos*, by sei-
 zing the mouth of the haven, and encompassing their issue forth. For this bay was in all respects
 like unto the other lying just between two Capes, which meet so near, and in manner enclose the
 mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once can go forth together. And to this purpose *Polyxe-
 nidas* intended in the night season to take possession, and make himself sure of the said straits,
 there to place ten galleys under either Cape, which standing there at a vantage, should from both
 points flank the broad sides of his enemies ships in their going forth; and withall out of his o-
 ther vessels to disbarke and land armed souldiers, like as he had done at *Panormus*, and so at once
 to assail them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which designment of his
 no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the *Teians* had promised them to do
 whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provi-
 sion of victuals, to pass with their ships unto the other harbor which was before the City, to the
 open sea. Some say that *Endamur* the Rhodian, shewed the inconvenience and discomforti-
 ty of the other harbor, by occasion that two galleys forlorned in that strait to be so intangled,
 that they brake one anothers oars with jussling together. And among other motives the Prator
 was induced to change the harbor, because from the land side there he should lye within danger,
 considering that *Antiochus* himself was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about
 close to the City side, the souldiers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) J
 were disbarked for to dispose & dispense the victuals and wine especially to every ship. But about
 noon-tide a certain pealant of the country chanced to be brought before the Prator, who gave N
 intelligence, that there was a fleet of ships which two daies already rode at anchor under the
 Island *Macris*; and that but a while ago, certain vessels of them were seen to weigh anchor, as if
 they would hoist up sail and be gone. The Prator moved at this sudden occurrent, commanded
 the trumpets to sound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were frag-
 gling abroad in the fields, they should retire. The Colonels he sent into the City to gather the foul-
 dicks together and the mariners, that they might repair to ship-board. This alarm caused as great
 a trouble and confusion, as usually is seen in a sudden scarefire, or when a City is surprised by the
 enemies. Here was ludding into the City to recall their fellows; there was running out of the Ci-
 ty to recover their ships; not knowing who was at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such a
 confusion and disorder that they scarcely knew their own vessels; if they did they could hardly
 be so for the crowd and press, get thither and embark themselves. Neither had this affright passed
 clear without danger both by sea and land, but that *Emylus* gave direction to every one what
 to do, and put out of the haven first himself with the Admiral ship into the open sea, & there re-
 ceived every vessel as they followed one after another in their order. And so ranged them all affront:
 and if *Emylus* also with the Rhodian fleet had not staid at the shore to see good order, that the
 souldiers

A souldiers might be set aboard without hurrying in fearfull haste, and every ship go forth as it was
 fitted and made, ready. By this means both the foremost of the vanguard were arranged in the sight
 of the Prator, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the rereguard in such sort, as they put
 themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seen the Kings fleet under sail. But
 they were between the two promontories, *Myonesus* and *Corycus*, before they decried the enemy.
 The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who dilpaied and spread
 themselves also affront towards the wing in such wiselike that they might be able to compass and en-
 close the right wing of the enemy. Which *Endamur* the rere-admiral perceiving, and seeing with-
 all that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the
 enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haste with his own
 vessels for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet (wisest by far) and after he had
 fronted equally and matched wing for wing, he made head with his own ship against the very ad-
 miral of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himself was aboard. By this time the battell began be-
 tween both the main fleets, all at once for every part. Of the Romans side there fought four-
 score in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado consisted of six-
 score and nine, all ships of greatest bulk and making, and had among them three galleaces of four
 banks of oars on a side, and two of seven. For goodnel and strength of ships, as also for valour of
 souldiers, the Romans far surpassed the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleness of their vessels,
 for skillfull knowledge of Pilots, and expert cunning and readines of mariners, the Rhodians were
 as much beyond them. And those above all that first carried fire before them in their noises
 C troubled and scared the enemies most; and that stratagem and device which had been their only
 help and means of safety, when they were surprised and beleit at *Panormus*, was now the thing
 that stood them in best stead to win the victory. For the Kings ships fearing the fire that threat-
 ned their very faces, turned aside, because they could not run afront with their prow: so as they
 neither could themselves smite and hurt the enemies with their brazen pikes in the beak head,
 nor yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pusses and violence from
 them. If any one fortune to encounter and run upon them, the was sure to be paid and sped with
 fire that was flung and cast into her: and more running there was to quench the flame, than o-
 therwise to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Roman souldiers (which ever in war pre-
 vaileth most) was it that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and clo-
 ven the main battailon of the enemy in the very midle, they turned about again and presented
 themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ships whiles they fought afront and
 made head against the Rhodians: and thus at one instant the battailon in the midle, and the
 ships in the left wing that served King *Antiochus*, were befet round about, and sunk to the bottom
 of the sea. The right wing as yet entire and found, was more terrified at the loss and overthrow of
 their fellows, than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they saw the other invet-
 ted, and the Admirall her self with *Polyxenidas* in her, to abandon her companions and to hoist
 up sails, they likewise in haste set up all their cloth and small triquet sails (for a good forewind
 they had for *Ephesus*) and fled as fast away as they could. Two and forty ships they lost in this
 fight: of which thirteen were boarded and taken for the use of the Romans, the rest were either
 E consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Roman ships were shattered and broken in
 pieces, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chanced to be taken by a notable
 and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beak head stricken a Sidonian ship, with
 the violence of the blow she shook out her own anchor, which by one of the flouks took fast
 hold as if it had been a grappling hook by the prow of the other ship. The Rhodians much trou-
 bled herewith, gave over rowing straight, as willing and desirous to be loose and parted from the
 enemy: and whiles they were busie thereabout, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught
 among the oars of her own ship, and swept them clean away, and so left one side of it naked,
 whereby the ship being much weakened and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was smitten
 and tied fast unto her. Much after this manner was the battell fought at sea near *Myonesus*. Where-
 F upon *Antiochus* was fore affrighted: for being thus dispossessed of the sea, he dishearted himself
 that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commanded
 the garrison to retire from *Lysimachia*, for fear it should be surprised there by the Romans. But
 this was but a bad piece of counsell as the sequell and issue proved afterwards. For it had been an
 easie matter not only to defend *Lysimachia* against the first assaile of the Romans, but also to hold
 out the siege all winter: yea, and by drawing out the time on length, to bring the very assailants
 themselves lying in leiguer, to extreme necessity and want of all things: during which space they
 might have taken some occasion and opportunity, to find a mean and make way for peace. Nei-
 ther did he only *Lysimachia* and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battell, but
 also raised his siege before *Colophon* and dislodged yea, and retired himself to *Sardis*: from whence
 G he sent into *Cappadocia* to *Ariarates* for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more
 forces: and now was he set upon no design else, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the
 fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, *Regillus* *Emylus* laid directly to *Ephesus*, where he embattelled
 his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had alitt wrung again
 from the enemies a plain and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him,
 he set sail for *Chius*, unto which he had intended to shape his course from *Samos* before the

obtain peace, the Romans made a pith at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meet and fit reason, that the King should discharge all the expenses they had been at in this war, considering that through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of *Ionia* and *Æolia*; but also like as all *Greece* had been made free and delivered, to the Greek Cities likewise in *Asia* ought to be enfranchised and set at liberty: which possibly might not begethles *Antiochus* were diseized of the possession of all *Asia* on this side the mountain *Taurus*. The Embassador perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, advised privately to sound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as he had in charge from the King. And first this way he went to work and laid, That the King was minded to send him his son again freely without ransom: then (ignorant as he was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of the Romans) he promised him a mighty mass of gold, yet, and to be made equal companion in the government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royal style only reserved) in case he would be an instrument and means to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers *Scipio* returned this answer, "That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor my self in particular unto whom you were sent, I els marvel, seeing you are altogether ignorant of the state of him who hath sent you hither. For if ye had meant to have sought for peace at our hands, as of men who were in care for the doubtful event and issue of the war, ye should have held and kept *Lycimachus* still, for to have impeached our entrance into *Chersonesus*, or else ye should have made head against us in *Hellepontus*, and staid our passage into *Asia*: but now seeing ye have granted passage into *Asia*, and suffered your selves not only to be bridled and cubed, but also to be yoked, and like beasts to bear and draw too; since I say there is no remedy but ye must endure to be under our subjection, what equal and indifferent means of treaty is there left for you? Now, as concerning my son, I will accept it as a great present, and beseeching the munificence and liberality of a King, in case he send him to me again. As for the other matters, I pray God I be never driven in regard of mine estate, to have that need: for surely, I carry a mind that will never find the misgiving and want thereof. And for these great offers that the King maketh unto me, he shall find me thankfull unto him, if it please him for any private benefit unto me to do so, to require at my hands a private favour and pleasure again: but as touching the State and publick weal, he shall pardon me: I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all that I can do for him at this present, is to give him good and faithful counsel. Go your waies therefore and tell him from me, that his best course is to abstain from war, and not to refuse any condition of peace whatsoever. But all this nothing moved the King, who made reckoning that any hazard and fortune of war would be good and fit for him, since that there were laws imposed upon him already, as if he had been quite vanquished and overcome. Whereupon, without any more part of peace for this time, he bent his whole mind and employed his study about provision and preparation for war.

The Consul having given order for the execution of all his plots and designs, dislodged from thence, and marched hith to *Dardannum*, and after to *Rhætium*: the inhabitants of both which Cities came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to *Himn*, and encamped in a plain under the very walls: then he entered into the town, and ascended up into the Castle, where he offered sacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patroness of that City. The Illyrians entertained them with all shew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the place mans were defended from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to see the place of their first original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the sixth day after arrived at the head or spring of the river *Cicnus*. Thither also *Eumenes* the King (who at first assailed to bring his fleet back from *Hellepontus*, to winter before *Elas*; and afterwards, when he could not for certain daies double the point of *Lebed*, by reason of the contrary winds, went a land) because he would not fail but be present at the beginning of these great affairs, made haste the next way with a small power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was sent back to *Pergamus*, to give order for purveyance and provision of victuals; and after he had delivered out corn to those whom the Consul had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the same leaguer. The Consul his purpose and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals sufficient for many daies, and together in one train to go against the enemy, before the winter surprised them.

Now the Kings camp lay about *Thyatira* where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried sick to *Elas*, sent certain Embassadors of purpose, to present and deliver his son again unto him. At which present of his, he took not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might do for receiving his dear son, but much easement also and comfort to his sick body. After he had satisfied himself at length with much embracing of his son, "Ye shall (saith he) recommend me unto the King your Master, and tell him from me, that I thank him most heartily, and that I have no good thing at this time to send to him again, but only this, That I advise him to take heed that he enter not into the field to give battell, before he hath heard for certain, that I myself am returned to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit he was in camp seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and above strong (which puissant power otherwise animated, and as it were moved with the hope of good issue of battell) yet moved with the authority of so great a personage as *Scipio* was in whom he reposed his whole refuge against all doubtful events of the fortune in war: he retired back, and passed over the river *Phrygius*, and pitched his camp about *Magnesia* near unto *Syphium*. And fearing, lest (if he should be minded to make long stay and abide there)

A there) the Romans would assaye to force his defences, he cast a trench, fix cubits in depth, and twelve in breadth; and this trench he environed with a double bank and counse of strong stakes and pales; and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he opposed a mure with main towers; for the more easie encompassment of the enemy, when he should pass over the trench, The Consul supposing the King to be about *Thyatira*, marched continually, and upon the fifth day came down into the plains of *Hircania*. And when he understood, that the King was dislodged and departed thence, he followed him by the tracks, and on this side the river *Phrygius* encamped four miles from the enemy. Where about a thousand horsemen shewed themselves (for the most part ^{* People of Galatia, now called *Gelim*} Callogracians, some Dacians, with certain archers on horseback of other nations intermingled among them) who in great haste having passed over the river, charged upon the corps de guard of the Romans. At the first they put the Romans to some trouble, finding them out of order and array: but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans little increased, (by reason their camp was so near to yield them succours) they of the Kings side being now wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire: and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed the chace, and killed outright. For two daies after they stirred of no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once passed over, and encamped about a mile and a half from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and buied about fortifications and defences, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the Kings Camp, came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were in guard, was less a good deal; howbeit, of themselves alone, without calling to help and aid the souldiers from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only at first received the charge with equal valour, but also afterwards, as the fight increased, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the space of four daies next ensuing, both armies stood embattelled on either side before their Camp. And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced forth into the middle of the plain, *Antiochus* came not forward with his ensigns, inasmuch, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot from the trench, The Consul perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a council the next day, to be advised and resolved what he were best to do, in case *Antiochus* would not be fought withall. For considering that the winter approached, the souldiers were either to lie in the field under their tents, or else if they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garrison towns, the war must be put off until the next summer. Now the Romans were made to small reckoning of any enemies as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon the Consul with one voice to lead forth to battell out of hand, and take the souldiers whiles they were in this heart, ready if the enemies would not come out into the field, to pass over ditch and rampier, and break into the camp amongst them; making account, that they were not to fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so many beasts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was sent to discover the way, and to view the place where was best entering upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of all things, it was thought good the next morning to approach near unto their camp: and on the third day the ensigns were displayed forth into the midst of the plain, and they began to range the army in battell array. *Antiochus* likewise supposed it was not expedient to lie off and stay any longer, for fear lest in refusing still to fight, he should either abate the courage of his own men, or increase the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced to far forward from his camp, that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army stood embattelled in one manner of form, as well for men, as munition and armor: for of Romans there were two legions, and of Latine associates as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand four hundred. The Romans put themselves in the main battell, and the Latines kept both the points. The *Hastati* were placed with their ensigns foremost in the vanguard, after them the *Principes* in the midst, and the *Triarii* in the rearguard. Without this compleat battell, thus marshalled, the Consul set to the right point the auxiliary souldiers of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the targeteers of the Achæans, to the number almost of three thousand, whom he ranged equally a front, and beyond them more outward he opposed about three thousand men of arms: whereof eight hundred were sent from *Eumenes*, the rest were the Cavalry of the Romans. Without all these in the outmost place, he put the *Trallians* and *Candidi*, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked with the river and high steep banks, howbeit, in that side there were planted four troops of horsemen. Thus you see all the forces that the Romans had besides two thousand Thracians and Macedonians mingled and blended together, who followed as volunteers, and were left for the guard of the Camp, and sixteen Elephants, which they bestowed in the rearguard for the defence of the *Triarii*. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the Kings Elephants, which were in number fifty and four, you must consider that those of *Affrick* are not able to match them of *India*, say they were in number equal: either because in bigness the Indians exceed the other (as in truth they are much greater by odds) or foras much they encourage and stomach. But the Kings army was composed of divers nations, different as well in armis as in souldiers. He had of Macedonians sixteen thousand footmen, heavily armed after their manner, called *Phalangia*: these made the main battell, and in the front stood divided in ten squadrons.

out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus laid in the gates, and kept out of the bannier which they thought verily to have forced and won at their first assault, when they were once at length broken through and got in, made the more bloody slaughter amongst them, for very anger and delight that they had kept them forth so long. It is said, that there were slain that day about fifty thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen. 1400 taken prisoners, together with fifteen elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there died not in the field above 300 footmen, and 24 horsemen: and of the regiment of King Eumenes not past five and twenty. And for that day verily, the conquerors after they had ransacked only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great plenty of pillage: but the next morning they fell to spoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their prisoners together. And upon this victory, there came Embassadors from *Thyrris* and *Magnesia* unto *Scipio*, for to surrender and deliver up their Cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few; having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at *Sardis* about midnight with a small power of armed men; and hearing that his son *Selenus* had some other of his friends were gone before to *Apamea*, himself also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward *Apamea*; after he had committed the charge of guarding the City *Sardis* unto *Zeno*, and appointed *Timon* governor of *Lydia*. But the inhabitants of the said City and the garrison soldiers within the Castle, despised their governors, and by general consent addressed Embassadors unto the Consul.

Much about the same time also, there arrived Embassadors from *Tralles* and *Magnesia* (which standeth upon the river *Meander*) and likewise from *Ephesus*, to yield up their Cities. For *Polyxenidas* (advertised of the issue of this battle) had abandoned *Ephesus*; and having sailed with the fleet as far as *Patara* in *Lyca*, for fear of the Rhodian ships which did in guard within the harbour of *Mejisse*, disembarked and put himself a shore, and with a small company marched by land into *Syria*. The Cities of *Asia* were surrendered into the hands and protection of the Consul, and submitted to the people of *Rome*. By this time now was the Consul possessed of *Sardis*, and thither repaired unto him *Scipio* from *Elae*, so soon as ever he could endure the travail of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Consul, who by the mediation of *Scipio*, made request and obtained thus much, That the King might send his Orators and Embassadors unto him, And after few daies *Zenips* (who had been governor of *Lydia*) together with *Antipater* (*Antiochus* his nephew, or brothers son) arrived. Who first dealt with King *Eumenes* and communed with him, whom (by reason of old jars and quarrels) they supposed verily to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof: but him they found more reasonable and inclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Masters or themselves hoped and looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* and him together, they had access unto the Consul; who at their earnest petition granted them a day of audience in a frequent assembly, there to declare their Commission and what they had in charge. "Then (quoth *Zenips*) we are not so much to speak and deliver ought of our own selves, as to ask and be advised of you (Romans) what course to take, and by what means of satisfaction we might expiate and satisfy the trespass of the King our Master and withall obtain grace and pardon at your hands who are the victors? Your manner alwaies hath been of a magnanimous and haughty spirit, to forgive Kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and becoming you to do the like; yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this victory and conquest, which hath made you LL. of the whole world? For now it becometh you to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortal men here upon earth, and rather like the immortal gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embassadors, what answer to make by report in this wise: "We Romans, of all those things which are in the power of the immortal gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which dependeth upon our own will and mind, we have born (and ever will) the same without change and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperity raised and lifted it up aloft, nor adversity debased and put it down. For proof hereof, I might produce your friend *Antiochus* as witness, to say nothing of others, but that I can report me to your own selves. For after we had passed over *Hellepont*, even before we saw the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was indifferent, when the issue doubtful and uncertain, look what conditions of peace we then offered on even hand, and whiles we were equal one unto the other, and stood upon terms of advantage the same and no other we present unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors. Forbear to meddle within *Europe*: depart wholly out of *Asia*, so much as is on this side *Taurus*. Moreover, in regard of the expences defraied in this war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand Talents of silver, according to the computation of *Eubana*: five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred at the assurance and making of the peace, by the Senat and people of *Rome*; and a thousand talents yearly for twelve years next ensuing. Also ye shall make payment unto *Eumenes* of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due unto his father. And when we have contracted and concluded these covenants, to the end that we may rest assured that ye will perform the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawn "that

A "that ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And for as much as we can never be persuaded that the people of *Rome* shall enjoy long peace, there, where *Antiochus* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody. Also you shall deliver into our hands *Thas* the *Ætolian*, the principal author and friend of that war with the *Ætolians*, who caused you to take arms against us, upon assurance that he gave you of them: and likewise armed them upon the trull they had in you. Item, together with him you shall deliver *Maasimachus* the *Acarnanian*, together with *Philo* and *Eubulides* the *Chalcidians*. The K. shall now contract peace in worse estate then he was, by reason he maketh it later then he might have done. But to ease he hold off still and delay, know he well thus much, that the royal majesty and port of Kings is with more difficulty abased & taken down from the highest pitch and degree unto the mud; then from that mean estate, cast down headlong to the lowest. Now these Embassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of my articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that Embassadors should directly ient to *Rome*. The Consul divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in *Magnesia* upon the river *Maander*, others in *Tralles* and *Ephesus*. After few daies the hostages above said, were brought to *Rome* at the same time that King's Embassadors: and there followed embassies moreover of all the States of *Asia*.

Whiles the office of *Asia* passed thus in these terms, there were two pro-consuls returned out of their several provinces, both in manner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, *Q. Minucius* out of *Liguria* and *M. Acilius* out of *Ætolia*. When the exploits were heard, as well of the one as the other *Minucius* was flately denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it granted with great content of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over King *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*. In which triumph there were carried before him 230 ensigns, 3000 pound weight of massie silver in bullion; of coin in Attick Tetradrachms 130000 in Cistophors 248000. In plate many vessels engraved and chased of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the KK. house all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apparel. Also crowns of gold 45 presented unto him by Cities: besides all sorts of rich spoils; and moreover he led divers noble men prisoners, and left of all 30 captains, as well *Ætolians* as those who served under the King. As for *Democrisus*, a great commander of the *Ætolians*, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh trait after him, overthrown upon the bank of *Tybris*: but before he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only there wanted those that should have followed after his chariot; otherwise the triumph had been magnificent and rarely, both for the pompous shew and also of the honor and renown of exploits achieved. But the joy of this triumph was blighted with heavy tidings out of *Spain*, of a loss and overthrow received of the Portugall, in the countrey of *Valcetan*, near the town *Lyes*, under the conduct of *L. Æmilius*: where 6000 of the Roman army were left dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were forced to retire in manner of flight, and by long journeys recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the news out of *Spain*.

From out of *France* the Embassadors of the *Placentins* and *Cremonians*, were brought by the Pretor *L. Aemilius* unto the Senat: where they made much moan and complaint for default and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others consumed by m. l. sicknes, yea, and certain of them departed out of their colonies for weariness they had of the Gauls their near neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. Laelius* the Consul to enroll, if he thought to good, six thousand families, for to be distributed among those Colonies aforesaid: & *L. Aemilius* the Pretor to create three Commissioners called *Triumvirs*, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were *M. Attilius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the son of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the son of *Caius*.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached near, *C. Laelius* the Consul returned out of *France* to *Rome*, and he not only by virtue of the act of the Senat made in his absence, enrolled certain Coloners to supply the want in *Placentia* and *Cremona*, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the LL. of the Senat ordained, that two new Colonies should be conducted into the land that appertaineth to the Boians. And at the very same time were letters brought from *L. Æmilius* the Pretor, as touching the battell at *Lia* fought near to *Magnesia*: which letters also gave intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consul had transported his army into *Asia*. For joy of the said navall victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and in regard that the Roman army was then first on foot in *Asiatick*, the said procession continued another day with supplication to the gods, that this voyage might turn to the prosperity and joy of the Commonwealth. And the Consul was enjoyed at each procession and supplication, to satisfaction: twenty head of greater beasts. After this ensued the solemn assembly for the chusing of Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Æmilius Lepidus* stood to be Consul, a man grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had left his government and charge in *Sicily* for this occasion and business only, without making full unto the Senat and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitors in election, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. M. Minus Volse*, and *M. Valerius M. Julia*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone, because he had felt not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and he the morrow after nominated *Cn. Manlius*

dy, as for that it was meet and decent ye should so do. Many faults there be, and those colour-
ably just and lawful) to enter into wars: one pretended this another that some in right of lands
and territories, other of villages & some lay claim to towns and Cities, others challenge the pos-
session of ports and havens, and one track or other of the sea-coasts, As for you, before you en-
joyed these things, you desired them not: since then you have now compassed the whole earth,
and are LL. of the world, you cannot possibly cover the same any more. Warred you have and
fought for honour and glory, in the fight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
behold and regard your name and empire, no less than they do the gods immortal. And I woe
not well, whether those things which we hardly come by, be not with more difficulty holden &
kept afterwards, than they were purchased. You undertook to deliver & rid out of the servitude
and oppression of Kings, and to maintain liberty, a most ancient and noble state, renewed by
for their worthy and famous acts, and right commendable all this nation in your safeguard
ledge in all sciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation in your safeguard
and protection, to defend and preserve the same for ever. And think not, that those Cities only
are more Greek which are built and seated upon the ancient soil of Greece, then their colonies
which have been drawn from them, & in times past went from thence into Asia: for the change
of air and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature or complexion, or the manners
& fashions of the people. As for us, endeavoured we have do better and better, and each City
hath entered into in honest contention and religious emulation to out-go and surmount their
forefathers and first-founders in all good arts and commendable virtues. There be many of you
who have been in Greece, many have visited the Cities of Asia, and letting aside this only, That K
we have been in Greece, many have visited the Cities of Asia, and letting aside this only, That K
we are farther distant and remote from you, there is no difference and odds between us
& them. The Mæsilians, whom (if possible it had been, that so immoderate temperate might be al-
tered and overcome with the strength and nature, as it were in the soil) in many wild, barbe-
rous, and untamed nations, environing them round about, would have made cruel and savage
long before this day; we hear say and understand to be in that request and estimation (by good
right, and their desert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very midst and heart of Greece, for
not only they retain still the very natural language of their own, they keep them to their old
fashion of apparel and attire, and carry the same part in their gesture and countenance, but also
above all things they have kept and observed their customs their manners, their laws and natural
disposition pure and entire, notwithstanding the frequent commerce with those, in the midst
of whom they converse and inhabit. Well, the mountain Taurus at this day is the limit of your
empire and signory one way: and therefore whatsoever lieth between you and that bound,
ye must not think it remote, but look how far your arms have reached, so far let your laws and
jurisdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other laws than lords belis, have their Kings,
since they take such pleasure in them, and much good may they do their hearts: as for the
Greeks, they must do as they may, and are not (we confess) in so good case as you, howbeit
they carry with them as brave a mind as your selves: and the day hath been, when they were
Monarchs, when they were content with that empire where it now is, nay, they wish it
when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it is settled at this present. They shall be
may remain and continue there for evermore, where it is settled at this present. They shall be
well apaid, and think they are well, to maintain their liberty by your force of arms, since they
have no means of their own to defend the same. But (will some man say) there be certain Cities
that beld a side and banded with Pyrrhus, as for example, the Tarcentins: and to
with Philip, to there were that combined with Antiochus, as for example, the Carthagini-
fly nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearse, even Carthage it self enjoyed
freedom and is governed by her own laws. Consider then my LL. what a precedent therein
ye have set down to your own selves, and how ye ought to confirm and uphold so good an exam-
ple. You multivole to deny that unto the covetous desire of Eunneus, which you would not
grant to your ownie against the Carthaginians, which they had most justly deferred, and
as for us Rhodians, with what valour and fidelity we have served and aided you, as well in
this war, as in all others which ye have had in those parts and quarters, we report us to our
own selves, and leave it to your judgment. And now in time of peace, we here present unto you
that council, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will beleeye and say, That
ye have born your selves more honorably in the wage, then in the achievement of your victory.
This Oration (seemed it well the greatness and majesty of the Romans. When the Rhodians
had done, the Embassadors of Antiochus were called in. Who after the usual and stale manner
of those that crave pardon, confessed the King was in fault, and humbly besought the LL. of the
Senat to have more regard of their own accustomed gracious clemency, then remember the Kings
treachery, who had paid sufficiently for it already: and finally that they would ratifie and con-
firm by their authority, the peace granted by L. Scipio the Lord General, according to those
conditions, which by him were capitulated and set down. So both the Senat thought good
to admit of that peace, and also within few daies after the people gave their assent, and e-
stablished the same. And this accord was solemnly confirmed in the Capitol, with the Kings
Procureur or agent, to wit, Antipater, the chief of the embassy, who also was Antiochus his
brothers son. This done, the other embassages of Asia had audience, and were all dispatched with
an empty one away, that the Senat would send ten deputies or commissioners, according to the
ancient

A client customs of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of *Asia*. But the final conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertaining to the dominion of *Antiochus* on this side the mountain *Taurus*, should be assigned to King *Eumenes*, excepting the countries of *Lycia* and *Caria*, so far as the river *Maander*, all which must lie to the glory of the Rhodians. As touching the other Cities of *Asia*, which had been tributaries to the King of the Rhodians, pay tribute to *Eumenes*; but such as were sometimes homagers to *Attalus*, thole also were to enfranchised and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were this, to wit, *Mintinus Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *App. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Cornelius Murela*, *M. Iunius Brutus*, *L. Anturculeius*, *L. Comptus Paulus*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Elius Tiberio*. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and determine as they thought good, in all the occurrences that were presented in these *flairs*. But they *Phrygia* both the more and the lesse, that *Mysia*, which the Kings chaile and forreils, that the Cities of *Lydia* and *Jonas*, except thole that were free at the day of the battell fought with *Antiochus*, and expressly by name *Magnesia* near *Sipylus*, together with *Caria*, which is called *Hydrelia*, and all the territories of *Hydrelia* lying toward *Phrygia*; moreover *Telmessus* and the forts of the *Telmeliens*, reserving only that territory which belonged to *Protemeus*, the *Telmeliens*: that all these That the Rhodian should be enfeoffed in *Lycia*, without the foresaid *Telmessus* the forts and territory, appertaining sometime to *Protemeus Telmessus*: which parcels, I say, were relaved as well from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians, *Ism*, to the Rhodi was granted that part of *Caria*, which lieth beyond the river *Maander*, neer to the ille *Rhoas*, together with the towns, villages, fortresses and lands bounding upon *Pisidia*: except thole towns which were free the day before the battell with King *Antiochus* in *Asia*. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senat for their grauties, were in hand with them for the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*: they alleged, that they likewise as well as themselves, were delenced from *Argos*: by occasion of which continuety and near alliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, as to exempt that City also from the servitude and subjection of *K. Antiochus*. Then were the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* called for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antipater* stood stoutly upon this point, pleaded hard, that the accord was pall already, and might not be revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein compulld, it was not the City *Soli*, but also *Cilicia* that the Rhodians demanded: and never would they rest till they were gotten over the mountain *Taurus*. Then were the Rhodians called back again into the Senat, unto whom the L. of the Senat, after they had made tellen how earnest the Kings Embassadors deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the Senat would work all possible means to cause the Kings Embassadors to relent, how stiff and obstinate soever they stood. For this cause, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily then for all the rest before, and said withall, that they would yield and give place to the Argos spirit of *Antiochus*, rather then seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so touching the City *Soli*, there was no alteration made.

While these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Massilians brought intelligence, that *L. Rabirius* the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of *Spain*, was entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his train killed outright in the place, was himself mortally wounded fled without his horses and sergeants into *Massilia*, and within three dayes left this life. The Senat upon the advertisement ordered *P. Iunius Bruttus* the Pro-pretor first to leave *Heimiria* and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make choice of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Postumius* the Pretor of the City was sent into *Heimiria*: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Pro-pretor into *Spain*. In which province *L. Amylius Paulus* (who afterwards was a right glorious victory of King *Perseus*) having the former year fought unfortunately, now a little before the arrival of his successor, gave battell to the Luitanians with an army rallied and assembled in half: in which the enemies were put to the worke and driven to flee. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead in the field, 3300 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The bruit that went of this victory left all matters in *Spain* in greater quietnes.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of January, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Atilius Varianus*, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senat, planted a Latine Colony at *Bolonia*; and three thousand people were thither sent to dwell. Every gentleman by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground set out unto him, and the rest of the colonists fifty apiece. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boians in Gaul: and those Gauls first had dispossessed the Tuicins of the same.

This year there were many men of mark and name that Iued to be Censors: and this competition as it had not been of sufficient importance it self to move matter of debate, was the occasion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors werethese, *M. Quintus Flaminius*, *P. Cornel. Scipio*, the son of *Cnecus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. C. C.*

During the time of the wars in *Asia*, the *Ætoliæ* also in *Æolia* were in small rest and quietness: which troubles arose first from the *Atthamians*, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his Kingdom, were held in obedience by garriſons under the captainship of King *Philip*; and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outrageous in their government, that the *Atthamians* found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of him again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in *Æolia*; and upon letters received from his own nation (concerning the state wherein *Atthamians* then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again; whereupon he sent the messengers back to *Argiſtea* (the chief City of *Atthamania*) unto the principall men of the country, with this crechee, That if he might be assured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the *Atthamians* and come into *Atthamania*, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the council of that nation) and *Nander* the Pretor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and ready to do him service, he advertised them oftentimes upon what day he would enter with his army into *Atthamania*. At the first there were but few persons that conspired against the Macedonian garriſon; and these took every one fix more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep councill and conceal a matter secretly, than to perform any action valiantly) they adjoynd unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all; and they divided themselves into four companies. One crew of them went to *Heraclea*, another to *Terraphylla*, where the Kings treasure was usually kept; a third took their way to *Thendoria*; and the fourth to *Argiſtea*. But they all agreed upon this course, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these Cities, as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own; and upon a certain day appointed to set to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garriſons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand *Ætoliæ*, the garriſons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those four Cities aforesaid, like as it was complotted before hand; and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of *Philip*, and restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdom and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter; only the town *Theſſion* made resistance and held out some few daies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captain of the garriſon there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the citelle. But in the end surrendered it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all *Atthamania* reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of *Athenæum*, situate upon the marches of *Macedony*.

Philip advertised of the revolt of *Atthamania*, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, put himself in his journey, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as *Gomphi*. Where he left the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long a journey) and with two thousand came to *Athenæum*, the only place held by his garriſon to his use. And from thence, after he had founded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but hostility among them, he retired to *Gomphi*, and joined withall his forces together returned into *Atthamania*. Then he sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon *Æthiopia*, a place that directly for his purpose commandeth *Argiſtea*; and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himself left him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of *Jupiter*. There he was forced by reason of the foul and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to *Argiſtea*. As they marched, behold they discovered the *Atthamians*, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the foremost engines made way, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surprised with fear and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the vallies, so checked by those rocks above said. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those streights. The *Atthamians* at first followed after them aloof quietly enough; but when they had once joined with the *Ætoliæ*, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got afore their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; insomuch, as the Macedonians were so greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in dismay, than marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to pass over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely to *Gomphi*, and so forth into *Macedony*.

The *Atthamians* and the *Ætoliæ* assembled from all parts to *Æthiopia* for to surprise and defeat *Zeno* and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians relying on great trust in that place, retired from *Æthiopia*, to an hill much higher and

Reeper

A Reeper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The *Atthamians* having found out diverse passages unto it, enforced them to forgo that hold, and when they were dispersed among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out of some of them were taken prisoners, & others slain. Many for fear tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with *Zeno* to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, until they had committed their dead to earth.

Aminander having thus repossessed his realm, sent Embassadors to *Rome* unto the Senat likewise unto the *Scipios* in *Asia* (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, returned to *Ephesus*) He craved peace and pardon, he excused himself in that he had recovered his fathers Kingdom by the means and help of the *Ætoliæ*, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King *Philip*.

As for the *Ætoliæ*, they departed out of *Atthamania*, and made an expedition against the *Amphilochians*, and by consent of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their puissance and jurisdiction. Having thus regained *Amphilochia* (for in times past it appertained to their feignery) upon the same hope they passed over in *Aperantia*, which yielded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the *Dolopians*, they never belonged to the *Ætoliæ*, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding one, that the *Amphilochians* took part with the *Ætoliæ*, that *Philip* was fled out of *Atthamania* and that his garriſon was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the *Ætoliæ*. Who making now full account that they were safe enough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of so many nations which environed them, they took less lodge in the common

breath of the dread of *Antiochus* by the Romans in *Asia*, and not to suffer after their own: his advisors returned to *Rome* without hope of peace, relating withall that *Fulvius* the Consul had passed the seas already with an army. Upon these newes, they were much troubled and afraid; and in this perplexity, they induced and procured first the Rhodians and then the *Antiochian* allies, to the end that by the credit and countenance of these two States, their pleaders might be able to have more ready access to the Senat; and with them they sent to *Rome* once again the principal personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never to call to prevent war, before the enemy was come nearer within their sight. Now had *M. Fulvius* transported his forces to *Apollonia*, and devised with the princes and states of the *Epixots*, where to begin war.

The *Epixots* advised him to assail *Ambracia*, which as then was united to the *Ætoliæ*. And saying either the *Ætoliæ* should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plain all about to bid them battell, or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to assault and force the town. For not only there was at hand store enough of ships, and other matter to raise mounts, manlets, and other tackle; but *Arctia* a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessities unto them, with much advantage under the walls of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war service. With these reasons they persuaded the Consul to conduct his army through *Epixoti*. But when the Consul was come before *Ambracia*, he found it was no easie piece of work to besiege; and assault the town. This *Ambracia* is situate under the stony and craggy hill, which the inhabitants call *Perantia*. The City it self looketh unto the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields and the river; the fort and citelle thereof standeth upon the hill, and regardeth the East. The river *Arctia* running out of *Scarmania*, dischargeth itself into an arme of the sea, which beareth the name of the City near adjoining, and is called *Ambracia*. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hills on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somewhat more than three miles about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a pretty distance asunder, and raised one sconce upon an high ground, opposite against the entrance of the town. All these places he determined to enclose within the compass of a trench and rampier, to the end that they who were shut up within the town, might have no egrets, and that from without there should be no ingress, for any kind and manner whatsoever. The *Ætoliæ* were assembled already at *Stratus*, by an edict from the Pretor *Nimander*, incontinently upon the rumour that the

Five siege of *Ambracia*, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a greater part of the City was strongly beleaguered already, and enclosed with trench and rampier; and withall that the *Epixots* were encamped upon a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advice to divide their forces into two parts. *Eupolmus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly armed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and assailed *Ambracia*.

Nimander with the rest of the forces pursued at the first by night to assault the camp of the *Epixots*, considering that the Romans could not easily succour them by reason of the river running so near. But afterwards upon notice given, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprise for fear, the Romans should discover their march, and intercept them that they might not retire again in safety, he altered his march, and came to the pursuing and waiting of *Scarmania*. Now when the Consul had made an end of his marches, devised for to assault and enclose the City, and nothing his engines where with he meant to shake the wall, he approached near and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries he planted in equidistance asunder, and where the easiest passage and access was from the plain, full upon that place of the City which they call *Perantia*, one over against the temple of *Alektapides*; and another opposite to the Citelle. With rams he hooked the walls, with long poles and hooks he fetched off and pucked down the

barrier

whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, to know the advice once again of the Prator and the principal States, what to resolve upon in every respect, whilſt all flood whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well ſent to their labour, in that they had not diſpatched and made an end, and ſo were ſent away, and commanded to bring back with them one peace or other. As they went again toward *Ambracia*, they were foreſeized and ſurprized in an ambuſh laid for them near the high way ſide by the Acarnanians (with whom at that time they warred) and were had to *Tyrrhenus* and there imprifoned, And by this occaſion the peace was delayed.

* *Ambracia*, ſituated in *Asia*.

Whilſt the Embaſſadors of *Aſiens* and *Rhodes* (who were come already to intreat for them) remained with the Conſul, *Aminander* alſo (the King of the *Athamians*) preſented himſelf under ſafe conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of *Ambracia* (where he had ſojourned the greateſt part of his exile) than in the behalf of the *Ætolians*. By them, the Conſul was certiſied of the hard hap of the *Ætolian* Embaſſadors; and then he gave commandment that they ſhould be brought from *Tyrrhenus*. When they were come, they began to treat of peace, *Aminander* in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterpriſe which he eſpecially had undertaken, namely, to induce the *Ambracians* to ſubmit unto the Romans; but when he ſaw he did but ſmall good, for all his parling with the principal perſons of the City from their walls at length by the Conſul's permiſſion he entered into the town; where, partly by good counſel, and partly by prayer and entreaty, he perſwaded them in the end, to put themſelves into the Romans hands. Now as touching the *Ætolians*, they found much favour by the means of *C. Valerius* the ſon of that *Laevinus*, who firſt contracted amity with that nation; and was beſides half brother unto the Conſul, by the ſame mother. And the *Ambracians* after capitulation made, that the *Ætolians* who came to aid them might go forth without harm, ſet open their gates. Then attended it was with the *Ætolians*: *Imprimis*, To pay 500 *Euboic* talents of ſilver; two hundred preſently and the other 300 at fix payments yearly by even portions. *Item*, To render all Roman captives and fugitive traitors and runagates that they had into the hands of the Romans. *Item*, To challenge juſtification over no City, whilſt ſince the time that *T. Quintus* paſſed over into *Greece*, was either forced by the Romans or entered voluntarily into amity and ſociety with them: provided alwaies, that the ſite *Cephalonia* be not comprized within this capitulation. Theſe articles albeith they were ſomewhat eaſier than they looked for, yet the *Ætolians* requeſted, that they might acquaint their Council withall; and permitted they were ſo to do. Some ſmall variance and debate diſtracted and held them awhile as touching thoſe Cities, which having been in times paſt within their feignory and juſtification, they hardly could abide to be diſmembred (as it were) from their body. But in the end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The *Ambracians* gave unto the Conſul, for a preſent a coronet of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their ſtatues of braſs and marble, their painted tables (wherewith *Ambracia* was better ſtored and adorned, than all the other Cities of that region, becauſe it was the royall ſeat of King *Pyrrius* where he kept his court and reſidence) were all taken down and carried away: nought elle was touched, nor any hurt done beſides.

The Conſul diſlodged them, and removed from *Ambracia* into the higher and more inland parts of *Ætolia*, and encamped before the City called *Argos Amphilocheum*, two and twenty miles diſtant from *Ambracia*; and thither at length repaired the *Ætolian* Embaſſadors unto him, who marvelled much at them, why they ſtaid ſo long. When he underſtood by them that the general council of the *Ætolians* had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to *Rome* unto the Senat; and permitted alſo the *Athenians* and *Rhodian*s (their mediators and advocates) to go with them and as orators to ſpeak in their behalf; moreover he granted, that his half brother *C. Valerius* ſhould accompany them: which order when he had taken, himſelf croſſed over the water to *Cephalonia*.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators wholly poſſeſſed beforehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enforced againſt them: for he by means of his Embaſſador and letters (complaining that the *Ætolians* had unjuſtly taken from him the *Dolopians*, the *Amphilocheians*, and *Athamanians*; and that his garrifons, yea, and laſt of all his ſon *Perſeus*, were driven out of *Amphilocheia*) had wholly averſed the Senat from giving any ear at all to their requeſts and prayers; howbeit the *Rhodian*s and *Athenians* had audience given them with patience and ſilence. The *Athenian* Embaſſador *Leon* (by report) moved and perſwaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue; and by a familiar parable and ſimilitude, he compared the people of *Ætolia* to the nature of the ſea: For like as it, being of it ſelf calm is troubled and made rough by the winds; even ſo (ſaith he) the people of that nation, altho' the while they entertained friendſhip with the Romans, and performed their faithful promiſe unto them ſo long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet; but after that *Thoon* and *Dicaearchus* began to blow from out of *Aſia*, as after that, *Mentus* and *Democritus* bliftred and puſhed from the parts of *Europe*, then aroſe a ſtorm and tempeſt, with the guſts whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and caſt (as a man would ſay) upon a rock, Well he ſaid, *Ætolians* after they had been much toſſed a long time from poſt to pillar, in fine eſſeſſed, that theſe articles of peace enſuing, were freely agreed upon. *Imprimis*, The nation of *Ætolia* ſhall maintain faithfully and truly the Empire and Seignory of the people of *Rome*. *Item*, They ſhall ſuffer to paſs through their country and confines no army, that ſhall be conducted againſt their allies and friends; nor aſſiſt them with any aid or maintenance whatſoever. *Item*, They ſhall repute the enemies,

A allies of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war againſt them. *Item*, They ſhall deliver unto the Romans and their confederates, all runagates, all fugitives, and prifoners that are among them, excepting ſuch as having been once taken and returned home, ſhould be caught again the ſecond time: or thoſe, who being Roman enemies, were taken priſoners by them. At what time as the *Ætolians* ſerved in garrifon under the Romans, As for the reſt, as many as are forth-coming and may be found, ſhall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 daies next enſuing, to the Magiſtrate of *Corinra*: but thoſe that appear not within that time, ſhall be likewiſe rendered whenſoever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They ſhall yield forty hostages, ſuch as the Roman Conſul in his diſcretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of theſe pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither ſhall there be taken for hoſtage any Prator or Captain of horſemen, nor publick Notary or Secretary to the State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hoſtage before time. Provided alſo, that *Cephalonia* ſhall be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the ſum of money which they are to pay, and the manner and terms of the payment, there ſhall be nothing hogged of that which hath been concluded with the Conſul; yet, if they had rather pay the ſame ſum in gold than in ſilver, they may ſo do; provided then, that they keep true rate and proportion of one for ten to wit, that one golden peece of coin go for ten times ſo much in weight of ſilver, and no more. *Item*, What Cities, what lands and territories, what perſons (except which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the *Ætolians*, were by the Conſuls *L. Quinctius* and *Cn. Domitius*, or any time ſince their Conſulſhip, either ſubdued and conquered by force of arms, or otherwiſe C of themſelves came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, the *Ætolians* ſhall make no claim nor challenge unto them. Finally, the *Æniades* with their City and territory ſhall appertain to the *Acarnanians*. Under theſe conditions aboveſaid, the accord was concluded with the *Ætolians*.

Not only in the ſame ſummer, but alſo much about thoſe very daies wherein theſe affairs were managed by *M. Fulvius* in *Ætolia*, *Cn. Manlius* the other Conſul maintained war in *Gallia*, whereof at this preſent I will begin to write. This Conſul in the beginning of the ſpring came to *Ephelus*; where after he had received the army of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and ſurvey thereof he made an Oration to his ſouldiers; wherein, firſt he praiſed their valour and vertue, in that with one battell they had finiſhed the war againſt *Antiochus*: then he exhorted them to enter into a new war with the Gauls who had ſuccoured King *Antiochus* with aid; and were beſide of nature untamed, that unleſs their puniſhment were abated and their courage taken down, to little or no purpoſe it was that *Antiochus* was removed beyond the mountains of *Taurus*. Laſt of all, ſome diſcourſe he made of his own perſon, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither vain untruths nor exceſſive reports. The ſouldiers gave audience to the Conſul with great joy and a general applauſe, making this account, that ſince King *Antiochus* was vanquiſhed, the Gauls alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no uſe unto the Conſul, who had at *Rome* (who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it imported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gauls ſhould be enfeebled and abated. E And therefore he ſent for *Attalus* his brother, from *Pergamus*, and exhorted him to enter into action with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promiſe to aid him both in his perſon and with all the power that he could make, he ſent him into his country to levy ſouldiers. After ſome few daies, when the Conſul was departed from *Ephelus*, *Attalus* accompanied with a regiment of a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe met him at *Meneſias* and had given order to his brother *Athenaeus*, to follow after with the reſt of the forces; having committed the guard and government of *Pergamus* and the kingdom to thoſe, whom he knew to be faithfull and faithful to his brother and himſelf. The Conſul, after he had praiſed and commended the young gentlemen marched forward with his whole power as far as *Mander*, and there encamped, becauſe it was not poſſible to paſs the river at any foord, and therefore boats and barges were to be got together for to ferry and tranſport the army. When they were ſet over the river, they went to *Hieris* *Come*, where there was a magnificent and ſtately Temple of *Apollon*, and an Oracle in it. And by report the Priests and Prophets there, deliver the reſponds and answers of the Oracle in verſes, and thoſe not rudely compoſed without rhythm & meter. From hence they removed, and at two daies end arrived at the river *Harpaſus*; thither were embaſſadors come from the *Alabandians* requeſting the Conſul, either by vertue of his authority, or by force of arms to compel one of their ſortleſſes which lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience. And his brother *Athenaeus* alſo, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leſius* the Candiot, and *Corragus* the Macedonian, bringing with them 1000 foot and 300 horſe of divers nations mingled together. The Conſul ſent one of his martial Tribunes or Colonels with a mean company, to ſummon the Cattle or ſortleſſes aboveſaid, and after it was forced and recovered, he delivered it into the hands of the *Alabandians*. Himſelf kept on his direct way, and turned on no ſide until he came unto *Antiochus* upon the river *Mander*, where he encamped. This river *Mander* ariſeth from *Celaſa*, where the firſt head and ſource thereof is to be ſeen. Now this *Celaſa* had been in times paſt the capital City of all *Phrygia*. But in proceſs of time this old *Celaſa* was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and not far from it they peopled a new City called *Apamea* bearing the name of *Apamea* the ſiſter of *Selenus*. The river *Mander* likewiſe ſpringing not far from

the foresaid sources of *Mander*, dischargeth it self thereinco. And as the common fame goeth, at this *Celena* it was, where *Marcius* the Musiciangave dance to *Apollo*, and challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Mander* above named, issuing out of an high hill at *Celena*, runneth through the middle of the City and first keeling by the coast along the country of the Carians, and afterwards of the Ionians, jalleth at the last into an arm of the sea, between *Priene* and *Miletus*.

Whiles the *Col*, lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Seleucus* the son of *Antiochus*, presented himself unto him with corn for his army, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some small variance and difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Seleucus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman souldiers. But this debate was soon at an end by reason of the stiff resolution of the *Col*, who sent a Colonel to warn and charge the souldiers to accept no corn before the aid-souldiers of *Antiochus* were received. From

* The time that Gordius came of Juliae.

* Hinn, Nigro, Dind, Locusts,

thence he marched to *Gordius* (a City so called) & to forward the third day to *Tala*. This City is seated upon the frontiers of the Pindians, in that coast which boundeth upon the Pamphylian sea. This quarter was able to yield lufy men for war, when it had not been any way endamaged, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof even then also there issued out of the City a cornet of horimen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first onset troubled them not a little. But afterward, seeing themselves neither for number, nor yet for prowess comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their trespass, ready to surrender their City into the *Col*'s hands. The *Col*, imposed upon them a paiment of 25 talents of silver, and 10000 medimms of wheat, and upon that composition their surrender was accepted. Three daies after the Romans came to *Chama* the river & from thence to the City *Eriza*, which at the first assault they won. After this the army marched as far as to a Castle called *Thalun* standing over the river *Indus*, so called of certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from *Cilicia*, & yet no embassage appeared from the tyrant of that country and state, *Mongestes* a disloyal and treacherous man in all his dealings, and besides, extreme hard and unreasonable. Whereupon the *Col*, sent out before *C. Helvius* with 4000 foot and 500 horse, to sound his disposition and mind. As these companies entered into his frontiers, there encountered them his Embassadors, giving them to understand that the tyrant their Master was ready to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto *Helvius* to pass peaceably through his country, and to restrain his souldiers from waisting & spoiling the territories, & 15 talents they brought with them for to make a cr-wn of gold. *Helvius* promised to save his lands for being spoiled and waited, but he willed the embassadors to go to the *Col*. Now when they had related the same unto him, he made them answer in these terms. We cannot gather by any sign (qd, he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romans: & again, if he be such an one as the world taketh him for, we are to think rather of his chastilement, than of admitting him into our amity. The embassadors fore troubled at this word, requested him for that present no more, but to take the crown of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himself might have access into his presence for to parl with him and clear himself. The morrow after, by permission of the *Col*, came the tyrant into the camp, bearing no port of a Prince. For a privat person and mean man of small wealth would have gone in better apparel, and carried a greater train about him than he: neither went he so meanelly, but he spake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if he had not been able to speak them out. He complained of his own bareness and want & likewise of the poverty of the Cities under his leignory (for besides *Cybara*, he held in possession *Sylum* & that which is called *Alime*). Yet he promised to see what he could do, if haply by undoing himself & spoiling his subjects he might make up five and twenty talents. Mary he mistrusted greatly that he should never effect so much. Are you thereabout? (qd, the *Col*). Now verily I can no longer endure this mockery. Was it not enough that in your abience you bashed not to delude and disappoint us by your Embassadors, but you must persist still in the same impudency now that you be here your self in person? And would you make us believe indeed, that the disbursing of 25 talents will begger you and your whole kingdom? Come on sir, I say: Bring me hither within these three daies, and lay me down in ready money 500 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be waisted, and your City besieged. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatory words, howbeit he continued still obstinately, counterreiting & pretending his neediness and poverty, and after much bafe hucking, and rising by little and little, one while haisting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating, (and that with whining and putting finger in the eye) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of silver, and to deliver 10000 medimms of corn besides. And all this was exacted of him to be performed in six daies. From *Cilicia* the *Col*, conducted the army through the country of the Sindenians, and after he had passed over the river *Calauris*, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or near *Coralitis*, and let them down and rested upon the river *Maander*. As they advanced from thence toward *Lagon* the next City the inhabitants fled for fear: wherupon the town void of people, but replenished with abundance of all things was ransacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river *Lycus*, and the next day marched toward the river *Cobadatus*. The Termilians at the same time having forced and won the City of the Lyrians, were now upon the point to assault the Castle. They who were within besieged, seeing no other hope of succour sent their Embassadors to the Consul, beseeching his help, and making pitifull moan, how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortress, and looked every hour for death, either by famine or by sword.

A sword. This fell out as the *Col*, wished, namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first coming he delivered the Lyrians from the siege. To *Termessus* he granted peace upon composition that he should receive him 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the Apdians and other States of *Pamphylia*. In his return from thence the first day he encamped first by a river called *Taurus*, and the next day following, near a town which they call *Xylus-Come*. From whence he marched and held on his journey continually, until he came to the city *Cornaga*. The next City unto it was *Dafus*, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants for the fear, howbeit, full of all kind of goods. As he marched still along the marshes there met him Embassadors from *Lysinus*, who came to render their City into his hands. After this he entered into the territory of *Sagalassus*, a fertile & plementous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The Pindians inhabited those parts who are the best warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitful and well peopled, and their City strongly situate (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and courageous. The *Col*, seeing no embassage presented unto him in the entrance of the frontiers, sent out foragers to fetch in booties. When they perceived on one of their goods harried and carried away before their faces, their stomaks came down, and then they sent their embassadors and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 20000 medimms of wheat, and as many of barley, they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the mountains of *Orontus*, until he came to a village which they name *Apriodis-Come*, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day *Seleucus* from *Apamia*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamia* his sick folk and other baggage and pelt that he had (good for nothing) he took guides of *Sclunus* to the

C. way, and entered into the plains of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as far as *Duma* in *Phrygia*. After this he entered into *Synada*, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear, and left deserr. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was to heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day: and he came at length to *Bendos*, named. The old, from thence he passed to *Anabura* and the next day to the source of *Andrus*. And the third day pitched down his tents near *Abisur*. There he lay encamped many daies together, because he was now arrived into the country of the Tolitobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in feats of arms entered upon the conduct of *Brennus* into the country of the Dardanians. Where, they began to mutine among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes *Lomarius* and *Lotarius*, departed from *Brennus*, and took their way into *Thracia*: where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to *Byzantium*: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of *Propontis*, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this they had a mind and desire to invade *Asia*: for they heard lay, being so near, how fertile and plementous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprized and won *Lysimachia* by a wile, and by force of arms conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellepont*, Where seeing how they were divided from *Asia*, but only by the

E. Straights and that it was but a small cut thither, their desire was much more inflamed to pass over. And for this purpose they dispatched certain curriers to *Antipater* the governor of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effected not this so soon as they hoped, there arose another new sedition between the Princes themselves. Whereupon *L. Marcus* accompanied with the greater part retired to *Byzantium* from whence he came. But *Lotarius* took from the Macedonians (who under colour of an embassage were sent from *Antipater* in cippi) two covered ships, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Loquarius* also passed over into *Asia* from *Byzantium*, by the aid of *Nicomedes* Kings of *Bithynia*. After this, the Gauls joined again together in one, and incoured *Nicomedes* in his wars against *Zela*, who held

F. a part of *Bithynia*, and by their help and assistance especially, *Zela* was vanquished, and all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomedes*. Then they departed out of *Bithynia* into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand there were not above ten thousand armed. Yet to great a terror they brought unto all nations on this side the mountain *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached, and not near, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farthest as the nearest, submitted themselves and ranged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them to wit, the Tolitobogians, the Troimians, and the Teftolages, they divided *Asia* likewise into three parts and parted them so equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed several tract which paid them tribute. The coast of *Hell-spontus* was given to the Troimians: the Tolitobogians had for their share *Æolis* and *Ionis*: and unto the Teftolages were allotted the inland part of the main continent of *Asia*. And in one word they demanded tribute of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. But they planned and feared themselves about the river *Halys*. The fruit of their name was to be fearful and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the Kings of *Syria* in the end refused not to be their homages, and paid them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in *Asia* that denied them homage, was King *Antiochus* the father of *Eumenes*, and fortune beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and contrarious enterprise: for he vanquished them in battell. Howbeit, he danced not their hearts so much, but still they upheld

* Mar di Marmara,

And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and besides they call a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which they held. Also for provision of darts and other shot, it was the least of all their care, supposing that the rough places would furnish them with sufficient store of stones to sling. The Consul calling in his mind that he should not deal with their enemies close at hand-fight, but at a far off when he was to assail their holds, had made provision aforehand of great store of darts, light variety javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and small stones that might be levelled and sent out of slings. Thus being well appointed and furnished with such kind of shot, he led his army toward the mountain *Olympus*, and about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with *Attalus* advanced forward with 500 men of arms to view the nature and standing of the mountain, together with the situation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies horsemen being double in number to them, infused out of their camp, and put them to flight, slew a few of them in the rout, and hurt many. The third day he set forward with all his forces to discover the places, and by reason that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the mountain in safety at his pleasure, and the same rising up with an easie ascent to a certain place; all of clean earth without stones, and the same rising up with an easie ascent to a certain place; but to the North were high rocks and the same in manner steep upright. And whereas all the rest were inaccessible three only waies and avenues he found, the one directly toward the midst of the mountain (where those little mounts of earth stood) the other two were difficult the one lying South-east, and the other North-west. After he had considered and viewed these places that day he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morning after he sacrificed, and finding by the first beaits which he killed that the gods were pacified and favourable unto him, he divided his army into three battalions, and so advanced against the enemy, and himself in person with the greatest part of his forces, mounted up the hill, whereas it yielded the easiest ascent. He commanded his brother *L. Manlius* from the South-west to get up the hill, as the place would permit with safety, giving him in charge that he met with any dangerous places steep and hard of ascent, that he should not wrestle with the difficulties of the ground, nor strive against those things, which to force and overcome were impossible; but rather to traverse the ground, and retire toward him and so to join with his battallion. As for *C. Helvius*, he willed him with a third part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compass at the hill foot and then from the North-west to mount up. Likewise the aids of *Attalus* he divided into three equal parts. *L.* and took order that the young Prince himself in person should keep with him. The Cavalry and the Elephants he left in the next downs beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereof to have a carefull eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yea and to make haste to relieve and succour wheresoever need should be. The Gauls making full reckoning that on two sides they were sure enough, and the place that way to be inaccessible; because they would stop the other avenue by force of arms on the South side, sent forth about four thousand armed men to seize upon a certain hill within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way. Supposing there, as from a sconce and tortrels to debar them of passage. Which when the Romans perceived they put themselves in readiness to fight. A pretty space before the ensignes, marched the skirmishers, together with the Candiot archers and slingers from *Attalus* likewise the Triballians of *Thrace*. The ensignes of the footmen followed softly after (as well as they might) against the hill, bearing their targets before them so, as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equally performed with shot a good distance off: for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, so the Romans had the odds for variety and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and increased, there was no more equality seen. For the fields of the Gauls being made long, and not broad enough for their bodies, and withall flat and plain without, hardly covered and defended them: and by this time all their shot was spent: & weapon had they none but their very swords, whereof there was no use at all, considering the enemy came not to close fight. The only help they had was with stones, and those too big for their handling, and not easie to wield by reason they were not provided before, but such as in that haste came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, being not used and exercised to slinging, they had neither the artificiall sleight, nor yet sufficient strength to help themselves withall: but contrariwise, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead and galled with arrows & darts together their wits & understandings were blinded, they wist not what to do, seeing themselves surprised and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were least of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, where rapers are given and taken, enterchangeably choler kindleth outrage even so, when men are wounded aloof with light darts, & from whence they know not they wot not upon whom to run & at whom to make in that blind kind of theirs, but they run upon their own fellows without all reason at a venture like wild beasts galled with arrows sticking in their sides. Now they receive not a wound but it is seen by reason that they fight naked, and their bodies are fair like and white, as being never bare but in battell: by which means greater store of blood gush out of the wounds in their fleshy bodies. The gashes appear greater, and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they pain not so much for broad & wide slashes (for otherwhiles when the skin is cut away & the wound rather broad than deep, they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor.) Many it happen

A happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to pain and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance, yet when they seek to pick out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on and are stark mad for shame that so small a prick should plague them so, and be ready to kill them, inasmuch as they call themselves on the ground, and lie wallowing along every where. Others there be of them that run full upon to hand, where by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. These soldiers use to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloof, and wear by their side a Spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they shift their spear out of their right hand into the left, and take them to their swords. By this time there were but few of the Gauls left alive; who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them & seeing withall the ensignes of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heels on all hands, and began to flee again toward the camp: which now was full of fear and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were crowded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hills abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted so far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path, they turned to that quarter of the hill which only afforded a way and both of them began to follow the Consul's trail, a pretty distance asunder, as if they had agreed beforehand to do so: and that which at first had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvantage, succour behind in a rearward have oftentimes served in right good stead: that if those in the vanguard should chance to be beaten back, they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also begin freshly a new fight. After that the foremost ensignes of the legions were come to those hills: which the light armed before had seized, the Consul commanded the soldiers to retire thither: which the light armed before shewed them withall where the bodies of the Gauls lay dead along all over the mountains. And if (quod he) the light armed skirmishers have made such a riddance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionary soldiers, armed all over in compleat harness? What will they do that carry the hearts of most noble warriors? Surely they must needs win the camp, into which the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed soldiers. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go afore, who all the while that the legions retted themselves spent not the time in vain, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp, the Gauls likewise for their part, leaving left their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and rampier. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they guards about the gates and entrance into the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged at random a mighty number of darts: and that many of them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrieks of women and children. Now against them that warded the gates, and took up the avenues with the shields of women and children, soldiers in the forefront let fly their javelins. And albeit there were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them enraged, some one within another, and stuck fast. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans, inasmuch as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gauls fled forth at all the gates way, as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downs, no cliffs so rough with crags, could stand in their way: and nothing feared they affront: their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake their necks, or else for very feebleness lost their breath, were windles, and ready to die. The Consul after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commanded the soldiers every one to follow the chase hard: and whilst the enemies were thus affraid, to affright them to enter the camp, but sent them forth with *L. Manlius*, but the Consul would not suffer them to follow, when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the military Tribunes of the army: for this reason and resolution he made, that the war was at a small end if in this tumultuous fight of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The hold his soldiers from the pillage of the camp, inasmuch as the booty and prizes were most unjustly dealt among them who were at no end of the skirmish. The Cavalry stood all this while so cloying the Gauls dispersed about the root of the mountains, made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hills: some they slew and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were slain cannot easily be counted, because they fled far and near among the cranks and windings of the mountains, where they were killed in blind corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,

ward, tumbled down into the vallies of a monstrous depth underneath. Yea, and some hapned to be killed in the woods amidst the thickets & bushes. *Clandius*, who writeth of two battels fought upon the mount *Olympus*, reporteth that there died there forty thousand enemies. But *Valerius Antias*, who otherwise is wont to overreach and exceed in number hath recorded not above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to forty thousand full, because they went with a train of all sorts and ages, more like men dislodging and removing out of one country unto another, than going to war. The Consul, after he had burned all the armour of his enemies in one heap, commanded his souldiers to bring forth the rest of the pillage and spoil into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publick treasury of the City, or else parted it amongst the souldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a jull and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all in open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several deserts. But above the rest, and with the general accord of all, he both praised, and also recompensed *Attalus*. For surely that young gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardness in all travels and dangers, but also a speciall modesty and rare sobriety.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the *Tectosages*, against whom the Consul made an expedition, & upon the third day arrived at *Ancyra*, a noble City in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there fortun'd to be kept in ward, the wife of *Ortiagon*, a woman of surpassing beauty. The Centurion who had her person in safe custody, was lecherous and covetous withall, as many of these souldiers are. Her he solicited and tempted first to commit folly; but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute her self unto him, he did violence upon that body of hers, which fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and assuage the indignity of this villany, he put the woman in good hope, and promised that she should return home again to her friends: may, he would not do all for pure love alone, and freely without ransom, for he bargained to have a certain ium of gold besides. And to the end forsooth that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners whom he would her self as messenger to her friends and kinsfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river, whither the next night following should repair two and no more (of the said captive Ladies friends, with the gold above said) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out to L that among the rest of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bond slave of her own: this messenger at the shutting in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the *corpi de guard*. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed, both the two friends above said of the gentlewoman, and also the Centurion himself with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full ium of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed between them) and with that the woman spake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold. Which done, she caused his head to be stricken off, and wrapped it her self within her garments, and so carried it home to her husband *Ortiagon*, who from *Olympus* had fled and escaped to his own house. But before that the clipped and embraced her husband, she threw down the Centurion his head at his feet. And when he wondered what mans head it was, and what act this might be for a woman's deed, she confessed to her husband the injury that her body had suffered, and likewise the revenge for the abuse of her chastity by force and violence: and (as it is reported) she maintained the honour of this matronlike act ever after even to her dying day, in all sanctimony of life and modest carriage of her self like a chaste dame.

Whiles the camp lay at *Ancyra*, the Orators of the *Tectosages* shewed themselves unto the Consul, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before he had paried with their Lords and Princes: saying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than war. The time was let down, even then next morrow, and a place likewise appointed, as just in the mid way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and *Ancyra*. The Cos, thither came at the hour assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse; but perceiving no Gaul at all there, he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the same Orators unto him the second time, excusing the default, and saying that their Princes could not come in person by occasion of some scruple of conscience that arole the while: howbeit, the chief personages besides of the whole nation should appear by whom all matters might be composed as well as with themselves. The Consul made answer, that he likewise would send *Attalus* in his stead. So they came to this empowering from both parts. *Attalus* had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard; and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but so far much as they might not grow to any final conclusion in the absence of their chief Commanders, accorded it was that the day following the Consul and their Princes above said should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delays and trifling off the time, was this, that first they might gain some convenient space to transport over the river *Hysall* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their own persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambush for the Consul himself, who took small regard and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpose, they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavalry, of especial valour and approved hardi-

ness, for the execution of this treacherous design. And surely their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had to those very quarters whereas the Gauls went out to purvey forage and fowles, were directed furer place for them, because they were to have the Consul guard also opposed for their defence against the enemy: howbeit, they let another *corpi de guard* of their own, consisting of 600 horsemen nearer to the camp. Now by reason that *Attalus* assured the Consul to certainly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be soon knit up and dispatched, he departed out of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sudden the Gauls riding in full gallop against them in most furious manner as enemies; whereupon he laid the fight. The first charge and shock he received right valiantly, and stepped not back one foot: but afterwards as the multitude pressed still upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but to as he brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer stay, than commodity and help in keeping their arrayes, they all at once turned their horie heads and great part of them had died for it, but that the forragers guard of 600 horie afore said came in to their aid, and being fresh & in heart, entered upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and discomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the forragers and souldiers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and affronted their brethren, who followed them in chase, and they themselves were already tired: few therefore lofs of their lives for violating of this their partly under the colour of truth and fidelity. The Roman passion of all their forces. But the Cos, employed two whole daies himself in viewing and recovering the situation and nature of the hill, because he would not be ignorant of anything rewards killed a sacrifice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battallions. Two of them were to mount up the midle of the hill, and the other two he let in the sides to flank the wings of the Gauls, strength of the enemies, made their main battel in the midle, consisting of 5000 men; and because there was no life of horse among those rough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alight on foot to the number of 10000, and those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Arrianus*, & the before in the mount *Olympus* marshalled his light armed for skirmish in the forefront of the vanguard, & gave order to have ready at hand as great store of darts & other sort of all sorts as he had before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other, like as in the former conflict: having that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their former success & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and dimed. For albeit themselves had own. And therefore as the beginning of the battell was unable, so the issue was likewise. For the Gauls battell was overpread & covered again as it were with a cloud of light shot. And not one of them durst run forth out of his range, for fear he should discover his whole body & lay it open to take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thicker they stood the safer mark were already of themselves troubled, and supposing that if he let forward & presented unto them the ensigns of the legions, they would immediately all of them flee, received the light armed loolegions. The Gauls affrighted with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the *Tolistobogians*, carrying also about themselves the darts sticking in their bodies, weary besides with long standing afoot, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide so much ward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there on both hands, and all the way charged upon their backs and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings stood to it longer, and flor of the Roman darts. The Consul, who could not possibly pluck those out of the camp that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chase still forward. These pursued them a certain space: howbeit in this fight (for in truth it was no fight at all) there were not above eight thousand

word, warning them both to put up their swords, and lay arms aside, until they had sent their Embassadors to the Senate of Rome. So there were embassages addressed both from the one and the other to Rome. In likewise the banished Lacedæmonians joined their cause and embassy with the Achæans, *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both Megapolitans, were the chief in the embassy of the Achæans, who as they jarred and disagreed in the managing of State-affairs, so they accorded not but varied in the speeches that they delivered, *Diophanes* relied the decision of all matters unto the Senat, as who were best able to compose all controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But *Lycortas*, instructed by *Philopamen*, required that the Achæans might do and execute whatsoever they had ordained, according to the covenant, and the conditions therein comprised; and that they would maintain their full liberty without abridging and empaing the same, according as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achæans in those daies was in great credit and reputation at Rome, howbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any change and alteration in the State of the Lacedæmonians. In conclusion, they returned such an intricate and doubtful answer, that both the Achæans might construe it as if they had permission and free liberty to do what they would with Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonians again took it, as though they had not so large a scope and absolute power allowed them, as to do their pleasure in every thing. But this authority and liberty whatsoever it was, more or less, the Achæans stretched beyond all measure and compais, and used it too proudly and insolently. *Philopamen* continued still in place of sovereign government, and levied a power to be ready in the beginning of the spring, and so encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedæmonians. This done, he sent his Embassadors to demand the delivery of them into his hands, who were the authors of the revolt: promising withal, that if they would do so, their City should remain in peace without any molestation and they suffer and sustain no harm, before they had answered for themselves in open audience. All the rest for fear kept silence and said not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer of themselves to go, under safe conduct received from the Embassadors, and faithful promise that no violence should be done upon their persons, until they had pleaded their answer. Accompanied they were with divers noble personages of great mark and name, both as advocats unto them in their particular quarrels, and also in regard of the Common-weal, as far as their private cause any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achæans before time brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the confines of Lacedæmon, because they supposed that nothing might so much alienate and estrange the hearts of the whole City as that. But then the whole head, as it were, of the vanguard, were no other but those banished persons. And as the Lacedæmonians above said were coming, who should meet and affront them arranged in order of batel at the very gate of the camp, but they? At the first they welcomed them with chiding and railing, after that they fell to bitter words and brails, and their blood was up on both sides, inmuch as those of the banished crew who were of hottest spirit and sharpest metal, made no more ado but ran upon the Lacedæmonians: whereupon they called the Gods to witness, and cried to the Embassadors for protection: who together with the Pretor himself came between, voided the press, and safeguarded the persons of the Lacedæmonians, empeaching and staying some of their hands who were already about to bind them and make them sure. But the tumult still encreased, and the multitude was all up on a hurry. The Achæans ran first to see only what the matter was, and to be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to cry out, and report what wrongs and injuries they had sustained, beseeching them of their help and avouching with all right confidently, that if they let slip this opportunity, they should never have the like again, alledging moreover, that the league first made in the Capitol, after renewed at *Olympia*, and last of all confirmed by a sacred oath in the Castle of *Athens*, had been broken and disannulled by them, and therefore the guilty and culpable parties were to be punished accordingly, before they entered into any bond of new accord. At these words the multitude was incensed, and by occasion of one mans voyce, who cried to strike and knock them down, fell to flinging stones at them. And by this means seventeen of them, who during the garboil chanced to be tied in bonds, were floned to death. The rest, to the number of six and thirty, were the next morrow apprehended, whom the Pretor had shielded and protected from violence, not for any desire he had to save their lives, but because he would not have them miscarry and perish before they were heard. These were preferred and exposed as a prey to the unruly and angry multitude: and when they had made some small speech unto them, from which they turned away their ears, they were all condemned and delivered over to be led to execution. When the Lacedæmonians were once put in this fear, then they were commanded, *Imprimis*, To demolish and break down their walls. *Item*, That all forrain auxiliary souldiers, who were waged and served for pay under the tyrants, should avoid out of the Laconian country. *Item*, That all the slaves whom those tyrants had set free (and of such there was a great number) should depart before a certain day: and that it might be lawful for the Achæans to attach the bodies, to sell and carry away as many as staid and remained behind. *Item*, That they should abolish the laws, ordinances and customs of *Lycurgus*, and frame themselves to live after the fashions and manners of the Achæans, for so they should be incorporate into one civil body, and better accord and sort together in all things. They condescended to none of all these conditions more willingly and sooner, than to the raising of their walls, and nothing troubled them so much and vexed their heart, as the restoring of the banished persons. Howbeit there passed an act at *Tegæa* for their restitution in a general Council of all the Achæans there held.

A In which assembly, upon a report and mention made, that the mercenary strangers above specified, and the new enrolled Lacedæmonians (called *zefcripti* (for so they termed them, who by the tyrants were enfranchised and endued with freedom) had abandoned the City, and were depicted sundry waies into the country, it was thought good before the army was dissolved and cast, that the Pretor should go with a company lightly armed and appointed to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of a prize and booty gained from the enemies. Many of them were apprehended and sold. And with the money raised of them, that perchance *Callicyrtas* at *Megalopolis*, which had been ruined by the Lacedæmonians, was by the permission of the Achæans rectified. Likewise the territory of *Helbina*, which the Lacedæmonian tyrants unjustly held in possession, was laid again to that City, according to an old decree of the Achæans, which was made during the reign of King *Philop*, son of *Ambrac*. The City of the Lacedæmonians by this means much enfeebled, continued a long time in subjection and thralldom under the Achæans, but their State received damage by no one thing to much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of *Lycurgus*, to which they had been used and accustomed for the space of 700 years.

Prefently after the holding of this Diet, wherein the Achæans and Lacedæmonians debated their causes before the Consul, *M. Fulvius* repaired to Rome (for that the year was almost expired) against the solemn election of new Magistrats: wherein he created for Consuls, *M. Valerius Messalla*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, and gave the repulse to *M. Annius Lepidus* his enemy, who that year made suit also to be Consul. This done, there were Pretors also chosen, to wit, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Stertinius*, *C. Catinus*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Lu. Manlius Acidinus*. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient that *M. Fulvius* should return into his former Province to the army there: and not only he, but his colleague also *Cn. Manlius*, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another year. The same year according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought into the Temple of *Hercules* the statue of the same God: and within the Capitol were set up by *Cn. Cornelius* six steeds in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Consul gave that present, *Alfo P. Claudius* and *S. Sulpicius Galba*, Ediles Cursile, hung up twelve broken shields, made of the fines that certain corn-hoorders paid, for hoarding up and keeping in their grain. Moreover *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* an Edile of the Commons, erected two golden images (sailed by the money that one guilty person was condemned in (for they commenced their actions severally by themselves.)

As for *A. Cæcilius* his companion, he condemned none. The Roman great games were set forth all throughout, thrice: and the Plebeian plaiex exhibited likewise full and whole five times. After this, *M. Valerius Messalla* and *C. Livius Salinator*, entered their Consulship upon the 15. day of March, and proposed before the Senat as concerning the affairs of the State, touching their Provinces also, and the armies. As for *Ætolia* and *Asia*, there was no change at all. The Consul, by a decree of the Senat had the charge, one of *Pisæ* together with the Ligurians: and the other of *Gaul*: and they were commanded either to agree between themselves, or to call lots for their Provinces. They were enjoined also to levy new armies, and each of them to recruit two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latine Nation with 15000 foot, and 1200 horsemen. Unto *Messalla* fell the government of *Liguria*: and to *Salinator* of *Gaul*. After this, the Pretors likewise cast lots for their Provinces: the jurisdiction within Rome of citizens was allotted to *M. Claudius*, and of forainers to *P. Claudius*. Sicily to *Q. Marcius*, *Sardinia* to *C. Stertinius*, high Spain to *L. Manlius*, and the low to *C. Catinus*. As for the armies, ordained it was, that the legions under the conduct of *C. Lælius* should be withdrawn out of *Gaul*, and made over to *M. Tuccius* the Propretor for to serve in the Brutians country. *Item*, That the forces which were in Sicily should be discharged: and that *M. Sempromius* the Vice-pretor there, should bring from thence the fleet to Rome. Ordained likewise it was, that either of the Provinces of Spain should have one legion, which at that time served there: and that both the Pretors should for supply levy of the allies three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen apiece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that these new Governors went to their Provinces, by order from the whole college and society of the Decemvirs, there was published a general procession and supplication to be holden for 3 daies in all the quarterours, or cross streets of the City: for that in the day time between the third hour and the fourth, there arose a general darkness which continued almost all that while. Moreover, a Novendial sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 daies together, because on the Aventine hill it had rained bones.

The Campains, when as the Censors (by verue of an act of Senate which passed the former year) compelled them to be enrolled at Rome, (for aforesaid they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract marriages and take Roman citizens to their wives: and that whosoever had wedded any of them before, might keep them still: and what children forever they had born before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightful heirs. Both suits were granted. As concerning the free burgeses of *Formia*, *Fundis*, and *Arpinum*, *C. Valerius* Toppo a Tribune of the Com, preferred a bill, that they might be privileged to give their voices in Rome: for before that time, citizens in deed they were of Rome, (and that was all) for liberty of suffrages they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by four other Tribunes, because it was propounded without the warrant and approbation of the Senate. But being afterwards better advised and enformed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senate to give their voices where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves

no more to hinder the proceeding thereof. So it passed; and enacted it was. That the Formians and Fundans should give their voices in the tribe *Amyliæ*; and the Arpinat in *Cornelios* in these tribes then first and never before, were they enrolled by an act of the same *Valerius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Centor took a survey of the City, and by lot obtained the pre-eminence thereof before his colleague *T. Quintus*. In which there were numbered 258;08 polls of Roman citizens. This review being accomplished, the Consul took their journeys into their several provinces.

During that winter season whilst these things thus passed at *Rome*, there returned Embassadors from all States, Cities and Nations which inhabit on this side *Taurus*, unto *Cn. Manlius* first Consul and afterwards Pro-consul, whilst he kept his winter in *Asia*. And as the victory achieved over *Antiochus* was more honorable and glorious to the Romans, than that over the Gauls; so the conquest of the Gaul was more joyous and pleasing to the Roman allies, than that of *Antiochus*. For the servitude in which the King held them was more tolerable, than the cruelty of these savage and inhumane barbarians; and the doubtful fear and fright wherein they stood every day; as not knowing how far forth they would proceed, carried lo (as it were) in a tempest; and wait and spoil them clean. And therefore as nations who by the defeat of *Antiochus* recovered liberty, and by the subduing of the Gauls enjoyed peace; they presented themselves not only to give thanks and shew their contentment in that behalf, but also brought with them certain coronets of gold, every one according to their ability. Likewise there came Embassadors from *Antiochus*, as also from the very Gauls, to have conditions of peace ministered unto them: yea, and from *Arriaratus* King of the Cappadocians, who craved pardon, and offered to buy out his treispass for money, in that he had given aid unto *Antiochus*; and fined he was to pay 200 talents of silver. *K* The Gauls had this answer returned unto them. That *K. Eumenes* when he came should tender unto them articles of peace. The embassages of the other states and cities were dismissed with gracious answer, and went away better pleased and contented, than they were at their coming. The Embassadors of *Antiochus* were commanded to bring money into *Pamphylia* and corn likewise according to the covenant made with *L. Scipio*: for thither the Consul purposed himself to come with his army. After this, having taken a review and survey of his forces, he set forward in the beginning of spring, and within eight daies arrived at *Apamea*. There he sojourned in camp for three daies: from thence he removed, and at the third daies end came to *Pamphylia*, whither he had given order to the Kings Embassadors to convey their money and corn. There he received 1500 talents of silver which were transported unto *Apamea*. The corn was divided in the army. *L* From thence he marched to *Perga*, which was the only country in those parts held with a garrison. When he approached the Captain of the garrison met him on the way requesting 30 daies space in which time he might know the pleasure of *K. Antiochus* as touching the rendering of that City. The time was granted and within that day the garrison quit the place and departed. From *Perga* he sent his brother *L. Manlius* with 400 footsiders to *Oraanda* for to demand the rest of the money which by promise was due: and himself because he was advertised that *K. Eumenes* and the deputies or commissioners were come from *Rome* to *Ephesus*, returned with his army also to *Ephesus*, and commanded the Embassador of *Antiochus* to follow him thither. There, by the advice of the ten commissioners, a final league was concluded, and comprised in these or such like terms: There shall be amity and friendship between King *Antiochus* and the people of *Rome* under these conditions ensuing. *Imprimis*. The King shall not suffer to pass through any part of his realm, or their countries that are under his dominion any army that intendeth to make war against the people of *Rome* or their allies: nor aid them with victuals or any other succour whatsoever. *Item*. The Romans and their allies shall do the like by *Antiochus*, and all those that are under his subjection. *Item*. It shall not be lawful for *Antiochus* either to make war with those that inhabit the Lands, or to pass over into *Europe*. *Item*. He shall quit all Cities, Lands, Villages, and Fortresses on this side the mountain *Taurus* unto the River *Eufrates*; and moreover from the foot and valley under the said hill, unto that ridge thereof which bendeth toward *Lycania*. *Item*. Out of those Towns, territories and Castles which he is to void, he shall carry away no armour: and if he have conveyed from thence any already, he shall duly restore the same to every place accordingly. *Item*. *N* He shall receive neither soldier nor any other person out of the Kingdom of *Eumenes*. *Item*. If any citizens belonging to those Cities which are divided and cut off from his realm, chance to remain now with him they shall remain all to *Apamea* within a certain day. *Item*. As many as appertain to the Kingdom of *Antiochus*, and are now with the Romans or their allies, may depart home or tarry still at their pleasure. *Item*. All slaves, whether they be fugitives or taken captive in war; likewise all other persons free of condition before, and afterwards either taken prisoners or revolted, he shall deliver again to the Romans and their allies. *Item*. He shall make delivery of all his Elephants, and shall provide himself of no more hereafter. *Item*. He shall yield up all his Gallies of war, with the tackling to them belonging: neither shall he keep above ten small vessels; and none of them shall have more than thirty oars to guide and row them; nor so much as one Gallie with a single bank of oars to serve in any war that himself shall first begin. *Item*. He shall not sail within the remotest ports of *Calycadum* and *Sarpedon*, unless haply there be some ship that bringeth money, Embassadors, or hostages. *Item*. It shall not be lawful for King *Antiochus* to levy and wage any soldiers out of those nations which are subject to the people of *Rome*: no, nor to entertain so much as volunteers from thence. *Item*. What houses and edifices belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, are now within the precincts of the realm of *Antiochus*, shall return to the

A the said Rhodians and their afforians, in as good estate and tenor as they were before the war began. And if any money or debt be to them due, they may demand and recover the same. *Item*. If ought have been taken from them, they shall have good law and right to search, own, demand, and challenge it again. *Item*. If any of those Cities which ought to be redreid, be held by those unto whom *Antiochus* hath committed them, he shall withdraw the garrisons from thence, and take order that they be surrendered accordingly. *Item*. He shall pay within twelve years by even portions, 12000 Attick talents of good and lawful silver: provided, that every talent weigh no less than eighty pound after Roman poise; besides 540000 modii of wheat. *Item*. He shall pay unto King *Eumenes* 350 talents within five years; and for corn according to the rate and proportion 127 talents. *Item*. He shall send unto the Romans 20 hostages, and change them for others every three years: provided, that they be not under 18 years of age, nor above 45. *Item*. If any allies of the people of *Rome*, begin of their own motion to make war upon King *Antiochus*, it shall be lawful for him to revenge himself, and use forcible means to withstand their violence; yet so, as he hold no City in right of war, nor receive any into amity: and all controversies which shall arise between them, shall be decided by law and justice; or if both parties be so pleased they shall trye the issue by force of arms. *Item*. It was comprised also within the covenants of this accord, that he should deliver into the Romans hands, *Amibitis* the Cathaginian, *Thas* the Aetolian, *Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, *Eubolus* likewise and *Philo* the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter hapned to be added moreover, or changed otherwise, the same in no case to prejudice any thing contained within the covenants aforesaid. To this accord the Consul swore: and to receive the Kings oath likewise there went unto him *Q. Minucius Thermes* and *L. Manlius*, he who fortuneed at that time to return from the Oradians. And the Consul wrote his letters to *Q. Fab. Labeo* Admiral of the fleet, presently to come to *Patara*, and what shipssoever of the Kings were there, to tow them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from *Ephesus*, and either brake into fitters or burnt 50 covered ships belonging to the King. In the same voyage and exploit he surprized and won *T. Lucius*, by reason that the Townsmen were so affrighted at the suddain coming of the fleet. Then forthwith he departed out of *Icaria*, and having given order to those that were left behind at *Ephesus* to follow after, he crossed the Seas (between the Islands) over into *Greece*. After he had sojourned some few daies at *Athens*, until the ships from *Ephesus* were entered into the harbor of *Pyraeus*: from thence he brought back his whole armada to *Italy*. *Cn. Manlius* having received (among other things which were to be yielded up of *Antiochus*) the Elephants also, and bestowed them all freely upon *Eumenes*, gave audience to the controversies of many Cities and States, amongst whom (during these changes and alterations) there arose sundry troubles and much variance. And *Arriaratus* the King, who by the means and mediation of *Eumenes* (unto whom about that time he had affianed his daughter in marriage) was discharged and had acquittance for the one moiety of the money imposed upon him, entered into amity with the people of *Rome*. When the differences of the Cities aforesaid were debated and known, the ten Commissioners set down an order between them, respectively to their condition. To as many as had been tributaries to King *Antiochus*, and yet sided with the people of *Rome* in affection, they granted franchise and immunity: but as many as took part with *Antiochus*, or were tributaries unto King *Antiochus*, those were commanded to pay their customs and duties to King *Eumenes*. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all task and tallage (expressly by name) the Colophonians inhabiting *Natium* together with the Cymceans and the Milesians. Unto the Clazomenians (over and besides the same freedom) they gave the Island *Drimusa*. To the Miceians also the territory called *Sacer*: to the Ilians, they annexed *Rheteum* and *Gerythius* not to much for any fresh and late deserts, as in memorial of their ancient beginning and foundation: which was the cause also that they let *Dardanius* free. Semblably the Chians, Smyrneans, and Erythreans, for their singular loyalty and devoir which they shewed in that war they not only indowed with fair lands and territories, but also graced with all kind of honor and reputation above the rest. Moreover, the Phocceans had both their own lands restored unto them which they enjoyed before the war, and also liberty to live under their ancient laws. As for the Rhodians, they had those things now confirmed and established unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their estate, *Lycia* and *Caria* were bestowed upon them, as far as the River *Maender*, all save the City *Telmessus*. Unto the dominion of King *Eumenes*, they laid *Chersifusus* in *Europe*; and *Lysimachia*, with all the Castles, Villages, and Lands thereto belonging, in as large terms and ample manner as *Antiochus* held the same: also within *Asia*, the one and the other *Phrygia*, as well that which consisteth upon *Hellaspontus*, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they restored unto him *Mysia*, which King *Prusias* had taken from him: over and besides, *Lycania*, *Mylia*, and *Lydia*: together with these Cities by special name. *Tralles*, *Ephesus*, and *Telmessus*. As touching *Pamphylia*, some debate there was between the Agents of *Eumenes* and the Embassadors of *Antiochus*, because one part thereof is situate on this side the mount *Taurus*, and the other lyeth beyond. The decision of this controversy was wholly referred to the arbitrement of the Senat. *Manlius* having set down these covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his army toward *Hellaspontus*: and when he had caused the Princes of the Gauls thither to repair before him, he declared unto them in what terms, and under what conditions they should entertain peace with *Eumenes*: & therewith he gave them warning, to leave their manner of roving and roving in hostile wise by force of arms, and to contain themselves within the precincts and

bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from the sea coasts, together with the entire fleet of King *Eumenes*, which by his brother *Aschepus* was brought from *Elea*, he transported all his forces into *Europe*. From whence he marched through *Choroneus* by short & easy journeys, because his army was heavily charged with prizes and booties of all sorts; and encamped at *Lymnachia*, purposing there to rest a while, to the end that his travelling beasts of draught and carriage, might be fresh and in good heart to pass through *Thracia*, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that he dislodged from *Lymnachia*, he came to the River which they call *Melas*, and from thence the next day to *Cypseli*. When they were past *Cypseli*, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but through wild woods, narrow streights, and those rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the difficult, way of which passage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he commanded to march before, the other to come behind in the rearward a great distance after, and in the midst between, he belted the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongst them were waggons and wains, laden with the publick treasure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the freight pass, there were about 10000 and not above, raised out of four nations of *Asia*, to wit, the *Attians*, *Carians*, *Madaurenes*, and *Celeres*, who beset the streights to debar them of passage. It was supposed that King *Philip* of *Macedony* his hand was herein, and that they entred not into this action without his privacy and fraudulent practise: who as he knew that the Romans could return no other way but by *Thracia*, so he was aware and witt well enough what a mass of money they carried with them. The Roman General himself was in the vanguard, careful only and troubled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the Thracians sat still and stirred not, until the armed soldiers were passed by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out of the streights, and that the rearward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the packs and coffers of the carriages; and after they had killed the guards, some of them ranfacked and rifled that which was in the waggons, others led away the pack horses and other lumpier beasts with their load and burden on their backs. Hereupon arose a cry and alarm, and was first heard of those that followed, but afterwards of them also in the forward & so from both ends they ran to the midst, and at one time in diverse places, skirmished without all order confusedly. The Thracians heavily charged and encumbered with pillage, and most of them without any weapon at all, because they might have the use of their hands more nimble and agile to snatch & catch unto them their prizes, were by this means more exposed to receive hurt, and soon killed. The Romans again were much distressed and annoyed through the disadvantage of the ground and the waies; which the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and out of them would issue forth to encounter, and otherwhiles lurk within hollow blind caves, and not be seen. The very packs likewise and the waggons, standing and lying unto wardly in the way, sometime of one, and sometime of other (as it happened) troubled and hindered them much in their fight. So as he in one place lay the thief dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of ground was good or bad, as well for the one or less, so the skirmish and fight was variable: and in one word, of both sides many a man lay in the dust and lost his life. By which time the night approached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not so much to avoid wounds and for fear of death, as for that they had piped themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encamped without the fortress in the open ground about the Temple of *Bendis*. The rearward remained still behind in the midst of the woods to guard their carriage fortified within a double pallisado off strong stakes. The morrow after, when they had well discovered by their spies the way before them, they joined themselves with the vanguard. In this battle (over and besides a great part of their pillage lost, and a number of camp-followers and lackies slain, with some soldiers also, for that there was skirmishing every where throughout the chafe) there died *Q. Minutius Thermus*; and a right great loss there was of him, for he was a man of much valour and execution. That day the army marched as far as to the River *Hebrus*. From whence they passed through the confines of the *Anians*, near unto the Temple of *Apollo* whom the inhabitants name *Zerynthius*. And there they met with another freight passage about a place called *Tempyra*, as rough and cumbersome under foot as the former. But forasmuch as there were no woods about it, it yielded no good place for ambushes. Howbeit the Thracians (a people likewise of *Thrace*) assembled together, hoping also to light upon the like booty. But by reason that the vallies lay naked and open, so as if any be at the narrow waies they might be discovered a far off, the Romans were less afraid and troubled. For, say that they were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrange themselves in battle array in open field, and join in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore embattled in Squadrons thick and strong they charged the enemy with a great shout and cry, and the first shock forced them to retreat and lose ground, and afterwards to turn back and flee. And in the rout they were beaten down and killed; for even their own streights which they seized for their vantage, empeached and hindered themselves. The Romans having gotten the victory, encamped near a village of the Maronites, called *Sare*. The next day they marched through the champain open country *Priniticus*, where they joyned three daies to take in corn, partly from the fields of the Maronites, which willingly of themselves they conferred upon them, and partly out of their own ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kind of provision. From this place they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and so passing through the territory

* Diana.

A of the Abderites, they came to *Nepes*. All this way they journeyed peaceably through the Colonies of the Greeks. But the rest behind, it it were not dangerous unto them for any hostility, yet unspecified still it was, all the whies that they passed night and day through the midst of the Thracians, until at length they came into *Macedony*. The same army conducted sometime before by *Scipio* that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cause, but that they had less store of pillage and booty with them to set their teeth on water and fingers on itching. And yet even then a so (as *Claudius* writeth) there were fifteen thousand Thracians that encountered *Numius* the Numidian, as he marched before the vanguard to discover the coasts; and he saith, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horsemen, and some few Elephants: also that his son, with aneivet wing of a hundred and fifty horse, brake through the midst of the enemies, who also within a while after. (When his father *Numius* having placed the Elephants in the midst, and the Horsemen in the flanks, joined in battle with his enemies, charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which (both and tempest (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came so far, as to deal with the battle of the footmen. *Cn. Manlius* led his army through *Macedony* into *Thessaly*, and marching on by the way of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he abode all winter. For he made not to fight a matter of winter sailing, that he durst take the Sea, and hazard the passage at that time of the year. The year almost expired, *M. Fulvius* the Consul returned out of *Liguria* to Rome: for the creation of new Magistrates, having achieved no less memorable exploit in his Province during the time of his government, as might have yeilded any colourable reason of his long stay, in that he came more tardy (than the usual manner was) to the assembly for an election of Consuls: (for holden it was upon the 12 calends of March) wherein were created, *M. Aemilius L. papius* and *C. Flaminius*. The next day after these Pretors were elected; namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Culla*, *L. Terentius M. Jullianus*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *M. Ummidius Crassipes*. After the election of Magistrates the Consuls proposed to the Senat as touching the Province, and governments of the Pretors. And the LL decreed that two of them should remain at *Rome*, 200000 miltiter laws and execute justice: other two should be employed out of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: two in *Italy* to wit, at *Tarentum* and in *Gaul*. Immediately before they entred into office they were enjoined to call tois: and *Ser. Sulpicius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *Q. Terentius* of strangers and aliens: *L. Terentius* took the charge of *Sicily*, *Q. Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius* D was to govern *Tarentum*, and *M. Fulvius* to rule *Gallia*. It fortuned the same year that *L. Aemilius Myrrinus* and *L. Manlius* were delivered to the Carthaginian Embassadors, by the hands of the Fœdial herads at the commandment of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the City for the time being and transported over to *Carthage*, for that the voice and speech went, that they had beaten the said Embassadors. A bruit and rumour there was of a great war begun in *Liguria*; which encreased every day more than other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Consuls the Province of *Liguria*: that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to consult about the Provinces and the affairs of the Common-weal, but *Lepidus* the Consul opposed himself against this their act and ordinance alleging, That it was a shameful indignity, that both the Consuls should be shut up, and employed within the vallies of *Liguria*; whereas for two years already *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. E* *Manlius* had reigned like Kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, in stead of *Philop* and *Antiochus*. And if (qd. he) it be the pleasure of the Senat that there should be armies maintained in those parts more meet, it wot it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct thereof: of than those privat persons. As for them, they range about those nations, terrifying them with threats of war against whom there hath been none proclaimed: making merchandise and selling peace among them for sums of money. Now it is requisite and needful to keep two armies for the government and defence of those Provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* Consuls, succeeded *M. Aedius* and *L. Scipio* Consuls: so *C. Lælius* and *M. P. Perperna* the Consuls ought to have entered in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At least while now, when the Ætolian war is finished and brought to an end, *Asia* recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls* vanquished F subdued either ought Consuls to be sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common-weal. The Senat notwithstanding that they gave him the hearing, persisted still in their resolution, that both Consuls should be employed in the Province of *Liguria*. Yet thought good it was, that *Manlius* and *Fulvius* should leave their Provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and return to *Rome*. An old grudge there was and a rankred enmity between the said *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Aemilius* the Consul: and among other matters of old contentment, *Aemilius* gave out, that by the means of *Fulvius*, himself was created Consul two years later than otherwise he should have been. And therefore to work him delight and make him odious to the World, he caused the Embassadors of *Ambracia* (whom he had suborned and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat-house. Thelie being in place complained that *M. Fulvius* had waived upon them at what time as they were in need performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them and were also read in ill duty and allegiance to do the same unto him. First out lands and territories lay that they were pitifully spoiled and wasted: then were we terrified with the facking of our City, and the threat with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to shut our gates. Afterward we were be captured and assaulted and against us all kinds of hostility practised, word by fire, by ruining and ranfacking our City. Our wives, our children, have been led

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"and haled into captivity and bondage; our goods violently taken from us (and that which a-
 "bove all went nearest to our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City deploiled and
 "robbed of their good ornaments: the images of our Gods, and finally our Gods themselves
 "plucked out of their shrines and places, and so carried away; yea, the very walls and pillars left
 "bare and naked, so as the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongst them to adore, and to
 "whom they might make their prayers and supplications. As they poured out their complaints,
 the Consul of a mind to aggravate and heap more matter upon his adversary, ceased not to propo-
 unto them many interrogatories (as it was completed between them before) and drew them
 out to speak many things, as if with their good will they would not have uttered them. When the
 rest of the LL. were moved herewith, then the other Consul C. Flaminius undertook the apologie
 and defence of M. Fulvius, saying, "That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did no
 "otherwise than some before them had done. For even so was M. Marcellus accused by the Syra-
 cufians, so was Q. Fulvius charged by the Capuans. And why by the same means suffered they
 "not T. Quintus to be charged by King Philip, M. Atilius and L. Scipio by Antiochus Cn. Manlius
 "by the Gauls, and the same Fulvius himself by the Aetolians and people of Cephalonia? That
 "Ambracia was assaulted, battered, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were
 "taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which usually follow upon the
 "winning of Towns, think ye my LL. that either I in the behalf of Fulvius will deny, or Fulvius
 "himself will disavow? who, in regard of these worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to de-
 "mand at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purpoiseth to carry before his triumphant
 "chariot the portraiture of Ambracia as it was taken, the images which they accuse him to have
 "carried away and other spoils of that City; yea, and to let them upon the polls of his house for a
 "memorial to posterity? No reason there is that the Ambracians should sever themselves from
 "the Aetolians, and do more than they, for their sake and condition is all one. And therefore let
 "my colleague shew his rage and malice, and bewray a festered enmity in some other cause: or
 "if he will needs follow and pursue this forward, let him intertain and keep still his Ambracians
 "unto the coming of M. Fulvius. And for mine own part, I will suffer no act to pass either of the
 "Ambracians or the Aetolians so long as M. Fulvius is absent. Emilius accused his enemy for ha-
 "ving a crafty head of his own, and for his subtle fetches: as being notorious and well known to all
 men for no better saying, that full cunningly he would trifle out the time, and make delays all the
 year long: that he might not come to Rome so long as his adversary was Consul. Thus in this de-
 bate between the two Consuls two dayes were spent and nothing else done. And it appeared evi-
 dently, that so long as Flaminius was in place and preience, nothing could be concluded and de-
 termined. Whereupon a time was spied out when Flaminius chanced to be sick, and by that oc-
 casion was away. Then upon a motion made by Emilius there passed an act of the Senat, That
 the Ambracians should have all their goods restored unto them again; that they should enjoy
 their freedom and franchises, and live under their own Laws: and finally might take what cus-
 toms, toll and imposts they would for portage, as well by Land as Sea: provided always that
 the Romans, and their allies the Latins, should be exempted and free therefrom. As for the
 images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their sacred Temples, the
 Senat ordained that when M. Fulvius was returned to Rome, the college of the Pontifics should
 have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and set down, it should stand
 and be performed accordingly. And the Consul not content with all this, took the vantage when
 there were but few Senators in the house, and procured an other act of Senat in this form. That
 they judged Ambracia not to be reputed a City forced by assault. This done, there was by virtue
 of an order from the Decemvirs a solemn supplication holden three dayes for the health of the
 people, in regard of a grievous pestilence that deploiled both City and Countrey. After that the
 Latine feasts and holy-dayes were celebrated. When the Consuls had accomplished these devo-
 tions, and rid their consciences of scruple, and withal made a full and compleat levy to furnish
 legions (for both of them were desirous to have new souldiers) they departed into their Pro-
 vinces, and called all the old.

After the Consuls were set forward on their journey, the Pro-consul Cn. Manlius returned home
 to Rome. For whose sake the Pretor Servius Sulpicius assembled the Senat in the Temple of Bel-
 loin: Where after relation made of his deeds achieved, he demanded that in consideration
 thereof, due honor and thanksgiving should be rendered to the immortal Gods, and withal, that
 himself might ride triumphant into the City. The most part of the Legats and Commissioners, who
 had been with him gainst and denied the same, and above all the rest L. Furius Purpurio, and
 L. Emilius Paulus, who stepped forth, and informed against him in these terms: "That they had
 "been sent in commission to assist Cn. Manlius, for the making of a peace with Antiochus, and fi-
 "nishing of that accord and those covenants and conditions, which were commended and begun
 "between him and L. Scipio. Yet Cn. Manlius, say they, endeavoured all that ever he could to trou-
 "ble that peace yea, and to have surprised and intrapped Antiochus by trains of ambush. If he had
 "ever come in his way, or within his reach, But the King being a ware of the Consul's fraud and
 "deceit, albeit there was made great heats many a time to have caught him by colour of parley
 "and conference, yet avoided evensome not only to have speech and communication with him,
 "but also to come within his sight. And when Manlius would needs have passed over Tauris,
 "hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithstanding all the commissioners prayed
 "and

A "and besought him to stay, and not to hazard himself and incur the danger of a notable loss and
 "overthrow, fore-told by the verities and prophecies of Sisylla to light upon them that would pass
 "beyond the bounds limited by the fatal destinies. All this notwithstanding he advanced forward
 "and approached with his army, yea, and encamped near the very pitch and top of the mountain,
 "where all the water that falleth from above, runneth contrary ways into divers Seas. And
 "when he could find no quarrel there for which he might make war (became the Kings people
 "and subjects were still at quiet) he turned the army about to the Gallogrecs, against which
 "nation there was no war intended either by warrant and authority from Senat, or by grant and
 "commission from the people. And what man was ever so hardy and bold, as to war upon his
 "own head? The wars against Antiochus, Philip, Amibal, and the Carthaginians are most re-
 "membered in each mans remembrance: and of all these the Senat was consulted with, and the people
 "granted their ordinance. Embassadors many a time and often were addressed before: restitution and
 "amends were by order demanded: and last of all, heralds were sent, solemnly to excommunicate and
 "proclaim war. Now tell me, Cn. Manlius, which of all these things were done? that we may call
 "this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of Rome, and not rather a
 "privat brigandage and robbery of your own? But contented you your self with this, and did you
 "no more? marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but that which was in your
 "way; leading your army against those only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather at
 "all turnings and windings, nay, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you
 "were at a stand, followed not you like a mercenary and wagger Consul unto Attalus (King E-
 "menes his brother) with the Roman army, what hand soever he turned and marched? There
 "was not a crank and nook but you visited; there was not a corner that you left unsearched, in all
 "Pisidia, Lycania, and Phrygia. There was not a tyrant, Prince, nor Potentate: there was not a Lord
 "of any borough or cattle, how far soever out of the way, but you had a laying to them to pill and
 "poll them, and to pick pence out of their purses. For what business had you with the Orandi-
 "ans? What had you to do with other nations, as innocent and guiltless as they? Now as con-
 "cerning the war, (in regard whereof you demand a triumph) in what sort managed you it?
 "Fought you a battail either in place commodious, or time convenient? Surely, I must needs say,
 "great reason you have and good cause, to require that honor and praise be given to the immor-
 "tal Gods: first for that their gracious will and pleasure was that the army should not smart
 "for the temerity and rashness of their chieftainer, warring as he did against the law of nations:
 "then in that they presented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beasts and no better.
 "For ye must not think that it is the name only of the Gallogrecs, which is mingled and com-
 "pounded: for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mixed and corrupted,
 "and the men themselves battard and degenerate from their first nature. Had they been the same
 "Gauls with whom we have fought a thousand times in Troy, and with doubtful issue, and lost as
 "much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have re-
 "turned ode messenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at least, while that our Gene-
 "ral there did? Twice he came to conflict with them: twice he encountered them in place of dis-
 "advantage: mounting with his army against the hill, and ranged in the bottom of the valley,
 "even under the enemies feet: in such sort, that if they had lacked no darts against us from the
 "higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and disarmed bodies they had been able
 "to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God-amercy the
 "good fortune of the people of Rome: we may thank (I say) the great and terrible name of the
 "Romans. Their fresh renown of the late ruins and overthrow of Amibal Philip and Antiochus,
 "amazed and astonished (as one would say) their men with their so corpulent and mighty bod-
 "ies; with slings and arrow-shot only were they discomfited and put to flight, to alighted
 "were they. There was not a word once bloudied in all this Gauls war: at the first twang of the
 "bow and ringing of the arrow, they fled away, like swarms of bees with ringing of balsons. And
 "yet believe me, even we the time and no other (as if fortune would admonish and shew what
 "had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we returned to
 "light upon certain petty robbers and thieves of Thrace, were soundly beaten, killed, and put to
 "flight, and spoiled and well stripped of our bag and baggage, Q. Minutius Thermus (by whose death
 "we have sustained a far greater loss, than if Cn. Manlius had miscarried, whose rashness was the
 "cause of all this calamity and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man besides, lost his life in
 "this skirmish. Our host bringing away with them the spoil and pillage of K. Antiochus, was di-
 "vided and parted into three troops: the vanguard in one place, the rearguard in another, and
 "the carriages in a third: were faine to take up their lodging one whole night amongst bushes, bri-
 "ars, and brambles, and lurk within the caves and dens of wild beasts. Are these the brave and
 "worthy exploits, for which you demand a triumph? But say, that you had received in Thrace,
 "neither damage nor dishonor: which be the enemies over whom you would needs triumph in
 "all the hall? Do they bethe whole, whom the Senat & people of Rome destined & assigned to be your
 "enemies: for so was triumph granted to this L. Scipio here in place: so likewise to that M. Atilius
 "before him over K. Antiochus: so also erewhile to T. Quintus for the victory of Philip, and so to
 "conclude unto P. Africa for subduing Amibal the Carthaginian, and K. Siphax. And when
 "the Senat had ordained war, yet before they entered into and began these high and haughty affairs,
 "they made some doubt and pause in such petty circumstances as these, to wit, unto whom they
 "should

"should send defiance and denounce the said war whether to the Kings themselves in their own
 "prison: or it were sufficient to give intimation to one garrison or other within their fortresses,
 "And would ye now (my matters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be pol-
 "iced and conformed, that the rights and laws of the Feciales and heralds should be abolished, &
 "that there shall be no more Fecial at all, But let religion and divine service (God forgive me if I
 "seem to blaspheme) be trodden under foot: suppose the Gods were utterly forgotten of you, and
 "their remembrance quite exiled out of your hearts: Is it your pleasure also, and think ye it meet,
 "that the Senat be consulted no more for their advice in question of war? or that a bill be pro-
 "pounded to the people, in this wise: Pleaseth it you or no, to ordain that war be levied a-
 "gainst the Gauls? The other day, and no longer since, the Consuls were desirous and earnest to
 "govern *Greece* and *Asia*, yet when they perceived you to be resolute and perfit still in assigning
 "unto them both, the Province of *Liguria*, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall
 "they have therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have achieved an happy
 "victory and finished that war, which they first enterprised under your warrant and authority.
 "After this manner as ye have heard, *Furius* and *Emilius*. And *Manlius* again, as we find in
 "record, answered thus, or much to this effect, as followeth: "Right honourable & my very good
 "LL, the Tribuns of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and cross them that
 "demanded triumph: and I take my self much beholden unto them for this favour, that either in
 "their love to my self, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their
 "silence given their consent for my honor, but also seem ready and prett to propound the same
 "unto the people, if need had been. But now forsooth, when have I (and God will) for mine ad-
 "ventures but even some of my ten adjacents or suffragans, whom our ancestors thought good to
 "give unto their Generals in the wars, as a council both to assist and aid them, and also to coun-
 "enance and grace them in their victory? *L. Furius* and *L. Emilius* are the men and none but
 "they, who inhibit and debar me from mounting up into the triumphant chariot; they are ready to
 "pluck from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I should wear: even those (I say)
 "whom (if the Tribuns had hindered and impeached my triumph) I would have reported my self
 "unto as witnesses of my worthy acts. Certainly, (my LL,) far be it from me, that I should envy
 "and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late daies when certain Tri-
 "buns of the Common State (men of great courage and action) went about to stay and forbid the
 "triumph of *Q. Fabius Laber*, ye by your authority diverted and scared them from that intended
 "enterprise; and he triumphed in the end, notwithstanding his adversaries gave out and said a-
 "loud, not that he had fought a war unjustly, but in reproachful manner charged him. That he had
 "not so much as set eye upon the enemy. And I, who have often in ranged battel fought with
 "an 100000 most fierce and warlike enemies, slain or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them,
 "forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this side the ridge of the mountain
 "*Taurus* more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of *Italy*, am not only frustrate and put beside
 "my triumph, but also stand here before your honor: to defend my self against the challenge of their
 "mine own Council and Suffragans. Whi. accusation of theirs, consisteth (as ye have heard my
 "LL,) of two principal points: for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made
 "war with the Gauls; and secondly, that I conducted and managed the same, rashly and with-
 "out direction. The Gauls (say they) were no enemies of ours; but being quiet in peace, and
 "ready to do whatsoever they were charged, were by you abused and wronged, I will not require
 "(my LL,) that ye should have the same hard conceit of the Gauls which inhabit in *Asia*, as touch-
 "ing their ruelty and mortal hatred against the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in
 "the people of the Gauls: Do but consider and judge of these Gauls as they be in themselves
 "simply without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole ge-
 "neration: O that King *Emmenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of *Asia* were pre-
 "sent in place, that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make; than my self ac-
 "cusing of them. Send but your Embassadors to all the Cities of *Asia* and enquire whether serv-
 "itude were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chaine of
 "the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been
 "wasted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and
 "how they were brought to so low a pass, that they hardly could find means and make any shift
 "to redeem their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how
 "they killed men, yea, and their children, to sacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from
 "me, that your allies yielded tribute to the Gauls, yea, and should have paid till at this day, not-
 "withstanding they were by you delivered from their subjection under King *Antiochus*. If I had
 "not be-arr'd my self the better, For the farther that *Antiochus* was removed from them the more
 "he boldly and outrageously would these Gauls have ruled like LL, over all *Asia*, and whatsoever
 "lands had lien on this side the top of the mount *Taurus*, you should have laid to the leignory of
 "the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will some one say,
 "and what of all that? These Gauls likewise once spoiled the temple at *Delphos*, repented in times
 "past the common Oracle of the whole world and situate in the very heart and midst of the earth,
 "& yet the people of *Rome* neither denounced nor made war for all that, Certainly, I shalwaies wond
 "have thought there had been some difference to be made between those daies, when as neither
 "Greece

A "Greece nor *Asia* was under your jurisdiction and obbedience (that you should need to take care
 "and regard of what was done in those parts) & this present time, in which ye have let the moun-
 "tain *Taurus* to be the bound & limits, wherunto your Empire extendeth in which you give free-
 "dom and immunity to Cities, in which ye enlarge the confines of some, and take in the precincts
 "of others, fining these cities with forfeiture & loss of their territories, punishing those with taxes
 "and tributs: in which I say, you augment and diminish realms, give and take away Kingdoms at
 "your good pleasure, and in one word, in which ye judge it a matter that concerneth you, to pro-
 "vide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, that
 "*Asia* might not be counted free, unless *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garrisons, which he kept quiet
 "within their fortresses and castles, and stirred not forth, and thought you wishal, that your gifts
 "B granted unto King *Emmenes*, might be assured unto him, and the freedom likewise of the Cities,
 "established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about to and fro in those coun-
 "tries? But why stand I so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the
 "Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio* I call you here to witnesse,
 "into whose charge and government I succeeded, whole virtue and felicity withal, I besought the
 "immortal Gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my prayer was not in vain) and you likewise, O *P.*
 "C *Scipio*, who with the Col. your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place indeed of
 "an adjoint Lieutenant and no more, but carried the Majesty of a Colleague & joint companion;
 "speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in
 "the army of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the
 "points and flanks of the main battel, as the very flower and strength of the whole pilluance of
 "Antiochus? Say directly, fought ye not with them slew you them not, & carried away their spoils,
 "as undoubted and lawfull enemies? And yet both Senat decreed and people ordained war with
 "Antiochus by name, and not with the Gauls. But I tro (or else I am much deceived) within this
 "decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom
 "D (excepting *Antiochus* himself, with whom *Scipio* had art. led peace and alliance, and ye also had
 "expressly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against
 "us in the quarrel and behalf of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were
 "complicd in this number, together with some petty Kings and Tyrants besides; yet I contracted
 "accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to
 "their trespasses) as far forth as I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and I
 "assisted also to gain and win the hearts of the Gauls, if haply it had been possible to have dulced
 "and reclaimed them from their inbred fierceness and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that
 "they were untractable untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high
 "time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have cleared
 "the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that
 "I yeeld you an account of the conduct thereof, wherein verily I would make no doubt to ap-
 "prove mine innocence, and justify the goodnes of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not in the
 "Senat of *Rome*, but even at the council table of *Carthage*; where (as men say) they make no more
 "ado, but truse up, hang, and crucify their Generals, if they proceed to execution of any service in
 "E war with bad advice and counsel, although the issue and event be never so good. But in that
 "City, which therefore useth the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they
 "proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to detract or de-
 "prave that millicionly, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant & or-
 "dinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn form of words: *For that he hath well*
 "and happily administered and managed the weal publick: In this City, I say, if I were unwilling, nay,
 "if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance to vaunt my self
 "and boast of mine own prowess; yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and
 "mine army in that without any loss of soldiers, we vanquished and subdued so great and mighty
 "F a nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendered unto the im-
 "mortal Gods, and then, that I might my self ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph from
 "whence I descended to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and
 "made my prayers after the solemn religious order: I would ye deny both me and the immor-
 "tal Gods also? Yes marry would you, and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage,
 "But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? con-
 "sidering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort,
 "I should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them,
 "What? how if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls,
 "and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given them
 "the assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *M. Acilius* (I beseech you) at *Thermopila*
 "G in a place of advantage? Why? did not *T. Quintus* after this manner disposesse *Phylip* of the high
 "Mountains, which he held over the River *Aous*? In faith, I cannot yet devise what kind of ene-
 "mies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and elect them
 "to be, if degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of *Asia*, what
 "danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubted and terrible
 "for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? Envy (my
 "good LL,) is blind, and can skill of nothing but to detract and defame virtues, to falsifie
 "and

"and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto. Pardon me I beseech your Honors and hold me if excused, if I have been over long and tedious. It is now late, and I desire you any delight and pleasure that I take to put forth and glorify my self, but a necessity imposed upon me (in mine own defence, to confute these crimes objected against me) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To proceed, was it possible also that in *Thrace* I could make the passes within the forests large and wide, which naturally were straight and narrow? the ground plain and smooth, which by nature was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of steep mounts? open champion and fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it in me, to prevent those Thracian thieves that they should not hide themselves within their lurking holes and ordinary covert thickets? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might snatch and carry nothing of our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beasts out of great a number, I should be driven and led away from their company? that no person should be hurt? and finally, that *Q. Minutius* a brave and hardy knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries press hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unlucky hap to lose so worthy a Gentleman: but they never think that if they would say nothing but suppress and conceal all, yet you should know (since the whole army is here present to testify that which I say) That although the enemy afflicted us in a narrow freight, in an inconvenient place of great disadvantage, yet both of our battalions at once, as well the vanguard as reterward, compassed the army of the Barbarians busy and occupied in rifling of our carriage, flew many thousands of them that very day, and within few days after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far. Well, if I had not drawn a sword in *Asia*, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Pro-consul had deserved a triumph well enough for those two battels in *Asia*. But enough hath been said of these matters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldness; if I have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The accusation that day had prevailed more than his own defence; but that they continued arguing and debating in the Council-house until it was late in the evening. Then the Senate arose with this mind (as it should seem) to deny him a triumph. The next morning, the kinsfolk and friends of *Cn. Manlius*, laboured all that ever they could: Likewise the authority of the ancients stood him in great stead; who said plainly that the precedent could not be found in any histories. That a General who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private person, without the honor of the triumphant chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and shame of this example, surmounted the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assembly granted his triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contention that arose with a far mightier and more noble personage. For as *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, that two *Q. Petilii*, called *P. Scipio Africanus* into question, and set him down a day perpetually to make his appearance, and answer for himself. This action divers men construed diversly, according to their several disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribunes of the Commons, as the whole City in general, for suffering such an abuse; discoursing in this wise: That the two chiefest States and Common-wealths in the World were become at one time unthankful, but *Pompey* more ungrateful of the twain. For *Carthage* being subdued, had banished *Antias* likewise vanquished: but *Rome* a victress was about to expulse *Africanus* a conqueror. Others again reasoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen so pre-eminent and high above the rest, that he might not be under law, and brought to answer unto interrogatories accordingly. And nothing, preferreth liberty in a City, and maintaineth equal liberty more, than to have the mightiest man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be safely committed to any man (and surely the sovereign rule of the late least of all other things) if he be not to yield an account of the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can not abide to be equal unto others, to proceed against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all. Thus men commonly talked pro & contra, until the judicial day came of his personal appearance, and answer to be made. Never was there man known before that day (no not *Scipio* himself when he was at the highest, either Consul or Censor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accused person, there to plead his cause. Being commanded to speak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entered into a discourse of the acts by him achieved: and that with such a Majesty and magnificence as it was well known and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than he. For with what courage and mind he achieved those his brave exploits indeed, with the same spirit he delivered them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weary to hear his speech, because all that he related was for his own defence in this his danger; and not upon vain glory and ostentation. The Tribunes of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certain supposed crimes committed of old, as touching his wasteful excesses while he was in *Syracus*, as also the riot and outrage of *Pleninius* which happened at *Locris*; they proceeded to charge him by presumptions and insinuations, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for embezzling and averting to his proper use certain treasure gotten from King *Antiochus*; and namely, that his son being taken prisoner, was rendered unto him without ransom; and that in all other things, *Scipio* was respected and

A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his guidance. Also that he bare a strong hand over the Consul, more like, I wot, a Dictator and absolute commander, than a Lieutenant and assistant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither aimed he and those at any other mark, when he went that journey, but that the same, which long before was notoriously known to *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, might as evidently appear to *Greece*, to *Asia*, and all to the Kings and nations of the East parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the shadow of *Scipio* his wing, that City which is the lady of the world, was covered and protected: that a beak and nod of his head, was as good as all arrests of Senat and helts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fasten upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle envy. Thus with orations they spent the time until night came, and the business was put over to another day: which being come, the Tribunes, only in the times in the morning were set in their pewes within the *Rostra* [or common place] the defendant was called, who paraded with a great company of his friends and followers, passed through the midst of the assembly, approached the *Rostra* and stood full under it. Then after an *exordium*; and silence made: My Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and ye likewise Quirites, my neighbors and citizens of *Rome* upon this very day of the month it was that I fought a pight battle against *Antias* and the Carthaginians, with right fortune and happy success; meet therefore and good reason lieth it, that to day all pleas and actions be created: I will go directly and immediately from hence, to the Capitol and present my self before *Imp. Opt. Max.* before *L. Iunius* and *M. Aemilius*, with all the rest of our gods and goddesses, presidents and patrons of that temple, and so to relieve, to perform my humble duty unto them to salute and thank them, for that they have vouchsafed me that resolute and powerful means with all, both on such a day as this, and also many times besides, to perform my devoir well and truly unto the Commonwealth. As many of you here before (Quirites) as well may, give with me, and pray the gods to lead to you like governors to my self, and no worse. If I say (and not else) as you ever (since I was seventeen years of age, even to these mine old daies, you always advanced me to honors before the ordinary time of mine age) I again advanced and prevented the said honors with good service and noble deeds. This said, he departed from the *Rostra* and ascended up to the Capitol, whereto the whole audience there assembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*; in so much as all the tribes and noaries, yea, and the very legions left the Tribunes there alone, without any to bear them company but their own bondservants and the common cryer, who still from the *Rostra* called and cited the defendant. *Scipio* not only visited the temples upon the Capitol hill, but also in the perambulation with the people of *Rome* throughout the whole city to all the churches and chapels of their gods and goddesses. This was in manner a more solemn day unto him in regard of the affectionate favour of men, and the estimation of his true grandeur indeed, than on which he rode into the City in triumph over King *Syrax* and the Carthaginians. But it was the last fair day that ever he saw; and never shone the sun again pleasantly upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foretelling envy growing toward him, and what a hate and how full of debates he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the proceele of law against him, he retired himself apart to *Luternum*, of set purpose to make default and not appear to plead his cause any more. He carried a greater spirit with him, his heart was too big, & used he had been to an higher degree of port & honor, then to take knowledge what it was to be accused: he could not skill to vale bonet and stoop so low, and to abate himself to the abject condition of those that speak for themselves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence his name began to be called, *L. Scipio* answered for him, and alleged sickness to be the cause why he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, replying and saying, That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judicial trial, and left the Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appear to make his answer. Even so triumphed he then over the people of *Rome*, when accompanied with those whom he led after him as prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give their sentence and doom of him) he requested himself that day, by way of an intercession from the Tribunes of the Commons into the Capitol. Well as he now loved therefore (say they) and justly punished for that daies folly and rashness. For lo how he himself now abandoneth you, who was your mover and leader then, to forsake us. See how every day more then other our courage is fallen and heart abated: and dare not we now lend talk to fetch him (a private person and no more) out out of his farm and house in the country, and make him to appear and plead his answer, unto whom not past 17 yeeres ago, as when time as he was General of an army on land, & Admirall of the Armado by sea, we were so bold as to lend Tribunes of the Com. & an *Edile*, to arrest and bring him away with them to *Rome*? In the end, the rest of the Tribunes of the Com. being called earnestly unto by *L. Scipio* for their lawful favour, set down his order & conclusion, that if sickness were alleged for his excuse, and that there were nothing else but it that occasioned his absence, it should be received for good & lawful, and their colleagues should adjourn his trial to a farther day. It fortuned at that time that *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was one of the Tribunes, between whom & *P. Scipio* there was some quarrel. He forbade expressly that his own name should be subscribed to the instrument of the aforesaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to hear, some heavier sentence denounced against *Scipio*, he awarded

in this manner. "For as much as *L. Scipio* excuseth the absence of his brother by sickness, it is good
and sufficient in my opinion. And more than that, I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be ac-
cused before he return again to *Rome*. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helping, he and I will
give him assistance, and stop the course of picketings against him. And as to the main point of
the cause, this is my resolution, that *P. Scipio* being advanced to highly as he is to that pitch of
honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the peo-
ple of *Rome*, as if both gods and men had consented to let him aloft, for him to come down
now and stand pleading below at the bar beneath the *Rostra*, and there to have his ears glow
and ring again with the checks and taunts of certain green heads and buse youths, were a great
ter shame and disgrace to the people of *Rome*, then to himself. Nay, he stand not thus with
this bare sword, but leaped and set it on fire with words of indignation, testifying his discon-
tentment for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall *Scipio* (quoth he, my master Tri-
bunes) that renounced conqueror of *Africa*, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated
he and put to flight in *Spain* a most brave and noble General of the Carthaginians, with their 4
entire armies? Took he *Syphax* prisoner, vanquished he *Annibal*, subdued he *Carthage* and
made it tributary unto us? Chased he *Annibal* beyond the mountain *Tamusis*, (for it might be
confessed, that in this glorious conquest *L. Scipio* had his brother copartner with him) and all
for this, to be taken under foot of two *Petilius*? And that ye should seek to triumph over *P. A-*
fricanus? Will it never be better? Shall great personages, with all the good effects of their own
for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong
fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and pass all danger, K
and wherein their old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least with
in security, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it self of *Gracchus* enforced
with such a speech (especially) moved not others only, but also the very accusers themselves; who
made no other rejoinder again but thus. That they would consider better what they might
by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was
broken up, the L.L. of the Senat began to sit in council; where, the whole order of the Sena-
tors (but principally the ancients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and
thanked *Tib. Gracchus*, for that he had preferred the weal publicly, before private grudges and
particular quarrels. But the *Petilius* were well content and bated with reproachful checks. In bit-
ter rebukes, in that they would seem to rise up the fall of another, and to grace themselves with L
the disgrace of *Africanus*, and seek to triumph over him, and be enriched with his spoils. Well af-
ter that, there was no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life he passed at *Lutetium*
and never had mind to come to the City: there ended he his daies in a country village; and (as
they say) he charged his executors upon his death bed, to inter him in that very place. And there
his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funeral obsequies
should be performed at *Rome*, (his native country) to unthankfull as it was. A rare man he was
and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his
life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martial exploits in war, as the
governance of civil affairs in peace, then in his latter daies. For in his youth he followed the
wars continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decayed and faded, to whatsoever he did, M
lost much of the wonted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ
that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Consulship and the second, al-
though ye put his Consulship to it in the balance? What comparison was there, and what
femble thing in that lieutenantcy of his in *Asia*? of so little or no employment was it by reason
of his own fickleness; and blemished withal, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And
afterward, his return home again was no less unfortunate, for the hard choice whereunto he was
driven, forced of necessity to abide the trial of a doubtful issue in judgment, to quit withal his
native City for ever. Howbeit he alone went away with the honor above all others, of finishing
the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made.

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft: of
whom, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief and principal: a man who was wont to bark (as it were)
and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatness. And it is thought, that the *Petilius*
were let on by him, and procured through his perswasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to have
drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: "I
please you to grant and ordain, that true search and diligent enquiry be made, what sums of
money were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King *Antiochus* and those which
were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much thereof as came not into the pub-
lick treasury and chamber of the City, *Ser. Sulpicius* (the Pretor of the City) may propound unto
the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it: that whensoever of all the Pretors O
for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and in-
quisition thereof. This bill was first moved by *Q. and Lucius Mummus*, who thought it meet and
reacn that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore, should be the equity of the monies lo
purloined and embezzled: as is storied, and not brought in to the equity of the City. The
Petilius charged the *Scipios* for being over great and mighty and as it were K King the Senat, to say
all before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consul, and one of the ten commissio-
ners in *Asia*, was of opinion, that the forsaide enquest should be granted in more large & ample terms,
namely,

A namely, as touching the money not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and na-
tions: covertly taxing herein *Cn. Manlius* his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped
forth to disswade this matter: albeit it was thought he would rather speak in defence of himself,
then against the thing. He complained much and shewed his grievance, that such a bill as this
should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most va-
liant knight and noblest personage that ever was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Africanus*
wanted the solemn Panegyrick oration at the *Rostra* after his death, but he must be executed al-
so. Why? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Annibal*, and seek no more:
but the people of *Rome* is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, unless both his own good
name after he is buried be wounded and mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of
B mens malice and hatred) be killed and sacrificed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf
of the bill, and perswaded that it might passe. His oration as touching the treating of King *Antiochus*,
it extant to be seen: and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two *Mum-*
mii Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they
once had renounced and given over their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices af-
firmatively. *P. rogatus*. After this, *Ser. Sulpicius* propounded unto the Senat, (Whom they would
appoint for this enquest according to the act *Petilius*) and the L.L. of the Senat deputed *Q. Tor-*
quatus Culeo. This Pretor was so great a friend to the house of the *Cornelii* that some authors,
namely those, who report how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be entered at
Rome (for that bruit, do runneth current) have written, How he went to his funerals before
C the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his tri-
umph, and gave sweet wine or merriment to all those that attended the company, as far as to the gate
Capena. This honour he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other prisoners in *Africa*, he was
by his means recovered out of the enemies hand, but it should seem rather, that he was such an en-
emy to that family, that for the cankred rancour and malice when he carried against that name,
he was by the adverse faction of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that
inquisition. But certain it is, before this Pretor (in his extremities, who enter in love & friend-
ship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean) information was given immediately against *L. Sci-*
pio. Presentments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants *A. Hostilius* and
L. Hostilius both *Catos*: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Deuleo*. And to the end that it
D should appear to the world, that they were all attaint of this crime of purloining and robbing the
publick treasure of the common weal in one complot, there were two secretaries also and one of
his lieutenants called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before-
named, were found unguilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judicial trial: howbeit *Scipio* and *A.*
Hostilius his lieutenant, together with *C. Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Valerius*
Antius writeth) makes more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 600 pound
weight of gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more then he brought into the City chambers. *A.*
Hostilius, for that he likewise detained eighty pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver:
and *Furius* the Quellor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, and two hundred
of silver. These I sum of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registered by *Valer-*
E *ius Antius* in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezzle, I
would rather think that the clerk or secretary faulted with his pen in writing the copies, then the
author lied to loud with his tongue in the first inditing of the Original. For it is more likely of the
twain, that the weight of the silver was more then of gold. As also for the fine wherein he was
condemned, should amount but to forty thousand *sesterties*, then srie to two hundred and
forty thousand. And I am rather induced thus to calculate, because it is said, that *P. Scipio* himself was
F required in the Senat to give his account but of such a sum; and when he had bidden his bro-
ther *L.* to fetch him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senat, tare and
rent it with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasury two mil-
lions of *sesterties*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which confident boldness of
spirit and courage, when the Quellors durst not against the order of law) take forth any one
of the Treasury, he called for the keys, and said he would be so bold as to open the chests
of the Treasury since he was the cause that they were locked. Many things besides are diversly
reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his
death, his funerals, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tomb, which distract me so, that I wot not
what report to cleave unto, nor which records to believe. For they accord not as concerning his
accuser. Some write it was *M. Naevius*, others again say that they were the *Petilius* that called
him to his answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the year, no,
nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was entered. Some affirm he ended his daies
G and was buried at *Rome*, others at *Lutetium*. And in both places there are monuments and Sta-
tues of him to be seen. For at *Lutetium* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of
his personage erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrowen in a tempest. At *Rome*
likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*,
whereof two are said to be of *Pub.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And this
difference among authors is not touching his acts and affairs only, but also about the very Orations
(if it be they were the orations indeed of *P. Scipio* & *Tiberius Gracchus*, which we commonly to
taken and carried about, which disagree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth
for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Naevius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole

Oration it self there is no mention at all that accusers. He termeth him one while *Nebulo* [Knave] and another while *Nugator* [Confounder.] In like sort the oration of *Gracchus* maketh no mention at all either of the *Patris*, the accusers or *Africanus*, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devise to tell the whole tale otherwise, it would have it to agree with the oration of *Gracchus*; and follow we must those authors; who write, that when *L. Scipio* was accused and condemned for taking bribes of King *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was Embassador in Tulesny; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embassage and made hast to *Rome*. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thrust the fergant from his body, yea, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and carried himself in this action so, as he shewed more kindness and love to his brother, then manners and civility otherwise. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his oration, that the Tribunes authority and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he proudly and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he smiled to aslist *L. Scipio*, he knit up his speech with these words, that it was a thing more tolerable that both the Tribunitian puissance and the Common-weal should seem overcome and surmounted by Tribunes themselves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this one violence and excessive outrage against him, and made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overshooting himself and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperate carriage of himself aforetime, and that in so good terms and ample manner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharp reprehension he used for the present. For he said, that in times past he had rebuked and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetual Consul and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressly, that any of his Statues in triumphant habit, should be set up and erected in the publick places of assemblies, as in the *Comitium* and *Curia*, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Jupiter Opt. Max.* These commendable reproofs of him, if they were uttered in an oration penned of purpose for his praise, must needs tellifie and shew a wonderful magnanimity of his, in the moderate use of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproch and upbraiding him, acknowledgeth and confesseth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus*, took to wife the younger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by his father to *P. Cornelius Nasica*, but it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether she was both betrothed and wedded unto him, after her fathers death or no. As also, whether it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to prison, *Gracchus*, seeing none of his own fellow Tribunes to succour and rescue him, swore a great oath and protested that he was an enemy till to the *Scipios* as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to curry favour with them, or to come into their grace; yet could he never endure that he should be carried to that prison, into which he had seen his brother *Africanus* lead Kings, great generals and commanders of offences, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senat furnished to be at supper together in the Capitoll, and arose up all at once, and requested *Africanus* to affianse his daughter to *Gracchus*, before the supper and banquet was ended. Which espousals being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of that solemne feast, *Scipio*, when he was returned home to his house, said unto his wife *Emilia*, that he had affianced and bestowed his daughter upon an husband. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her acquainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet good reason it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon *Scipio* took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice, and inferred streight waies, that he was the man to whom she was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthy and noble person, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and diversity of writings in that behalf.

After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finished the inquisition and whole process thereof, *Hastilius* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in sufficient larcies to be bound in recognisance to the treasurers of the City, for the payment of their fines. But *Scipio* debating the matter still, & pleading that all the money which he had received was in the City chamber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and committed to prison. *P. Scipio Nasica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a speech full of fine praises and commendations, not in general only of the whole name and family of the *Cornelii*, but in particular also of his own house. And namely he alledged and said, That himself and *P. Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers *Cn. Scipio* and *P. Scipio*, most noble and famous personages; those who for certain years in the land of *Spain*, advanced the renown and glory of the Roman name, mangle the heads of many captains & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martial feats of war, but also in civility and faithful dealing of the Romans; and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrel of the people of *Rome*. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posterity to maintain only & uphold the glory from them received, yet *P. Africanus* was not born of human blood, but of divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in trouble, to say nothing of his worthy acts which he achieved in *Spain* and in *Africa*, when he

A "was lieutenant there to his brother Consul) he was both reputed by the Senat sufficient, without any calling of lors, to undertake the province of *Africa* and the war against King *Antiochus*, and also esteemed by his brother *Africanus* to worthy a person, that himself who had been Consul twice, Censor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought not fitter to accompany him unto *Africa* in quality of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatness & resplendent glory of the lieutenant should not dim the brightness of the Consul, and to shew his virtues and good parts) it so fell out, that the very same day, on which *L. Scipio* vanquished *Antiochus* near *Magnesia*, *P. Scipio* lay sick at *Eleea*, a City distant certain daies journey. He decaied I say an army there, nothing inferior to that of *Antiochus*, with whom his brother had encountered before in *Africa*. In which battell amongst other great commanders and captains under the King, *Antiochus* was himself imploied in person, even he who had been the grand General in the Punic war, which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man positively could not find fault to much as with fortune, or any accident that hapned there. And now when the war is unblamable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace; and it (they say) was bought and sold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistants in council, are also touched and noted with corruption, by whose advice the said peace was granted and concluded. Well, of those ten, there were some that stepped forth and accused *Cn. Manlius*; yet to far off was that accusation of theirs from being credited, that it did not to much as hinder and delay the very time of his triumph. But (believe me in *Scipio* his case, the very conditions of peace favour) strongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective & favorable to part of *Antiochus*. For his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquished, he possesseth as much as before the war began; and *Scipio* having received from him a mighty masse of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasury, but averred all from thence, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not carried in pomp at the triumph of *L. Scipio* (in the very sight of all men) as much gold and silver as in ten triumphs before (and put them all together) could not be shewed. For what should I speak of the confines and frontiers of his realm? Namely, that *Antiochus* beforetime held under his dominion all *Africa*, and the marches also of *Europe* adjoining; & great a part of the world: that is which extendeth from the hill *Taurus*, and lyeth out so far as the *Egean Sea*; how many not Cities only, but spacious countries and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as also that this country bearing out in length more then 30 daies journey, and in breadth between two seas ten daies journey, even as far as to the top of the mountain *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*; & he driven into the utmost angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could he have been disleased of more in case his peace had cost him never a penny of money? When *Philip* was conquered, he had *Macedonia* left unto him: when *Nabis* was subdued, he enjoyed still *Lacedaemon*: and no man ever went about to call *Quintus* in question for it. And why may he be denied to his brother *Scipio Africanus*, for whose sake the envy and malice of men hath defaced and hurt *L. Scipio*, whereas his brothers glory ought to have graced and helped him. Would any man of sense and reason judge, that so much gold and silver was brought into the house of *L. Scipio*, as may not not possibly be raised, if all the goods he hath were sold to the worth? What should become of all that gold of the Kings? Where be those great purchases of lordships and inheritances that he hath made therewith? Certainly it cannot be, but in that house that hath not exceeded in superfluous expence, there should be seen some heap and mount of this new treasure. But what care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the substance and goods of *L. Scipio* they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (belike) and expose to contumely & villany, to the end that a man of the best mark and quality that ever was, should be shut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high way side, amongst night thieves and cut-purses, and there in the hard stocks and balefull darkness render his last breath; and when he is dead, to have his body cut out naked at the prison dore. But be it whensoever it shall, this will be no greater blot to the house *Cornelia*, than a shamefull reproach for ever to the City of *Rome*. Against all these remonstrances, the Pretor *Terentius* uppoed and read the law *Patris*, the decree of the Senat, and the sentence given of *L. Scipio*, and he for his own part said, he could not do withall, but if the sum wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common Treasurehouse, he knew no other remedy, nor what else to do, but to command him (a condemned person) to be apprehended again, and had away to prison. Then the Tribunes went apart to consult and lay their heads together. And within a while after *C. Flaminius* pronounced aloud, according to his own advice and the opinion of all his Collegues (excepting only *Gracchus*) that the Tribunes would not interpose themselves, but that the Pretor might do and execute his office and his authority to the full. But *Tib. Gracchus* let down his own decree in this form, That as touching the sum wherein *L. Scipio* was condemned, he would not be against it, nor impeach the Pretor, but that he might use his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as far as they would extend. But that *L. Scipio* who hath subdued the mightiest and most puissant monarch in all the world, who hath drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman empire, as far as the farthest frontiers of the earth; who hath obliged and bound King *Eumenes*, the Rhodians & so many Cities and States besides of *Africa*, and made them beholding to the people of *Rome* for favours and benefits bestowed upon them; finally, who hath himself laid up fast in prison any a General captain over the enemies, after he led them in triumph: that he I say, should lie in prison & rons

triumph which I have so justly deserved: that a General (I say) who had so worthily achieved his service, and an army so victorious, should stay and give attendance without the City gates, until it pleased the Consul to return home: who no doubt of very purpose and on set purpose, upon this occasion would make flow bath and take his leisure. But now considering that the enmity and heart-burning that the Consul beareth to me is so notorious as it is, What indifferency and reasonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of the time when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senat to passe by stealth, and entered it in the treasure house, containing thus much in effect, that *Ambra* should not be reputed as a own forced by assault, notwithstanding it were assailed with manilets and platforms: where we were driven to erect new fabricks, and plant other engines and ordnance of war after the former were consumed with fire: where we maintained fight about the walls, as well under the ground as above, for the space of 15 daies together: where after that the souldiers had scaled and gained the walls, the conflict endured notwithstanding a long time doubtfull, from morning to night: and where were slain above 3000 enemies. Now as touching the sacrileg committed (after the City was forced) in spoiling the churches of the immortal gods what a slander think ye, hath he raised of me? what a matter hath he made thereof, and how he hath informed the Pontifics and Bishops? unless a man would say, that lawful it was not for the City of *Rome* to be garnished & beautified with the ornaments of *Syracusa* & other Cities won by force: but the law of war extended it to this only City of *Ambra*? I beleech you therefore the L. of the Senat, yes, and I request the Tribuns, not to suffer me to be mocked and abused by a most insolent and proud adversary. Then at all hands they dealt with the Tribune, some increased him, other rebuked and blamed him: but the speech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of his colleagues) moved him most of all others: who shewed, that it was no good precedent and example, that men should maintain and follow their own privat quarrels in time of magistracy and publick government; but a shamefull matter and a foul indignity it was, and much becoming the Tribuns of the Commons and their sacred laws, that a Tribune should be Proctor to other men and prosecute their actions and enmities. Men ought (quod he) according to their own discretion and judgment, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; not to depend and hang upon the countenance and beck of others, not to be carried to and fro with the wills, pleasure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accordeth and taketh part with a choleric and reddy Consul, and remembereth well what *M. Emilius* left with him in privat charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribuneship was committed unto him by the people of *Rome*: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assist privat persons, and to maintain their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and a royalty of a Consul. Never leteth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yearly Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribuns in the same fellowship and society, one for the love of the Common-weal renounced and gave over his own privat displeasure and enmity to a particular person, and the other took charge as it were by way of Commission, to pursue the quarrell of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer these rebukes and checks, and therewith departed out of the temple: then the Pretor *Ser. Sulpicius* propounded the bill the second time; and so a triumph was granted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendered great thanks to the L. of the Senat, added moreover and said, that the very day wherein he forced the City *Ambra*, he had by vow promised, to the honor of *Jupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and solemn Rom. games. And to that effect the Cities of *Greece* had contributed towards the charges, a hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordain that out of that mass of money which he was to carry and shew in triumph, and meant to bestow and lay up in the City Treasury, the forsaid sum of gold might be sequestred and reserved apart for the proper use above named. The Senat commanded, that the Colledge of the Prelats and Priests in this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessary that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said games? The Prelats made answer again, that it was not material to relegion and to the service of the gods, to how great a great reckning over the charges of the games should arise. Whereupon the Senat permitted *Fulvius* to do say what he would himself, so as it exceeded not the sum of 80000 [Ales.] He had propoied to triumph in the month of *January*, but hearing that *Emilius* the Consul (who was advertised by letters, that *Ambra* the Tribune of the Commons had renounced and let fall his opposition which he commented) was coming in proper person to *Rome*, only for to hinder the triumph, and stayd by the way sick; he prevented the day, for fear he should have had more anger and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 22 day of *December* he triumphed over the *Ætolians* and *Cephælians*. Before his chariot there were born 100 crowns of gold, weighing 12 pound peece: of silver 83000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 18000: of Philip peecees of gold coin 12422: images of brasse 85: of marble 230. Likewise of armor, as well defensive as offensive; and other spoils of the enemies, an huge deal, besides Catapults, Balists, and other engines and peecees of battery. Moreover, there went before him 27 captives either *Ætolians* and *Cephælians*, or else under King *Antiochus*, left by him in those parts. The same day before that he entered into the City, he bestowed in the cirque *Flaminium*, many military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horsemen and centurions, as well Romans as allies. Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii peece: twice as much to the centurions, and threefold to horsemen.

Now

- A Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and because *M. Emilius* whole lot it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the day, *C. Flaminius* came of purpose to *Rome*. By whom were created Consuls *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Vibullius*. After that were Pretors elected, to wit *T. Manius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scamius*, and *L. Quinctius Crispinus*. In the end of the said year, after the magistrats were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Valerius*, the great son before the Nones of *March*, triumphed over the Gauls who inhabited *Asia*. The cause whereof triumphed for late, was this, for that he would avoid making his answer (according to the custom) whilst *Q. Terentius Culleo* was Pretor, fearing he should burn in the flame of the same sentence and judgment whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, or lest the flame of another mans judgment, I mean the sentence whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and caught hold of him likewise: considering that the jury and enquest were more incensed and provoked against him then *Scipio*; for that he succeeding after him, had spoiled and marred with all kind of licentious looseness, the military discipline, which *Scipio* had observed most precisely and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for those things only which by bare hearsay were reported to have been done in the province, far remote from the view of men, but also of those particular instances to be seen daily in the demeanor of his souldiers. For verily the foreign excellence and strange superfluities took beginning from the Asian army, who brought all with them into the City. They were the first with in *Rome* that took up the use of brailen tables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboord-cloths, hangings and curtains of luscious kinds of stuffe. Likewise of one footed standing tables, buffets and cupboards, which in those daies were counted magnificent and stately moveables. Then came up the manner of having at banquetting painted wenchens, and such as could play upon the dulcimers or other instruments of musick, with dancers, jesters and other pastimes, and delightome pleasures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the board to be furnished and set out with more exquisite and deincy viands, and of greater expence. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves, as well for calling as estimation, as for the use they were put unto, came to be in great request: and that which before time was a mechanical kind of manual service, grew now to be accompted a science of deep skill and understanding. And yet all these things that then bare so great a show, were scarce to much as small fees and tips, to the excessive superfluities that were to ensue.
- D Well, *Cn. Manlius* carried in triumph two hundred crowns of masie beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of silver 220000 pound weight: of gold 2103 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 127000: of Cistophors 250000: of Philip golden peecees 16320. Also much armor there was and spoils of Gauls carried in few upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongst the souldiers he gave a donative of 42 denarii peece, he doubled the same to every centurion. Also to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horseman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military presents for especial service; and those followed next after the chariot. The souldiers chanted such songs and sonnets, as a man might easily see they were compelled to feed the humor of a General desirous of glory, and one that made much of his souldiers especially: whereby his triumph was more honored with the affectionate favour of them, then otherwise recommended and celebrated with the hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of *Manlius* served him in good stead to win the good will of them also through whole soliciting & earnest endeavour, there passed an act of the Senat, that out of that money which had been shewed in triumph, there should be repaid unto the people that subsidy which had been levied among them for souldiers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treasurers of the City made true and faithfull payment with all diligence of 25 ailes and d. in every thousand [for the loan.]
- About the same time two Colonels came out of both provinces of *Spain*, with letters from *C. Gatinius* and *L. Manlius* the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Lusitans were in arms, waisting and spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederats. The Senat referred the entire consultation of this matter to the new Magistrats. During the time of the Roman games that year which *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Aulus Posthumus Albinus* represented, a certain malt or high pole which stood not fast in the new place called *Circus maximus*, fell down upon the image of *Pallentia*, and overthrow it to the ground. The L. hereupon made some scruple in conscience, and ordeined, that the solemnity of those games should continue one day longer, and caused two images to be set up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt. Likewise the Plebeian plaies were renewed one day more, by the Aediles, *C. Sempronius Blaesus* & *M. Furius Lufenus*. The year following averted the Consuls *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*, & *M. Marcius Philippus* from the stmy, from the regard I say of wars and government of provinces abroad, to the punishment of a certain intestine conspiracy at home. The Pretors last costs for their provinces, *T. Manius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *M. Licinius Lucullus* betwene citizens & strangers. Unto *C. Aurelius Scamius* fell the governance of *Sardinia*, and to *P. Cornelius Sulla* of *Sicily*. *L. Quinctius Crispinus* was assigned to the higher *Spain*, and *P. Calpurnius Piso* to the farther. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisition into secret conspiracies within the City.
- There was a certain Grecian of base degree and condition, who came first in *Hevynia*; a man not endued with any of those arts, whereof the nation (of all others most learned) hath brought many unto us, as well for the erudition of our munde, as the trimming of our bodies: but affect-

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ficing priest he was, and a divining wizard withal. Neither was it one that made out-ward profession of reaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and so by an open shew of religion polluted their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had (sooth for certain hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, howbeit afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheer, to the end that more customers might be allure and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and dulled the understanding: when the night season, when the entermingling of men and women together one with another (and namely, they of yong and tender years, with those of elder age) had clean put out and extinguished all respect and regard of themselves honestly: there began first to be practised all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures ready at commandment, and his choice of those whereto by nature he was more prone and given to lust after. Neither was there wickedness committed here, of one sort, namely, the abusing of mankind and womankind one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workhouse proceeded false witnessnes, forging of seals, depositions, and testimonies; and more then so, wrong and untrue informations. From hence came the devilish craft of poisoning, and privy murders of the secret of kindred in one house: and the same to secret, that otherwhiles the bodies would not be found to be committed to the earth. Many sinful parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cunning confesage: but more by apart force. As for violence, it was kept close and hidden, by reason that with the hideous noises, with the found of tymbrels, labors and cymbals, there could no voice be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuse, or beaten to death. The infection of this catching poison of *Heurania*, spread as far as *Rome*, like a contagious maldy. At the first the spacious capacity of the City, having been used to wink and bear with some enormities, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the *Col. Postumius*, much after this manner.

The Bacchanals detected.

P. Eburnius (whose father had served in the wars in quality of a gentleman of *Rome* with a City horse) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceased, became ward to his mother *Dunonia* and his father in law (her second husband) *T. Sempronius Rustilius*, under whom he had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband, so his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship, that he could make no good, except thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant his ward should be made away, or else obliged and entrallied unto him. The only way to compass and bring this about, was the corruption and abuse of the Bacchanals. The mother therefore upon a time called her son unto her, and told him, that she had made a vow for him when he was sick, that so soon as ever he should recover and be well again, she would present him to the priests of *Bacchus* to be consecrated and professed in their mysteries: and now, quoth she, seeing that by the goodnes of the gods thou art amended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my self thereof, and perform it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he must for ten dayes live chaste, and not touch a woman, and at the ten dayes end after he had taken his supper, and was well washed and perfired after the manner, she would bring him into the holy place of those sacred mysteries. Now there was a famous trumpeter, by condition a bondwoman enfranchised, named *Hippala Pessena*, too good, I wis, for that occupation which she used while she was a yong wench, and bondservant: but yet still after that she was manumitted and in franktate of a free denizen, she maintained her self by the same trade and manner of living. Grown he was into familiar acquaintance with the foresaid yong *Eburnius*, by reason they were neerer neighbours, and dwelt not far asunder: yet so, as she endangered not the youth one jot either in charging his purse, or touching his credit. For she it was that first was insomered upon him, and him the wood: and for as much as he had but short allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving harlot. Nay, more than that, in continuance of time she was so deeply engaged in him, that when her own patron was dead, and her self at the disposition of none, she sued unto the Tribunes and the Pretor for another tutor, because she meant to make her last will and testament, wherein she desired *Eburnius* her only heir in remained or to all that she had. There passing thus between them the pledges and pledges of love, and they using to empart the one unto the other the secrets of their hearts, the yong youth by way of mery and pleasant talk, willed her one day not to marvell or think any thing in it, if for certain nights he lay aways and parted beds with her: for that upon a religious zeal and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be professed and consecrated by the Priests of *Bacchus*, and all to be allotted from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him say so, and troubled in spirit, Mary god forsend, (quoth she) and I would not that for all the good in the world. And better it were for me and you too to die both at once, then to do so; and with that she threatened, she curled and banded, wishing all mischief and plague to light upon him, that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wondered much to hear her words, and to see her so to fare and take into beyond all reason and order, beseeching her of all loves to be content, and to forbear those curled speeches, and said, it was his own mother, by the consent of his father in law, who had enjoined him to do so. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth she, (for peradventure I should not do well to blame your mother, that hatheth you by this action of yours to make shipwrack of your honesty and chastity, of your credit and good name, your hope another day, and lastly, to hazard your very life? Hereat the yong man marvelled much more then before

A fore, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddesses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bore unto him, she could neither will nor chuse but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, she let tale out end and said: That she herself once entered into that chappel, when as she waited on her mistress, but since that she was made free and at her own liberty, she never left her within the doore. And upon my knowledge (quod she) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickednes that can be devised. And now for certain these two yeers I sit past, there is not one professed and admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 yeers of age. There is not one professed and brought thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed for they lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying with singing of divers concerts, B with jangling notes of cymbals, with thumping and beating of tabors, to the end that the voice of any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her body might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case by one means or other you avoid this, howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong thither, where if you shall be une to enquire and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrate and commit all abominable wickednes not to be named. And never would I see the young gentleman here, until he had made her faithful promise to abstain and forbear such mystic and ceremonies. When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must do this day and that day, and to forbear his flesh, denied and said plainly he would do neither the one nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whosoever came of it. His father in law was present and at one end of this resolute speech of his, his mother straightwies cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to bespurn from *Hippala* one ten dayes, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charms and poisoned allurement and lies of that false serpent and perilous *Hydra*, that he had no selective regard either of his mother, or of his husband, no, nor any reverent fear of the immortal gods. The mother rated him of one side, she farther baited and cursed him on the other, till at last and they hunted him out of doors with 4 bondslaves besides. The yong man betook himself unto *Eburnia*, an aunt that he had by his father's side, and she welcomed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsel the next day he opened and declared to her in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the D Consul *Postumius*. The Consul commanded him to repair again unto him three dayes after, and so for that time dismissed him. Then the Consul in the mean while enquired of his wives mother *Sulpicia*, a brave and sober matron, whether she knew an old wile called *Eburnia* dwelling in the *Aventine*? Yes that I do quod she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old world, and few her like now a days. I would needs speak with her (quod he) and therefore I would have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. *Eburnia* at the first sending came unto *Sulpicia*; and the Consul within a while followed (as it were by chance) into their company. Began to find some talk of her brothers son *Eburnius*: with that the woman eyes flood full of water, and with tears she began to bewail the case and mishap of the yong man; who being spoiled of all his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at E home in her house, chafed and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the least good youth (God blese us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (shall be true that is reported thereof). The Consul had enough now, and was fully persuaded of *Eburnius*, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave *Eburnia* leave to go her waies home, and requested his mother in law *Sulpicia* a storemaid, to send likewise for *Hippala* from thence out of the *Aventine* to come unto her (quod he) affianced and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat to say to her. *Hippala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she saw the F all the Consul himself in person, she was attoned and (in manner) half dead. The Consul taking with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto her, that she need not be afraid, if to be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for assurance thereof, she should have the faithful word and promise either of *Sulpicia* (a lady of good credit and reputation) or of himself if need were. Only he would have her utter and declare what was ordinarily done at the grove of *Similina* in the Bacchanals, where they used to sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a fear, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her lips and speak a word: but after she was come to her self again out of this trance, and by them G heartened and encouraged, she said, that when she was a very yong wench and a bondmaid, there together with her mistress, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain yeers of late, and namely since that she was affianced and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor will not what work was there. I can thee thanks for this yet (quoth the Consul) that thou deniest not how thou wert there entered into that profusion; but say on and tell out the rest as truly and faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Consul replied upon her and said, that in case she were taken in a trap, and that another came forth to her face & reproved her, she should neither find the face to pardon, nor have the like favour at his hand.

as otherwise she might if of her self she confessed the thing, forasmuch as he who had all from your own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and was rewarded verily (as it was indeed) that *Ebunius* was a blab of the tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon she fell down at the feet of *Sulpia*; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of courte passed between her an entranced woman and her paramour, should turn not only to earnest and importance, but also to a capital matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumus* hereat was chafed, and fell into a fit of choler: What? (quoth he) thou thinkst belike that thou art jelling and coggling with thy lover *Ebunius*, and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in communication with a Consul. But *Sulpia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted I as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheer, and also appeased the wrath of her son in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found fault with the difloyalty and falshood of *Ebunius* for serving her so, and requiting her ill badly against for to singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, That she stood in great awe of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no doubt for bewysing these matters, would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she brought *Sulpia*, and entreated the Consul to take some order for her, and to send her into some place out of *Italy*, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safety yet of her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Consul) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at *Rome*, and that without all danger. Then declared *Hippala* the original and first commencements of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (quoth she) it was privileged place & consecrated for women only & they alone mediated with their mysteries; neither was it the custome and manner, that a man should enter in among them and three tell holidays they had in the year, during which time, the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies in the day time, and folk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time & turn one after another. But *Paculla Minia* (a Campanian woman) when she was the priest, changed all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods to do so: for she was the first that sacred and admitted men, to wit, her own sons *Minus* and *Herennius* the Cernians: the altered the solemnity from the day to the night; and for three daies in the whole year, she ordered five or six very much, to serve for the attendance and ministry of these mysteries. Since which time that these sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, & the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no act so wicked, no fact so filthy, but there it is committed: and more sinful & unnatural abuse there is, of mankind one with another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this foul filthiness, or belike themselves more dully in the beauly action and performance of them, the principal point and sum of their religion, to hold and beleve that nothing is unlaful whatsoever. The men shaking and wagging their bodies to and fro after a fantastical fashion, as if they were distracted & out of their right wits, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the she-priests of *Bacchus*, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose about their ears, and take them out again light burning till, because they are made with sulphur vive and quick lime: and they say that certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither: such as they wind fall to a certain engine or frame, and hury them out of sight into certain hidden caves: and those be such, as either would not swear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them in all their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number & multitude of them assembled, is exceeding great, and grown now be another body of a people: and among them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these twenty years last past, we deigned it is that none should be deduced and drawn to error, or most subject to be forced to suffer abuse and villany. When he had thus finished her information and discovered all, she fell down upon her knees again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That he would lend her some house, whereunto *Hippala* might retire treated his mother in law to spare some void corner of her house, and there make her abode. So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the stairs that led towards the street were stopp'd up, and the entrance turned into the house. Then presently were all the moveable goods and household stuff of *Fessenia* removed, and her family sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Ebunius* was commanded to go and lodge with a tenant or client belonging to the Consul. Thus when both the informers were forthcoming and under *Posthumus* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat. And after he had said every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great fear, as well in regard generally of the commonweal, lest those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might import some secret complot of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accessary and culpable.

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A The Senat yet were of this mind, that the Consul was highly to be praised and thanked, for that he had found out and brought to light this matter as this, both with so much care & diligence, and also without any tumult and uprore. Then they took order and ordained, *Imprimis* That the Consul should have an extraordinary commission to make leach and inquisition into these Bacchanals and night-sacrifices. *Item*, That *Ebunius* and *Fessenia* the informers thereof should not be prejudiced thereby, nor come to harm for it, yea, and that a recompence and reward should be propounded to others that could give light and reveal the same. *Item*, That the Priests belonging to these religions, be they men or women, should be sought out not only at *Rome*, but in all other markets towns, jaies and places of frequent resort, and conveyed before the Consul to be and remain at their disposition. *Item*, That proclamation be made at *Rome*, and edicts sent throughout of *Bacchus*, to tell any more into assembly or conventicle for those sacrifices, nor yet do ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and presentment be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any such filthiness and wickedness. And these were the ordinances of the Senat. The Consul then granted that religion, and upon apprehension to keep them in free ward and large prison forthcoming for to be examined: also to the *Aediles* of the Commons to look well, that no service of the gods and ward throughout the City, and see to meetings by night, for fear that no more fire might catch at any place. To those three Communiaries or Triumvirs were five other Quinquavirs adjoynded assistants, who every one should watch well and take charge of all the houses of his quarter within *Tyberis*. Then the Consul having set them about these their severall charges, mounted up the *Rosses* or place of publique audience. And when the people were assembled together, then the Consul after he had pronounced the solemn prayer which Magistrates are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people, began his Oration unto them in this wise. "Never in any of your assemblies, O Quirites, was this solemn prayer unto the gods, either to meet and convent, or to go to seek and needfull as in this, to advertise and put you in mind, that those be the true gods indeed whom your ancestors ordained, that you should honour, serve, worship, and pray unto, and not these here who prick & provoke (as it were) with goods of furies, your spirits and minds transported and carried away with false and strange religions to commit all wickedness, mischief & filthy lust. Surely for mine own part I wot not either what I were best to conceive, or how far forth to speak out and utter my mind. If you know not all, doubt I should give you occasion to be negligent; again if I discover all, I fear me that I shall affright & terrify you too much. But what and how much soever I shall say, be ye sure it will be far less than the greatness and enormity of the thing requireth. Yet endeavour will we so much to deliver, as may suffice to give you a warning and watch-word to take heed. This am I well assured of, that you intend not only by hearsay and bare reports, but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in the night season that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all *Italy*, yea, and in many places throughout the City of *Rome*, which resoundeth again therewith. But what manner of thing it is, I am verily persuaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some beleve that it is a certain worship and service of the gods; others suppose it is some fooltry and wanton pastime tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there be but a few interceded & employed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they were many thousands, you cannot chuse but suddenly be afraid, unless I also presently shew you that they be of and of what quality. Know ye therefore first and foremost, that the most part of them are women; and from thence is spring the source of all this mischief. If there are there men indeed but such as for all the world resemble women, so innocent they are: such I say as have abandoned themselves as well to be abused as to abuse others: fantastical persons and bereaved of their wits by reason of excessive watching, past sense & even astonished with hiberning of wine without measure, with hooting, hollowing & crying all night without intermission. I this conventicle of conspirators is yet of no great force, howbeit it gathereth much strength, in regard that they multiply still; and their number is every day more than other. Your ancestors in times past would in no wise admit that ye should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occasion, unless it were either by raising a standard or banner upon the fortres for to levy an army; or to gather the people together to give their voice in elections of Magistrates: or that the Tribunes proclaimed a general congregation of the common people: or some of the Magistrates summoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration; and wherefore a multitude were thus met together, there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull government and oversight of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye first they might be & namely, where men and women are met and thronged together pell mell one with another? In faith if ye wist at what age they of the male sex are professed and made novices, ye would not only pity them, but also be ashamed and dismised. Think ye my masters Quirites, that young men thus professed, & having taken this oath, are meet to make soldiers of? and that ye are to put weapons into the hands of such as are taken out of their thinking and deservable Chappel? Shall these thus stained, polluted, and overwhelmed with filthy uncleannesses, as well of their own kind as others, fight for the pure chastity, for the honesty (I say) of your wives and children? Let's harm

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had

The Oration
of the Consul
Posthumus, for
the overthrow
of the Baccha-
nals.

had it been, if they could have rested so, and become only effeminate by their own unchaste im-
 "purity (for that had redounded most to their proper shame and dishonour) and not have abused
 "their hands to practice mischief, and busied their brains to contrive fraud and deceit. But never
 "was there in Commonweal either to great and dangerous a malady, as touching more persons,
 "or reaching to farther matters of greater consequence. For wot ye well this, that all the misall
 "parts committed for these late years, were it filthy lust, crafty cozening, or of wickedness what-
 "soever, proceeded & sprung out of this one ungracious chappel and place of counterfeited holiness,
 "and no other. Yet have they not put in practice all their mischiefs, which they have most curbed-
 "ly compelled and sworn to execute. Hitherto their impious & detestable conspiracy hath bro-
 "ken out, and passed no further than to particular and privat mischiefs, because they have not gal-
 "thered force and strength enough to invade and oppress the Common-weal. Howbeit, the evil
 "encreaseth, and the malady spreadeth further daily, and by this time is grown to much, as it will
 "not contain within the privat fortune and condition of particular persons, but threateneth the
 "very main State of the Common-weal. And unless (Quirits) ye take order to prevent it, these
 "night Congregations may soon be as frequent and great as this present assembly, summoned by
 "order of Law and commandment of the Consul in the open day time. Now are they (singled by
 "themselves apart) afraid of you, when they see you thus all assembled together, but so soon as
 "you are retired either to your houses within the City, or farms in the country, & by that means
 "severed alunder they will surely meet together: devise they will and consult both to save them-
 "selves, and also to ruin and destroy you at once. Then take heed to your selves: then shall you
 "(singled one from another) be in dread and danger of them all in general. It behoveth therefore
 "every one of you to desire and wish that all they who belong any way unto your charge wife
 "and well given. Then, if either lustfully or furiously rage, have drawn & halied any one of them
 "headlong into that gulph and sink of in-to, to hold such a person to be of their crime, with whom he
 "hath thus sworn and devoted himself to all sin and abominable wickedness, and not reckon him
 "of your own retinue and train any more. Moreover, careless I am not of your own persons in
 "this behalf, that none of you should be seduced and led away with error. For nothing is there
 "in the world, that deceiveth more under fair semblance, than false religion. For when the name
 "and Majesty of the gods is pretended to cover and colour naughtiness, suddenly there entreth
 "into our mind a scrupulous awe, which doth captivate and possels our conscience, for fear lest
 "in chastising and punishing human trespasses, we violate and offend some divine right and power. L
 "therewith. But of this scrupulosity discharged ye are, by an infinite number of Pontifical decrees,
 "and acts of the Senat, yea, and answers of divine Sages and Soothsayers. For how many a time and
 "often in the daies of our fathers and grandfathers, hath commission been granted to the Magi-
 "strats, To restrain and forbid expressly all forrain sacrifices and strange lustriges? To chafe & ba-
 "nish all odd hegd-Priests, Wizards, Tellers of Fortune, and Magicians out of the common place,
 "out of the shew place and theatre, yea, and quite out of the City? To search out all their books
 "of Magick and Prophecies, and to let a fire on them? Lastly, to abolish all other order and man-
 "ner of sacrificing but according to the Canon, form, and order of Rome? For they judged (wise
 "men as they were, and deeply seen in all divine and humane laws) nothing so forcible to ruin
 "and overthrow religion, as when divine service is celebrated after some strange and forrain fa-
 "shion, and not according to the ancient custome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way
 "of caveat to foretell you of to the end that no superstitious opinion should trouble your spirits
 "when you shall see us to demolish and overthrow the Bacchanals, and scatter these unlawfull
 "assemblies. For all this will we do with the good leave, favour, and grace of the gods. Who be-
 "ing highly offended to see their divinity and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abomina-
 "ble filthiness, have discovered the same lying hid in darkness, and brought it to light: neither in
 "their wisdom and providence, was it their will and pleasure, that such enormities thus detected
 "should remain unpunished, but be suppressed and extinguished for ever. Now hath the Senat
 "directed out unto me and my Collegue an extraordinary commission and warrant to make due
 "inquisition herinto by vertue whereof, we for our parts will accomplish our charge according-
 "ly with all diligence and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the City, we have gi-
 "ven order already to the inferior Magistrats to look unto it. Likewise, meet and reason it is,
 "that every one of you according to his place and calling, quit himself well in whatsoever shall
 "be imposed and laid upon him: and especially to endeavour and prevent that no danger or mu-
 "tiny arise by the maliciousness of those that are culpable and offenders. Then the Consuls com-
 "manded the acts of the Senat in this behalf to be read openly: they propounded and promised
 "also rewards to all informers, that either converted and brought before them any such persons,
 "or presented their names if they were absent and out of the way. And look whosoever were thus
 "nominated and fled upon it, they would assign him a certain day to make his appearance: upon
 "which day, if he answered not to his name when he was called, he should be condemned unto
 "the information to be without the land of Italy, he should have a longer term let down to come
 "in and make his answer. After this, they published an Edict, forbidding (left any one should be de-
 "sirous to sell or buy ought tending to flight and departure) to receive, conceal, aid or maintain by
 "any means those that were about to flee. After the assembly of the people dismissed, great fear
 "there was over all the City: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties, and territory only

A of Rome, but in all parts of Italy they began to quake and tremble for fear: and namely, after that
 "these came from their friends and acquaintance, touching the ordinance of the Senat, the solemn
 "assembly of the people, and the Edict of the Consul aforesaid. The next night following that day
 "(wherein this matter was thus declared openly in audience before the people) many would gladly
 "have started aside and been gone, but apprehended they were and brought back again by the Tri-
 "umvirs, who had set a good watch at every gate. Many presents were made, and certain per-
 "sons thus presented, as well men as women killed themselves. It is reported that there were found
 "in this conspiracy of both sexes one with another above eleven thousand, the principal heads were
 "known for certain to be M. and L. *Lucius* Romans both, and by calling not to good as Senators: *De Pile.*
 "L. *Opimius* of *Falerii*, and *M. C. C. C.* a Campane. These were the ring-leaders of the reit,
 "B from them arose all mischief and villany whatsoever: these were the chief Priests (for oath) and
 "the founders of this religion. To apprehend these persons with all speed no prohibitions were
 "neglected. And when they were brought before the Consuls, they confessed all, and for any let in
 "them, they might presently have been condemned. But such a number there was of them who fled
 "out of the City, that because the actions and goods of many men hereby were in danger to be
 "lost and perished, the Prætors T. *M. Manius* and M. *Lucius* were constrained by the Senat to give
 "thirty daies respite and delay for the pleas, until such time as the Consuls went through with their
 "inquisition. By occasion of the lame interpleg, (for that they whole names were presented, nei-
 "ther made answer nor could be found) the Consuls were enforced to ride their circuit about mar-
 "ket towns and places of resort, and there to hold Assize and Sessions for to make inquisition, and
 "C judicially to proceed in sentence against the offenders. As many as they found to be only enticed,
 "and to have taken orders, namely, such as according to a certain form of words, ended and
 "prompted by the Priest, had made their prayers (saying after him (in which was contained a detest-
 "able sacrament and oath that they took to commit all wicked acts and basely filthiness), and yet
 "notwithstanding had offered and done no such act either in their own persons, or in others, to
 "which they were obliged by oath) those I say they let still in prison and durance. But such
 "were defiled with filthiness of lust polluted with bloody murders such as were attaint and stained
 "with bearing false witness with forging and twisting of wills and testaments, with counterfeiting
 "of seals, and other such cozening crafts, those they executed with loss of life, and the number of
 "D them that thus were put to death surmounted those other that suffered only imprisonment. But
 "a wondrous multitude there was of both sorts the one and the other, and those as well women
 "as men. As many of the women as were condemned they committed over to their next kinsfolk,
 "or to two guardians under whose tuition and subjection they were that they might themselves
 "privately at home punish them accordingly. But if there were none to be found meet to do the ex-
 "ecution, then they suffered publicly abroad in the face of the world. After this, a commission was
 "granted to the Consuls, for to overthrow and pull down first at Rome, and then throughout Italy,
 "all the place of these Bacchanals, unless in any of them there stood some old altar or image con-
 "secrated. And for the time to come, by an act of the Senat a prohibition went out, that there
 "should be no Bacchanals any more either in Rome, or in Italy. Moreover, if any person made some
 "confidence of this religion, and held it for a devout, solemn, and necessary institution, and pro-
 "E ceeded before the Prætor of the City, that he could not lay away the same without prick, remorse,
 "and clog of conscience: then the said Prætor was to put the cause in question before the Senat,
 "and if the Senat (assembled in no less frequent than one hundred) would allow and permit the
 "time, then might the party solemnize that devotion and divine service: provided always, that
 "there were not above five persons present thereat. To assist him nor any common silver to be used
 "in the ministry, nor Offer-master nor Priest. Over and besides, another act of the Senat there
 "was joyned unto this, and the same moved by the Consul Q. *Martius*. That as touching those
 "persons whom the Consul had for the informers and revealers of this matter, the full authority
 "in disposing of them, should be wholly referred to the Senat, so soon as *Sp. Posthumius* had fini-
 "shed his inquisition, and was returned to Rome. As for *Cerinius* the Campane, they ordained
 "F that he should be sent to *Ardea* there to lie in prison, and that the Magistrats of *Ardea* should
 "have a charge given them beforehand to look to their prisoner more straightly, that neither he
 "brake prison and made an escape, nor yet might have means and opportunity to make himself a-
 "way. After a certain time *Sp. Posthumius* came to Rome again, and when he put to question be-
 "fore the Senat, concerning the reward of *P. Ebutius*, and *Hippola Festus*, for that by their means
 "the Bacchanals were discovered, there passed an act and decree, That the Treasurers of the City
 "should deliver unto them out of the City Chamber 100000 asses apiece. Also that the Consuls
 "should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons for to prefer a bill unto the people, as soon as
 "possibly they might that *P. Ebutius* for ever might be exempt from fondlicity, and have his pension
 "and fee as if he had accomplished his term of service by law required, so as he neither were com-
 "pelled to go to warfare against his will, nor the Consuls should assign unto him a publicke horse
 "G of service. Moreover, that *Festus* might have the liberty and power to make a deed of gift or
 "alienation of her goods unto whom he pleased, yea and spend the same and do therewith
 "what he thought good. Item, That the might be wedded out of her own family into what house
 "she would her self, and make choice of her tutor and patron to her own liking and contentment,
 "and her husband by his will and testament had so ordained and set down. Item, That she might
 "be wedded to one of frank condition or freeborn and that he who had espoused and married her,

should not thereby sustain discredit, or receive damage. Finally, that not only the *Col* and *Prators* H now in place, but also those hereafter to come, should provide and take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but secure her from all harm. This the *Senat* judged meet and requirit to be done. All these things were likewise propounded unto the *Com*, and executed according to the ordinance of the *Senat*. Finally, as touching both the impunity and also the recompence of other the *Innomers*, it was referred to the discretion of the *Comius*.

By this time *Q. Martius* also having finished the inquisition in his circuit and quarter, made preparation to go into his Province of *Liguria*, after he had received for to supply and make up his legions 3000 foot, and 150 horsemen Romans, besides 5000 footmen and 200 horse of Latins. The same Province with the like number as well of horse as foot, was decreed likewise unto his companion in government. Those armies they took charge of which the former year *C. Fl. Minius* I and *M. Aemilius* the *Col*, had: moreover, by an act of the *Senat* enjoynd they were to enroll two new legions besides: and withall they levied of the Latine allies 20000 foot, and 3000 horse: 3000 footmen also and 200 horsemen Romans. All these forces (setting aside the legions) it was thought good to be led to furnish out the army in *Spain*. And therefore the *Col*, whences they were themselves in person occupied upon about the forelaid inquisitions, gave command unto *T. Menius* to take the musters. And when those enquests were performed and done as is beforelaid, *Q. Martius* took his journey forth of the ewain towards the *se* ret and blind passes, wherein at all times they had their lurking retreats and places of late retreat: within those freights and passages which the enemies had seized before, he was environed by them in a place of great disadvantage where he lost 4000 K foundiers: with three ensigns of the *se* and legion, and eleven banners of the *L*. time allies which were all taken by the enemies. Also much armour and many weapons were thrown away there and there, by reason that they were embredmereth as they fled through the woody paths of the forest: neither did the *Ligurians* give over their chase, before that the Roman ended their flight. The *Conful* so soon as he was escaped out of the enemies territory sent his army away into divers parts of the peaceable country to the end, that it might not feel the same much his losses were empained, yet could not he for all that suppress and smother the bruit that was blown abroad of his unfortunat journey, nor cancel the remembrance of the overthrow: for ever after, the forest out of which the *Ligurians* humed him was called The freights of *Martius*. A little before the news of the affairs in *Liguria*, the letters out of *Spain* were read containing sorrow L mixed with joy: to wit, That *C. Catinus*, who two years before went as *Prator* into that Province, fought a field with the *Luitan*, in the territory of *Albis*, where 6000 enemies fell upon the sword: and the rest were discomfited put to flight and driven out of their camp. Afterwards, he conducted his legions to the assault of the town *Albis*, which he forced and won wither greater ado than before he gained their camp. But as he approached near the wall and took no good heed to himself, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few daies died. Upon the reading of these letters (importing the death of the *Pro-Prator*) the *Senat* was of advice to dispatch an messenger (to overtake the *Prator* *C. Calphurnius*) as far as the port of *Luna*, and give him to understand from the *Senat* that their advice was, he should make all the haste he could in his journey, to the end that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The courier M which was sent, within four daies arrived at *Luna*: and but few daies before, *Calphurnius* was departed and had put himself in his journey.

Moreover, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his Province at the same time that *C. Catinus* went) struck a battell likewise with the *Celiberians* in the higher Province of *Spain*, but they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtfull victory: have only that the *Celiberians* the next night following dislodged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had liberty and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the spoils of their enemies. And within few daies after the same *Celiberians* having raised a more puissant army, of themselves gave the Romans battell near the city *Calagurris*. It is not set down in the history, what should be the cause why they were the weaker, considering their number was re-enforced: but foiled they were in fight and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000 and not so few as 2000 taken prisoners: and the Romans likewise were Masters of the camp. And had not *Manlius* been impeached and restrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed) by the coming of *Calphurnius* his successor in government, the *Celiberians* had been utterly subdued. The new *Prators* withheld both armistice to their wint'ring harbors.

At the same time that these news came out of *Spain*, the plaies called *Taurilia* were exhibited two daies together in honour of the gods. And after them *M. Fulvius* set out (with great furniture in sumptuous manner for the space of ten days) his plaies which he had vowed in the *Ætolian* war. And for to do him honour and grace this solemnity, many cunning actors and players came out of *Greece*. This was the first time that there was represented at *Rome* the show of champions and wrestlers for the best game: then also was exhibited the pastime of hunting and baiting Lions and Panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great magnificence and variety almost as the modern pastimes and games in these daies. After all this was holden a Novendia feast: during which, there was much sacrificing and all by occasion that for three daies it rained stones in the *Picene* country: and because it was reported, that the lightning in divers places, and in sundry sorts, had blasted and lightly singed the garments especially of many folk, To

A To the said feast, there was adjoynd a supplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddess *Ops* (standing in the Capitol) was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the *Col* procured expiation by sacrificing greater heatts, and so they purged and hallowed the City. At the same time word was brought out of *Ætolia*, that there was an *Hermaphrodite* or *Scat* found almost twelve years old. This was held for a detestable monster: and therefore order was given, that it should be kept out of the territory of *Kentis*, and killed out of hand.

The same year, certain Gauls from beyond the *Alps* passed into the territory of *Venec* without foraging, spoiling, and using any hostility; and not far from the place where as now *Agueda* standeth they seized upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embassadors were sent about this matter beyond the *Alps*: where they received this intelligence and answer from the inhabitants of the country, That neither those Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation neither knew they what they did in this.

L. Scipio likewise about the same time, let out his plaies for ten daies together: for which he said that he had made a vow during the time of the war against *Antiochus*: & he desired the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers *KK*, and States for that purpose. *Valerius Antius* writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiscated and sold he was sent in Embassage into *Albis*, for to take up certain controversies and differences between the two *KK*, *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*: and then it was (saith he) that the said contribution was made, and many skillful artificers and plaies gathered unto him out of all *Albis*, and in the end, under this Embassage, he moved the *Senat* for these games, because he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the said war: by occasion whereof (by *Valerius* his saying) he vowed them.

The year being now at an end, *Q. Martius* in his absence was to leave his Magistracy: & *Q. Posthumus* having fate upon the inquisition aforelaid, and with all diligence and careful diligence, that might be brought in to an end, held the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates: wherein were chosen *Col*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. And the morrow after were elected for *Prators*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, *C. Asinius Sella*, *C. Atilius Serranus*, *L. Posthumus Tappianus*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the years end upon the relation of *Sp. Posthumus* the *Col*, that in his visitation about the enquests aforelaid, as he rode along the sea coasts of Italy on both sides, he found certain Colonies dispeopled and desolate, to wit, *Spartum* upon the *Adriatick* sea, and *Excentum* upon the *Tisican*. *T. Manius* the City *Prator* by virtue of an act new inhabitants there, namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tullius* and *C. Rabius Tappianus*.

The war against King *Perseus* and the *Macedonians*, which now was a breeding arose not upon that cause & occasion which most men imagine, nor yet from *Perseus* himself: for the first groundwork thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if he had lived longer, would have been seen in open action. One thing there was above the rest which stung him, at what time as the Romans imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished to wit, That the *Senat* laid a bar for to be revenged of those *Macedonians* who had revolted from him: which he despaired not but it had been possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that *Quintius* in the capitulations of peace reserved that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwards, when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battel of *Thermopylae*, and that both *Philip* & the *Col* contented upon the several exploits: *Achilus* went in hand to assault *Heraclea*, and *Philip* at the same time the City of *Lamia*. *Heraclea* was no sooner forced, but *Philip* had commandment to levy his siege before *Lamia*, and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit the *Col*, appealed his challenge for the time, in that making haste in person to *Naupactum* (unto which town the *Ætolians* alter their rout were retired) he suffered *Philip* to upon which town the *Ætolians* alter to adjoyne also and lay unto his kingdom: those Cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Thessalians*. Now had *Philip* chased *Aminander* out of *A. Eonina* and won certain Cities without any great

ther, with the nation of the *Magnetes* he brought under his obedience. After this, he forced certain towns in *Albis*, which were troubled with the seditious variance of their principal and great peronages: by reason that they knew not how to use their new liberty, wherewith they had not been acquainted: he won those Cities (I say) taking part with those, who in this civil dissension were the weaker, and otherwise would have gone to the walls. By these means the wrath of the King against the Romans was well allayed for the present: nevertheless he ceased not all the time of peace to be think how he might gather more strength, and be able to war again, whensoever any good occasion should be presented unto him. He increased therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth, and setting import and customs upon all merchandise brought into his Realm by sea from foreign parts: but also revived the *revers* & issues of the old mines which had discontinued, yea, & in many places ordained new. Moreover, to replenish his country, which by many calamities following was, was dispeopled, he not only took order that his subjects should multiply by forcing them to get, breed, and bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of *Thracians* into *America*; and for a good time wherein he was in repose and rest from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed all his study how to make himself great, and augment the puissance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his stomach, and kindle his anger against

the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perrhaebians made for that their Cities were by him possessed, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King *Eumenes* laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the Romans: so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the Senat most was this, That they had intelligence how he intended to be Lord of *Aenus* and *Maroneas*: for the Thessalians they took less regard of them. Moreover there came the embassadors of *Athamania*, who complained not for the loss of some part of their territory, nor that he encroached upon their frontiers, but that all *Athamania* full and whole, was reduced under the subjection and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of *Maronea*, who had been chased out of the City by the Kings garrison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty) made relation, that not only *Maronea* was in the hands of *Philip*, but the City of *Aenus* also. Likewise there came Embassadors from *Philip*, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge, who averred, That their King and Master had done nothing but by commission and warrant from the Roman General. They pleaded and alledged, that the case of the Thessalian, Perrhaebian, and Magnesian Cities yea, and the whole nation of *Athamania* together with *Aminander*, was all one with the *Ætolians*: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chased and expelled, the Col, himself being employed and occupied in besieging the City of *Ætolia*, sent *Philip* to recover the States above named, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the Senat, because they would not determine and let down any thing in the absence of the King, sent three Delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Caelius Metellus*, *M. Banius Lampilius*, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whose arrival, there was published a general Diet of all those States that were at difference with the King to be holden at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*. When they were all met there in council, the Roman Legats, as umpires and judges, the Thessalians, Perrhaebians, and Athamans as plaintiffs and accusers, and *Philip* as defendant to hear and receive the challenges and accusations against him: the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded against *Philip* bitterly or mildly, more or less according to the several disposition or their natures, and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him. Now all the question and debate touching *Philopopolis*, *Lyceas*, *Pholioris*, *Eumeneia*, and other towns about them was this. Whether those pieces, considering the *Ætolians* won and held them by force (& well known it was, that *Philip* had taken them from the *Ætolians*) belonged in right to the Thessalians of appertained of old time to the *Ætolians*? for *Aetolus* had granted them unto the K, upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the apperturances of the *Ætolians*, and if they combined and took part with the *Ætolians* willingly of their own accord and not by constraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversy of the Perrhaebian and Magnesian towns. For the *Ætolians* had brought a confusion in all their tenures, by reason that they held and possessed those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these substantial points properly to be decided, the Thessalians came in with their complaints also: For "that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them yet) he should render them spoiled, naked, and desolat, for over and besides those who miscarried by casualty of war, *Philip* had carried away into *Macedony* 500, even the principal flower of their youth, and abused them like slaves in putting them to base minitries & servile drudgeries, and look whatsoever by compulsion he redelivered to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should be good for nothing. As for example (say they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for much traffick and merchandise was in times past gainfull and commodious to the Thessalians, and brought them great revenues and profits. But *Philip* had turned the staple and all the trade and negotiation by sea from thence to *Demetrias*, and having got bulks and hoys, caused them to bank and pass by *Thebes* and direct their course for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not so much as hold his hands from evil entreating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable. For he foretold them in ambush as they were in their journey to *T. Quintus*, by which means the Thessalians all in general were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are content off, but an imperious Lord they have that sitteth over on their skirts, and pricketh them continually in the sides, and will not suffer them to live and enjoy the benefits granted them by the people of *Rome*. For take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they left? And even at this present for all the assurance and confidence they have in the privilege of Embassadors, they rather sigh and groan out their words, than speak frankly, and parley with liberty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good sort, that both the Greeks remaining in *Macedony* may be void of fear, and *Philip* also curbed and kept short for being too bold, it will be to no purpose at all, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse, that will not be ruled with a gentle bridle. In this sharp and eager manner dealt the last where- as the former had used fair language to appease and mollifie his anger, by being his grace to pardon them in case they spake their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and Master to bear himself like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and that to imitate, who chose rather to gain associates by love, than constrain them by fear. After audience given to the Thessalians, the Perrhaebians came in place, and alledged that *Gonoscodon-*

A "that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have a new and *Eumeneia* again. Then the Athamans put in, and spake for their liberty, and to have the ports of *Ætolia* and *Poetum* redrend unto them. *Philip* because he would seem more like a plaintiff than a defendant, & to accuse rather than to be accused, began himself also with complaint, he told them himself grieved, that the Thessalians had won by force of arms the City *Atolus* in *Thessaly*, that the apperturances belonging to his kingdom, *Ascom*, that the same Thessalians and the Perrhaebians together had forced *Pera* in *Pieria*, *Ascom*, that the same Thessalians and the Perrhaebians they had indeed laid it unto his leignory, but *Perrhaebians* which should be under *Philip*, & by no right in the world was annexed to the Thessalians & comprised within their charter. B "as touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me so odiously, namely, of laying await for the Embassadors of frequenting those port-towns or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockery and ridiculous thing: namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants and mariners sail unto or arrive at: the other is clean adelic & contrary to my nature & that which I never could abide to practice. For these many years (quoth he) Embassadors have never ceased and given over, to inform grievous matters against me to the Roman Generals and to the Senat at *Rome*: and which of them ever to this day hath had more than a foul word given again unto him from me? Supposed & objected it is, that once they were tormented by the way as they were going to *Quintus*, but it is not laid withall what happened unto them. This manner of dealing & a consolation's worth of quarrellers: that fair would I have somewhat to say, & it never to false when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. These Thessalians beyond all measure able to be kindred: & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & starting as men who had endured a long drought, they drink over-greedily, pouring in their liberty & nothing else to it and know not when to make an end, and to break their draught: Like, for all the world to bondslave suddenly set at freedom beyond their hope and expectation. whole manner is to break out into bro, & terms and licentious language and cannot contain but revile an arrant at their very Milder. And at last, in a furious fit of choler he burst forth into these words. That the sin was not let and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again, this minatory speech of his nor eny the Thessalians took to themselves but the Roman also construed as a plan at them. Upon the words arose some bruit and murmuring in the assembly, but being in the end appeased & stilled, he answered D the agents for the Perrhaebians and Athamans in this wise "That the sale and condition of those Cities for which they stood, was one and the same, namely, that the Col, *Antiochus* and the Romans passed them unto him by a deed of gift: as having aforetime belonged to their enemies. Now if they who have given, will also take away the same, then (quoth he) I must needs quit my men of no regard and good for nothing, do more and manifest wrong to a far better and more faithful friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankless and less while accepted than liberty, especially with them who know no how to use it, & by abuse thereof will soon spill the grace of such a benefit. Then the Roman Delegates, having heard the reason and allegations of both parties pronounced sentence, That the Macedonian garrisons should quit the Cities above said, and the Realm of *Macedony* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another, there was a form and course of law to be set down which should contain a process and manner, how the matters between the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and composed. Hereat the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates were their waies toward *Thessalonica*, to visit likewise the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their causes; where the Embassadors of King *Eumenes* made a speech to this effect. "If the pleasure of the Romans be that the two Cities *Aenus* and *Maronea* shall be free, it is not for us in modesty to say any more, but advertise & admonish them to leave the same in real and not in verbal liberty, and not suffer a gift by them granted to be impeached or intercepted by another. But if they have less care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*, yet more meet and reason it is that those places which sometimes were subject unto *Antiochus*, should fall to *Eumenes* rather than to *Philip*: by way of recompence for war-service in regard as well of the merits of his father *Attalus* during the war against *Philip*, as of his own deserts, who during the war with *Antiochus*, was personally present in all travels & dangers both by sea and land. And to this effect he hath besides an award of the ten Delegates passed already beforehand, who in the grant and donation of *Chersonesus* & *Lysimachia*, have no doubt given *Maronea* & *Aenus* likewise to be as dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and neighborhood of those other Cities. For as concerning *Philip*, what hath he deserved at the hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of leignory can he pretend, why he should plant garrisons in these Cities so far remote & distant as they be from the frontiers of *Macedony*? I wish ye would call for the Maronites, and hear what they can say, who are able to inform you more fully and certainly in all respect of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the Embassadors of the Maronites called in: who affirmed That the King had a garrison not in one place only of their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof: & one time to as *Maronea* was pestered full with Macedonians. And there they say they the Kings tutors and flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway, & by one means or other, may be allowed to speak

the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perrhæbians made for that their H Cities were by him possessed, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King Eumenes laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the Romans: so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the Senat most, was this, That they had intelligence how he intended to be Lord of *Ætoliæ* and *Macedonia*: as for the Thessalians, they took less regard of them. Moreover there came the Embassadors of *Albania*, who complained not for the loss of some part of their territory, nor that he encroached upon their frontiers, but that all *Albania* full and whole, was reduced under the subjection and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of *Macedonia*, who had been chased out of the City by the Kings garrison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty) made relation, that not only *Macedonia* was in the hands of Philip, but the City of *Ænus* also. Likewise there came Embassadors from Philip, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge, who averred, That their King and Master had done nothing but by commission and warrant from the Roman General. They pleaded and alleged, that the case of the Thessalian, Perrhæbian, and Magnesian Cities yea, and the whole nation of *Albania* together with *Aminander*, was all one with the *Ætoliæ*: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chased and expelled, the Col himself being employed and occupied in besieging the City of *Ætoliæ*, sent Philip to recover the States above named, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the Senat, because they would not determine and let down any thing in the absence of the King, sent three Delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Cælius Metellus*, *M. Baebius Lampilius*, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whose arrival, there was published a general Diet of all those States that were at difference with the King to be holden at *Tempe* in Thessaly. When they were all set there in council, the Roman Legats as umpires and judges, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamans as plaintiffs and accusers, and Philip as defendant to hear and receive the challenges and accusations against him: the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded against Philip bitterly or mildly, more or less according to the several disposition of their natures, and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him. Now all the question and debate touching *Philippolis*, *Tricca*, *Phaloria*, *Eumeneia*, and other towns about them was this, Whether those pieces, considering the *Ætoliæ* won and I did them by force (as well known it was, that Philip had taken them from the *Ætoliæ*) belonged in right to the *Ætoliæ*: or appertained of old time to the *Ætoliæ*: for *Acilius* had granted them unto the K, upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the *Ætoliæ*, and if they combined and took part with the *Ætoliæ* willingly of their own accord and not by constraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversy of the Perrhæbian and Magnesian towns. For the *Ætoliæ* had brought a confusion in all their tenures, by reason that they held and possessed those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these substantial points properly to be decided, the Thessalians came in with their complaints also: For that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them yet) he should render them spoiled, naked, and desolate. For over and besides those who miscarried by casualty of war, Philip had carried away into *Macedonia* 500, even the principall flower of their youth, and abused them like slaves in putting them to base ministeries & servile drudgeries, and look whatsoever by compulsion he redelivered to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should be good for nothing. As for example (say they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for much traffick and merchandise, was in times past gainfull and commodious to the Thessalians, and brought them great revenues and profits. But Philip had turned the staple and all the trade and negotiation by sea from thence to *Demetrias*, and having got hulks and hoys, cauled them to bank and pass by *Thebes*, and direct their course for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not so much as hold his hands from evil entreating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable. For he foreclosed them in ambush as they were in their journey to *T. Quintus*. By which means the Thessalians all in general were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are so off, but an imperious Lord they have that fitteth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them continually in the sides, and will not suffer them to use and enjoy the benefits granted them by the people of *Rome*. For take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they left? And even at this present for all the assurance and confidence they have in the privilege of Embassadors, they rather sigh and groan out their words, than speak frankly, and parley with liberty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good sort, that both the Greeks remaining in *Macedonia* may be void of fear, and Philip also curb'd and kept short for being so bold, it will be to no purpose at all, either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse, that will not be ruled with a gentle snaffle. In this sharp and eager manner dealt the last where- as the former had used fair language to appease and mollifie his anger, byceiving his grace to pardon them in case they spake their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and Master to bear himself like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and to imitate, who chose rather to gain associates by love, than to constrain them by fear. After audience given to the Thessalians the Perrhæbians came in place, and alleged that *Gommoedus*

A "In a City which Philip named *Olympia* belonged in right to Perrhæbia: & carnell they were, that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have *Ænus* and *Eumeneia* again. Then the Athamans put in, and spake for their liberty, and to have the ports of *Ætoliæ* and *Pæstum* rendered unto them. Philip because he would seem more to be a plaintiff than a defendant & to accuse rather than to be accused, began himself also with complaint. He told how himself grieved, that the Thessalians had won by force of arms the City *Ænus* in *Thessaly*: that the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom, *Ism*, had the same Thessalians and the Perrhæbians together had forced *Pæra* in *Pieria*. As for *Ænus*, an *Ætolian* town without all question they had indeed laid it unto his seignory, but Perrhæbians which should be under *Ænus* by no right in the world was annexed to the Thessalians & comprised within their charter. B "As touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me to do, namely, of laying await for the Embassadors of frequenting those port-towns or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockery and ridiculous thing: namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants and mariners sail unto or arrive at: the other is clean contrary to my nature & that which I never could abide to practice. For these many years (quod he) Embassadors have never ceased and given over, to inform grievous matters against me to the Roman Generals and to the Senat at *Rome*: & which of them ever to this day hath had so much as a foul word given again unto him from me? Supposed & objected it is, that once they were tormented by the way as they were going to *Quintus*, but it is not laid withal what happened unto them. This manner of dealing & a confusion of voerth of quarrellers: that fair would I have somewhat to say, & it never to fail, when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. These Thessalians beyond all measure abate the kindness & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & starting as men who had endured a long drought, they drink over-greedily, pouring in their liberty & nothing else to it, and know not when to make an end, and to break their draught: Like, for all the world to bondslave suddenly at a freedom beyond their hope and expectation. whole manner is to break out into bro, terms and licentious language and cannot contain but revile anarist at their very Muler. And at last, in a furious fit of choler he burst forth into these words. That the sin was not let and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again, this minatory speech of his nor eny the Thessalians took to themselves but the Roman Delegates, having heard the reason and allegations of both parties pronounced sentence, That the Macedonian garrisons should quit the Cities above said, and the Realm of *Macedonia* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another there was a form and course of law to be set down, which should contain a process and manner, how the matters between the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and composed. Hereat the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates went their waies toward Thessalonica to visit likewise the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their causes; where the Embassadors of King Eumenes made a speech to this effect. "If the pleasure of the Romans be that the two Cities *Ænus* and *Macedonia* shall be free, it is not for us in modestly to say any more, but advertise & admonish them to leave the time in real and not in verbal liberty, and not suffer a gift by them granted to be impeached or interpreted by another. But if they have less care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*, yet more meet and reason it is that those pieces which sometimes were subject unto *Antiochus*, should fall to Eumenes rather than to Philip: by way of recompence for war-service in regard as well of the merits of his father *Attalus* during the war against Philip, as of his own desert, who during the war with *Antiochus*, was personally present in all travels & dangers, both by sea and land. And to this effect he hath besides an award of the ten Delegates passed already before-hand, who in the grant and donation of *Chersonesus* & *Lysimachia*, have no doubt given *Macedonia* & *Ænus* likewise to be a dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and neighborhood of those other Cities. For as concerning Philip, what hath he deserved at the hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of seignory can he pretend, why he should plant garrisons in these Cities so far remote & distant as they be from the frontiers of *Macedonia*? I wish ye would call for the Maronians, and hear what they can say, who are able to inform you more fully and certainly in all respect of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the Ambassadors of the Maronians called in: who affirmed That the king had a garrison not in one place only of their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof at one time: so as *Macedonia* was pestered full with Macedonians. And therefore say they the Kings favorites and flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway, and one but they may be allowed to speak

"speak both in Senat at the Council-table, and in general assemblies before the people: they go
away with all honours & dignities, & either are invested therein themselves, or else confer them
upon whom they please. The best men, who stand either for defence of freedom, or in mainte-
nance of the laws, either are driven their country and banished, or fit a cold & blow their nails,
for any advancement they come unto; & being subject and thrall to persons of no worth, stand
like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they said moreover as touching the right of the
limits to wit, That *Q. Fabius Labco*, at what time as he was in those parts, confined *Philip* within
the bounds of the old Kings street or high way, which directly leadeth to *Paroreia* in *Thrace*, and
in no place declineth toward the sea: but *Philip* afterwards had made a new cauley, and drawn it
with a compais about, within which he empaled and took in the Cities & territories also of the
Maronites. To these challenges *Philip* began far otherwise, than he did of late against the Theffali-
ans and Perthebians, and in this wise he spake: "I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either
with the Maronites or *Eumenis*; but now at this present I am to contest even with you (my Ma-
sters of *Rome*) at whose hands I have seen thus long that I can obtain no reason and equity. I
thought it meet and right, that the Macedonian Cities, which had revolted from me during the
time of truce, should be rendered again unto me: not for any great encrease of feignery that
thereby should have accrued unto my kingdom (for small towns they are, god wot, and situate up-
on the utmost frontiers) but because their precedent and example might have imported much,
to retain the rest of the Macedonians in their duty and allegiance. In no wise it would be gran-
ted, During the Aetolian war, I was enjoyed by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege and assault the
City *Lamia*: and after I had been toiled out and wearied with maintaining skirmishes, raising
fabricks, planting ordnance and engines against it, even when I was at the very point to scale
the walls and force the City, the Col. reclaimed and called me away, yea, and compelled me to
levy the siege, and withdraw my forces from thence. And for to make me some part of amends
for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain small piles and forts,
rather than Cities of *Thessaly*, *Perrhabia*, and *Athamania*. And even those also, may I say unto
you *Q. Caecilius*, ye have taken from me within these few daies. And now forsooth of late, the
Emballadors of *Eumenis* also (and God will) have premeditated upon this as a thing granted and
without all question, That more reason it is for *Eumenis* to have & enjoy that which belonged
to *Antiochus*, than for me, But my judgment is far otherwise. And why? *Eumenis* could never
have continued in his Realm, unless the Romans, I will not say, had vanquished *K. Antiochus*,
but surely if they had not waged war against him, And therefore is he indebted unto you, and
you no waies beholden unto him, As for my kingdom, so far was it off that any part or quarter
of it should be in hazard and jeopardy: that when *Antiochus* of his own meer motion offered
to buy my society with three thousand talents, and fifty covered ships of war, together with
all those Cities in *Greece* which I held in possession aforesaid: I refused all, and disdained his
alliance, yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his army into
Greece, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consul, was employed in what part
of the war, which he charged and laid upon me. Also when *L. Scipio* the Consul suc-
ceeded, determined to lead his army by land to *Hellaspont*, I not only gave him leave to pass
peaceably through my Realm, but also caused the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridges
to be made against his coming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals, And this did
I, not in *Macedony* alone, but also throughout all *Thrace*, where among other matters, this
was not of least importance and consequence, to restrain those barbarous nations there, from
running upon them, and to keep them in peace and quietness. In consideration now of this
kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought ye Romans
in re:son to give me somewhat that I have, to augment and encrease my dominion by your
largels and munificence or, to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own
right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confels to have been parcels of
my kingdom are not restored unto me, *Eumenis* on the other side, he comes to make spoil of
me, as if I were *Antiochus*, and (mark I pray you the device of it) he pretendeth a decree of the
ten delegates to colour his most shameless, impudent & cautious falsehood; even that by which
himself may be most refuted and convicted. For in very exprels and plain terms it is thus writ-
ten, That *Cheironneus* & *Lysimachia* are given to *Eumenis*. Where I pray you, and in what cor-
ner of the instrument and patent stand *Enus*, *Maronea*, and the Cities of *Thrace*? Shall he ob-
tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from those ten Delegates, which
he never durst so much as once demand and require of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth so
much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpose be to persecute me as an
enemy and mortal foe, spare not, but go on till ye have begun: but if you respect me as an
King, as your ally and friend, I beseech you, repute me not worthy of so notorious and mani-
fest a wrong. This Oration of the King in some measure moved the Commissioners, and there-
fore by framing a mean and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspense undecided.
If (I say they) the Cities in question were given to *Eumenis*, by vertue of a decree fell down
by the ten Delegates, we will not change nor alter any thing therein. But in case *Philip* acqui-
red them by Conquest and force of arms, he should have held them as the gerdion of his
victory. If neither, we are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall
be referred over to the Senat: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garrisons in those

A "those Cities, shall be withdrawn and dep. rt. These, I say, were the causes that principally estran-
ged the affection of *Philip* from the Romans, and wrought discontentment in his heart: in so-
much, as evident it is, that the war was not enterpried by his son *Perseus*, upon any new quar-
rels and fresh occasion: but upon these motives left unto him by his father to be pursued.

No suspicion was there at *Rome* of a Macedonian war; *L. Metellus* the Pro. Consul was returned
out of *Spain*: and when he demanded a triumph of the Senat assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*,
the same in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained; but for example
sake it was not granted. For an order it was in *Rome*, by an ancient custome of their forefathers,
that no man might triumph, who brought not his army back with him unless he left unto his suc-
cessour the Province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, *Marius* was allowed an indiffe-
rent honour, namely, to enter into the City by way of Ovation. In which solemnity he had born
before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover, in gold a hundred
thirty two pound weight, and in silver six thousand three hundred. Also, he pronounced aloud in
the Senat, that *Q. Fabius* the Queltor was coming, and brought with him ten thousand pound
weight more of silver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the Chamber of
the City.

That year a great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in *Apulia*. *L. Posthu-
mus* the Prator had the government of *Tarentum*, and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew
of certain herdmen and graziers, who had conspired together, and aimed to rob by the high-way
side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City; which Commission he followed with
C. such severity and rigor, that he condemned 7000 of them. Many elaped and fled, but many were
executed and suffered death. As for the C. s, long were they kept in the City of *Rome*, about the le-
vy of soldiery, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The same year, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Quinctius* the Prators in *Spain*, having in the beginning of
the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintering holds, and joyned their forces together
in *Beturia*, advanced forward into *Carpantium*, (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolu-
tion to manage and conduct the war with one joint mind and common council together. Not far
from the Cities *Hippon* and *Toletum*, there began a skirmish between the foragers of both parts,
that were gone forth to make provision: seconded they were from the one camp and the other,
by flames whereof, the whole armies of both sides by little and little, came forth into the field to
D strike a full battell. In this tumultuary skirmish, the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground
wherein they were embattelled as of the manner of fight and service. By reason whereof, both
the Roman armies were discomfited and driven back into their camp: but the enemies pressed
not upon them, notwithstanding they were put in great fright and much disordered. The Rom-
ans, in great secret and silence, the morrow after should be assailed, dislodged in the night be-
fore break of day, the Spaniards in ordinance of battell approached the trench and rampier: and be-
ing entred within the camp (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expecta-
tion) they rifled and rancked all that the Romans left behind them, whilst they made haste away
in the night season: from whence the enemies returned to their own camp, and there for certain
E daies abode in handing leaguer and stilled rest. In that battell and in the chase together, there
were slain of Romans and allies 7000: and with the spoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed
themselves: from thence they marched to the river *Tagus*. The Roman Prators in the mean sea-
son employed all that time to levy and assemble new forces out of the Confederate Cities of *Spain*,
and in comforting and encour. ging the hearts of their own soldiery after their fright, upon this
adverse conflict and unlucky foil. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a sufficient
power, and took themselves strong enough, and that the soldiery also desired to be doing with
the enemy, for to rale out and cancell the former ignomy and disgrace, they encamped twelve
miles from the river *Tagus* aforesaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their
standards, and marching in a four square battell, by day light they were come to the bank of the
F river (now were the enemies lodged upon a little mount beyond the water:) and incontinently
they waded through with their arms, *Calpurnius*
on the right hand, and *Quinctius* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and mo-
ved not: but in the mean time, while as they wondered at their sudden coming, and devied how
to trouble and disorder the soldiery as they should make haste to pass the river, the Romans
had transported over themselves, and their bag and baggage also, yea, and brought all together
into one place. And because they perceived by this time the enemy to stir and remove, and
had no time to fortifie their camp, they put themselves in battell array. In the midst stood the
fifth legion of *Calpurnius*, and the eighth of *Quinctius*, which was the very flower and strength
of the whole army. Now they had a fair open plain all the way between them and the enemies
G camp, so as there was no cause to fear any ambush. The Spaniards so soon as they espied two ar-
mies of their enemies upon that side of the bank which was next to them: all at once lifted out
of their camp and ran to battell: to the end that they might surpris and empeach them be-
fore they could joyn and range themselves together. The fight was sharp and hot in the begin-
ning: for the Spaniards of the one side were pushed up with the com. et and pride of their late
victory: and the Romans of the other were galled and incensed for anger of a dishonour
received, which they were not used unto. The battell in the midst (consisting of two most valiant
and

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The Consuls having finished the levy of soldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be done in *Rome*, led the army into their Province of *Liguria*. *Sempronius* departed from *Pisa*, and made a journey against the Aspan Ligurians; whereby, waiting their territories and burning their towns and fortresses, he made way into the forest, and opened the passages as far as to the river *Macra* and the port of *Luna*. The enemies took a certain mound (an ancient hold) where their ancestors sometimes had fortified themselves: but from thence they were by force dispossessed, by reason that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues thertoe. *Asp. Claudius* likewise for so much that the Romans overcame the good fortune to his College, as having fought certain prosperous battles with the Ligurian Inguames. He forced besides six towns of theirs, and took many thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and forty to lose their heads.

[illegible]

A together with his brother beſtirred himſelf, and without his Liſters attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place : notwithstanding the advetiories, yea and the molt of the Senators cried out upon him, and ſaid, That he ought to conſider and remember rather that he was the Col, of the people of Rome, than brother to P. Claudius : Why then fat he not ſtill in the Tribunal either as preſident and judge of the court aſſembled, or elſe as a beholder and ſpectator only, without ſaying any word himſelf ? Howbeit, he could not poſſibly be reclaimed from this diſordinate affection of his which he ſhewed in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times alſo troubled with the great debates and contentions cauſed by the Tribuns of the Commons : whiles ſome of them ſpake againſt the Col, others again maintained his ſuit, and took part with him, But in the end, Fabius took the foil, and Appius went away with the game, or B his brother, So P. Claudius Pulcher was created Col, beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for, L. Porcius Licinius held his own, and obtained the ſecond place in his courſe ; for that the Commoners went moderately to work, & ſhewed not ſo much affection and forcible means as Claudius did. After this, was holden the election of Pretors. And choſen there were, C. Decimus Flavius, P. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Naſius Annibal, C. Sempronius Blaſius, and A. Terentius Varro. Thus much concerning the acts achieved both at home in the City, and abroad in the war, that year wherein App. Claudius and M. Sempronius were Conſuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which P. Claudius and L. Fortius bare the Consulship, when as Q. Caelius M. Rabius and T. Sempronius (who had been sent to hear and decide the controversies between the two Kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the States of Theſſaly) had made re-
C to enter into their embassages; they permitted likewise the Embassadors of the said Princes and Cities, to enter into the Senat. Who related the self-same things again, which had been alledged before in the preſence of the ſoleſaid Legats in Greece. After this, the LL. of the Senat addreſſed another new embage into Macedonia and Greece, whereof App. Claudius was the chief for to visit and ſee, whether the Cities adjoined and affigned to the Rhodians, Theſſalians, and Perthabians were delivered unto them accordingly. They alſo had in charge to cauſe the garriſons to quit Eumens and Maronea, and to look that all the ſea-coaſt of Thracia, were freed from the ſubjection of Philip and the Macedonians. They were enjoyed moreover to go into Peloponneſus, from whence the former embage was departed in more doubtful terms than if they had never gone thither. For-
over and beſides other things they were ſent away without any anſwer for their diſpatch: and al-
D be they requeſted the Achæans for to aſſemble their general Diet; they might not obtain it. For which, when as Q. Caelius found himſelf diſcontented and grievouſly complained, and the Lacedæ-
monians withall made pitious moan that the walls of their City were demolithed and rased, the common people lead away in captivity into Achaia, and theſe fold, and the laws of Lycorgus taken
from them, under which their City and Common-weal until that day had been maintained and
governed: the Achæans excuſed themſelves moſt of all for the imputation of reſuſing to hold a
Council; and to that purpoſe they rehearſed a Law and Ordinance, whereby they were forbid-
den expreſſly to call and publiſh a Diet, unleſs it were in the caſe of laying war and contracting
of peace, upon occaſion that any embassadors came directly unto them from the Senat of Rome
with letters, or commiſſion in writing. But for that this manner of excuſe ſhould not ſerve their
E turn again afterwards, the Senat gave them plainly to underſtand, that they ought to take care
and order that the Roman Embassadors might at all times have means of free acceſs to their
Councils, like as they alſo reciprocally ſhould have a Senat hold for their ſakes, as often as they
would themſelves.

After these embassies were departed, *Philip* was advertised by his Embassadors, that there was no remedy but he must abandon those Cities, and withdraw his garrisons: and herewith being mightily offended & angered against all, yet he discharged his choler only upon the Maronites, Unto *Oromastus*, warden of the ports and Eux-coasts he gave commandment to kill the chief of the adverse part. And he by the means of *Cassander*, one of the Kings supplicants and favorites, who a long time had dwelt in *Macedonia*, procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night: & there he committed murder and massacre, as if it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embassadors made complaint to him, namely of such outrages committed so cruelly against the guiltless Maronites, and so proudly and insolently against the people of *Rome*; in that they should be killed and cut in pieces as enemies, unto whom the Senat had ordained restitution of their freedom, he made answer and said, that neither himself, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another; whilst some of the Citizens drew to him, and others enlisted to King *Emenes*. Whiche way may (qd. he) soon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronites themselves: for this account he gave, that whilst they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him. *Appius* replied again, and said, that they were not to make an enquiry in this convenient and notorious case, as if it were in any remote & doubtful: but if he would discharge and clear himself as innocent of the action, he should send to *Rome* *Oromastus* and *Cassander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senat might examine them upon interrogatory: This word at the first so troubled and dashed the King, that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himself, he made answer, That (if they needs would) he cared not much to send *Cassander*, for that he had dwelt & continued in *Macedonia*; but as for *Oromastus* who neither was at *Macedonia*,

nor so much as in any quarter near unto it, how possibly could he be charged or touched with the matter? Now as he spared *Onomastus* the rather of the twain, and was loath to have him come in question, as being his more dear and honourable friend: so he feared him much more than the other, lest he should bewray and disclose the thing: for that himself had conferred with him thereabout: and besides, he had served his turn divers times as a Minister to execute, and been privy unto him as a complice to plot such like designs. *Cassander* also, as it is verily thought, was poisoned and made away, by certain that were sent of purpose to accompany him through *Epirus* to the sea side: and all because the villany should not be detected and come to light. Thus the Legats departed from the parley and conference with *Philip*, as shewing in their countenance, that they were nothing well pleased: and *Philip* on the other side went his waies as expeditious to levy war again: but forasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to do any exploit, and because he would delay the time between, he determined to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome*, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith he was charged, and also by humble request to appeale the anger of the Senat: supposing, that this young gentleman, who had been left as an hostage at *Rome*, and there had shewed a good testimony of a Princely nature and royall disposition, might much avail in the cause. In the mean while himself under colour of aiding the *Bizantins*, but in very truth to strike some terror into the Princes of *Thrace*, made an expedition against them: and when he had in one battell discomfited them, and taken prisoner their chief Captain *Amadorus*, he returned into *Macedony*, having left certain messengers to solicit the barbarous nations, inhabiting near the river *Ister*, for to enter and invade *Italy*. In *Peloponnesus* also the coming of the Roman Legats was expected, who by this commission were enjoyned to pass out of *Macedony* into *Achaia*: against whom because the Achaeans would not be to seek what to say, *Lycortas* their Prator summoned a publique Council aforehand. In which there was parly as touching the Lacedaemonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become informers and accusers, and danger it was, lest when they were vanquished they would be more to be feared, than all the time that they waged war. For during the wars, the Achaeans found the Romans to be their good associates, but now the same Romans are more friendly to the Lacedaemonians, than to the Achaeans, seeing that *Arenus* and *Alcibiades* (banished persons both out of *Lacedaemon*, and by the means of the Achaeans restored again to their place) had undertaken to go in embassage to *Rome*, against the Achaean nation, which had so well deserved at their hands: and there gave forth hard language against them, as if they had been chased and driven out of their country, and not restored thereto by them. Hereupon arose a great outcry from all parts of the assembly, for to put to question, what should be determined expressly of them by name, and in this fit, where all went by choler, and nothing by counsel, condemned they were to die. Some few daies after, came the Roman Embassadors, for whose sake a Council was holden at *Clitorae* City in *Arcadia*. But before any matter was treated on the Achaeans were surprised with exceeding feare, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and carried with any indifferency for their behoof: forasmuch as they saw *Arenus* & *Alcibiades* (condemned by them in the last Council) to be in the company of the said Embassadors, and no man durst open his lips and speak a word. *Appius* declared, that the Senat was much displeased at those matters wherof the Lacedaemonians had made complaint, namely, that first in a tumultuary way and conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by *Philopomen*, and came to plead and speak in their own cause: Then, after they had exercised their cruelty thus against their persons, to the end, that in no part their inhumanity should be wanting, they had railed the walls of a right noble and famous City, abolished their most ancient laws, and put down the discipline and government of *Lycorgus*, so renowned throughout all nations. When *Appius* had made an end of his speech, then *Lycortas*, both in regard that he was Prator, and also because he took part with the faction of *Philopomen* (who was the author of all that had been done at *Lacedaemon*) made answer in this wise: "More hard it is for us now. O *Appius*, to speak before you, than of late it was in the presence of the Senat. For then we were to answer the Lacedaemonians, who accused us: but at this present we have you to be our accusers, before whom, as competent judges we should plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have submitted our selves, and undergone this unequal and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accusatory heart which not long since you used, and put upon you the person of a Judge to hear with indifference and equity. For mine own part, considering that you ere while have but related those matters which the Lacedaemonians both here in place before *Q. Cassius* of late, and also at *Rome* afterwards complained of, I would think that I am to answer therefore, not unto you, but unto them in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them, who being called out by the Prator *Philopomen* to plead their cause, were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected against us by you Romans, no, nor so much by any other in your audience. And why so? because it was expressly specified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the Lacedaemonians should have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the Lacedaemonians took arms, and seized by force in the night those Cities, which they were precisely forbidden to meddle withall; *T. Quintius*, if the Roman army had been in *Peloponnesus*, as aforetime no doubt we must needs think, that being thus surprised and evil entreated, they would have had recourse thither for succour. But since ye were loath to off, whether else should they flee and retire themselves, but to us your allies, whom they had seen before to help and succour *Gyrtheum* whom

A "whom upon the like cause they knew to have assailed *Lacedaemon* together with you? It was in your quarrell therefore that we entertained a just and lawfull war. Which being an act of ours, by others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedaemonians to be condemned, and considering that even the Gods themselves have approved thereof in that they gave us victory, how cometh it then to pass, that you bring those matters into question which are by right of law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. That we caused them to come forth to answer their cause, who had railed a commotion of the multitude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had railed them, who also had massacred the principal citizens, we are to answer therefore, and to us that properly appertaineth. But that they were murdered in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but your deed O *Arenus* and *Alcibiades*, who now (forsooth) are become our accusers. The banish'd Lacedaemonians (of which number those two also are and who at that time were with us) for that they chole the said Towns to retire into their habitations (supposing that their own death was sought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, they ran upon those, by whose means they were driven out of their country; even upon an indignation that they might not so much as pass their old age in banishment with safety. They were the Lacedaemonians then and not the Achaeans that slew the Lacedaemonians: whether justly or unjustly, that is not the question, neither knoweth it. But what say ye to this O Achaeans, how can ye deny that ye are, unable, in that ye have abolished the Laws and the most ancient discipline of *Lycorgus*? and withall railed the walls of *Lacedaemon*? And how is it possible that both these points should be objected unto us by the same men? considering that those walls were never built by *Lycorgus*, but contrary-wise (and not many years past) for to overthrow and annul the discipline founded by *Lycorgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to serve as a fortress and bulwark for themselves, and not for a defence unto the City. And if *Lycorgus* at this day should die again from death to life, he would take joy in their ruins and say that he acknowledged now his own native country and anient *Sparta* redeemed. You Lacedaemonians should not have expected *Philopomen* nor the Achaeans, but your selves ought with your own hands to have pulled down and destroyed, all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Those walls were the very marks and as a man would say, the uniformly and deformed ears of your thraldom and servitude. And you who without walls for the space almost of 800 years had lived in freedom, ye and for a certain time also had been masters of *Greece*, became slaves during a hundred years, enclosed and restrained within walls, as if ye had been fettered by the feet. Now as touching the laws, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us. I suppose verily that the tyrants they were, who deprived the Lacedaemonians of their ancient laws: and that we have not taken from them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have we done otherwise than well by them, but regarded much the good of their City and Commonwealth: in that we have united them in our solemn court of Parliament and incorporated them unto us to the end, that in all *Peloponnesus*, there should be but one body, one State, and one Council. Then (I wot well) they might have justly complained to have been wronged, then they might have grieved and said they had not been well used. In case we our selves had lived under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others, I know full well O *Appius*, that all my speech hitherto is neither becoming allies to use unto their allies, nor decent and meet for a nation that is free, but rather (to speak more truly) fit for slaves, bringing before their masters. For if that sound of the trumpet (if that voice of the drum) were not in vain, whereby ye ordained and declared, that we Achaeans before all others should be free: if the confederation stand firm and stable: if our alliance and amity be entertained and observed equally and indifferently; why demand not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of *Carthage*? Seeing you will have us Achaeans to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedaemonians whom we conquered by war? Set case that we caused some of them to be killed, What of that? Commanded not you (I pray) that the Senators of *Carthage* should lose their heads? We have demolished the walls indeed, but ye have not only razed down their walls, but wholly razed them out of City and territory. But you will say the confederation in behalf of the Achaeans is equal and indifferent in outward appearance, and in truth and effect their liberty dependeth upon the good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminence of the sovereignty and dominion besides: I know it *Appius*, as well as you can tell me yet and (although it behoveth me not to be) I am not overmuch offended and discontented theewith. But this I beseech you, let there be as great od and difference as ye will between us Achaeans and you Romans: provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account, nay that they be not in a better degree and condition, than your allies and associates. For that they should be equal to us we have been the cause in that we granted them our own laws, in that we admitted them to be incorporated in the general Diet of the Achaean State and commonalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to content and satisfy the conquerors: enemies demerit more than allies have and enjoyeth those things which are confirmed by oath ratified and consecrated by monuments and instruments, or writings, or any engraven in stone, for a perpetual memory to all posterity, they would force and wrest from us even with our perjury. True it is, O Romans we honour and reverence you: yet and if you will needs have it so, we dread and fear you also: but yet so, as we both honour and also fear the im-

“ mortal Gods more than you. Audiente he had with the accord and consent of the greater part: and all men judged that he had spoken like a Magistrate indeed, and for the dignity and Majesty of his place: in such sort, as it was easily seen, that they were never able to hold their dignity and maintain their authority with the Romans, in case they went coldly to work and proceeded in mild terms with them. Then *Appius* answered and said, “ That he would gladly advise and persuade them, all that he possibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians, whilst they might do it with full contentment: for fear lest soon after they should be constrained and forced to seek unto them against their wills and maugre their hearts. At this word they all sighed and groined again: but afraid they were and durst not refuse to do that which they were commanded. This petition only they made unto the Romans, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would change & alter what they thought good and not force the Achæans to sin against their consciences: I in disannulling those things which they had established and ratified with a solemn oath. So the sentence of condemnation only (lately passed against *Arctus* and *Alcibiades*) was reversed.

In the beginning of this year (when at *Rome* they had sitten in consultation about the Provinces of *Consuls* and *Pretors*) *Liguria* was assigned unto the *Consuls* for their charge and government, because there was no war in any other place, then the *Pretors* call lots for theirs. To *C. Decimius Flavius* fell the jurisdiction of the City: and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that of the between citizens and forainers: *C. Sempronius* had the government of *Sicily*, and *Q. Nevius Mabo* of *Sardinia* with commission also to sit upon the inquisition in case of poisoning. *A. Terentius Varro* was deputed *L. Governor* of high *Spain*, and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of those 2 Provinces it fell out so, that there came much about the same time two Lieutenants, *L. Juventius Tolen* and *K. Quintilius Varus*: who having related before the *Senat* how great a war was now dispatched and finished in *Spain*, required withal, that there should be rendered praise and thanks to the immortal Gods for the happy success in the wars, and likewise that the *Pretors* might be permitted to bring away their armies. So there was a solemn procession ordained to be holden two dayes: but as touching the reducing of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated at what time as there should be question about the armies of *Consuls* and *Pretors* together. Some few dayes after it was ordained that the *Consuls* should have with them into *Liguria* two legions a peece, which *Ap. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spanish forces, great contention there was between the new *Pretors* and the friends of *Calpurnius* and *Quintus* in their absence. Both sides had Tribunes and both had *Consuls* to take part with them. The Tribunes threatened to cross the act of the *Senat*: if they ordained that the armies should be brought home. The *Consuls* again protested, that if the Tribunes thus opposed their negative, they would not suffer any other decree and ordinance to pass. In conclusion, the respect of those that were absent, was of less importance; and an act of the *Senat* was entered. That the *Pretor* should enrol 4000 footmen of Romans and 400 horsemen: likewise 5000 foot and as many horse of Latine allies, to conduct with them into *Spain*. And when they had thus enrolled these four full legions, look what discipline there remained over and above 5000 foot and 300 horse in a legion, they should give them their congies and dismiss them of soldiery: first, as many as had served out their full time, and then those who had born themselves most valiantly in the war under *Calpurnius* and *Quintus*.

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the neck of it, occasioned by the death of *P. Decimius* the *Pretor*. *Cn. Licinius* and *L. Poppius* (who had been *Ædiles* the last year before) likewise the *Flamin* of *Jupiter*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, laboured to be in his room late deceased. As for the list of these rehearsed (because he was *Ædile Curule*) he shewed not himself in his white robe: but he made more means and laboured above all the rest, having to his adversary and concurrent the *Flamin* above said. At the first he seemed equal only unto him in the suit, but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribunes of the Commons stood upon this point, and alleged, That his name was not to be accepted as eligible: for that one and the self same person might neither take nor exercise at one time, the function of two Magistracies: and namely both *Curule* or of State. Others again said, that it was meet and reason that he were dispensed with and exempt from the Laws in that behalf, to the end, that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would for *Pretor*. *L. Porcius* the *Consul* was first of this resolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, because he would seem to do by warrant and authority of the *Senat*, he assembled the *LL.* together and said, that he propounded and put to question before them, That for almost as an *Ædile* elected, he should be *Pretor* without all right, or any precedent tolerable in a free State: for his own part he was minded (unless they were of a contrary opinion) to hold the general assembly for the election according to law. Then the *LL.* gave their advice, that *L. Porcius* the *Consul*, should commune and treat with *Q. Fulvius*, that he would be no hindrance, but that the assembly for the institution of a *Pretor*, in the room of *C. Decimius* departed, might be holden by order of law. As the *Consul* was thus in hand with him according to the act of the *Senat*, *Flaccus* made answer, That he would do nothing unbecoming his own person. By this doubtful and indifferent answer of his he kept him in good hope (who expounded and confirmed as they would have it) that he would be content to stand and apply himself to the authority of the *LL.* of the *Senat*: but at the time of the election he shed more earnestly than before, complaining of the *Consul* and *Senat*, that they wronged and wrested out of his hands the benefit of the people of *Rome* intended unto him: and to bring him into ill will and obloquy

A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two offices and a double dignity: as if all the world lay not, that after he were declared and pronounced *Pretor*, he would incontinently renge up the *Ædileship*. The *Consul* perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the elect, and also the favor and affection of the people inclined more and more toward him, brake up the assembly aforesaid, and called a *Senat*: where, in a frequent session of *Senators* it was ordained, That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing moved with the authority of the *LL.* of that honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the *Consul*, he propoled the matter unto him before them. *Flaccus* relented never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the people of *Rome* thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him *Pretor*, so often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed to great love and affection in them toward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen *Pretor* out of hand, in case the *Consul* would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribunes, one against another: yea, and between them and the *Consul*, until at length the *Consul* held a *Senat*, and there a decree passed in this wise. That inasmuch as the willful stubbornness of *Q. Flaccus* of one side, and the inordinate affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for instituting of a *Pretor* in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the *Senat* agreed and resolved, that there were already *Pretors* enough, and *P. Corneius* should administer and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the plays and games in the honour of *Apollon*.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdom and valorous courage of the *Senat* suppressed, there arose another far greater, by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number, and for quality and place mightier. There stood in election to be *Censors* (and that with earnest endeavor and exceeding heat of contention) *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *Pand* *L.* both *Scipio*, *Cn. Manlius Volsus*, and *L. Ennius Pompeius*, all *Patritii*, and of commoners, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *T.* and *M. C.* both *Sempronius*, the one (named *Longus*, the other *Udianus*). But *M. Porcius* overwent them all by many degrees, as well those of the *Patricians* as also of the commoners, notwithstanding they were come of most noble houses. This man carried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that howsoever he were born and descended, it seemed he was able to make away of himself to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisite for the managing either of private business of his own, or publick affairs of State: cunning he was in country husbandry, as well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places by their deep knowledge in the law: others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again, who have risen and become great through martial prowels and feats of arms. But this man was by nature so trainable and pliant to all alike, that whatsoever he added and gave himself unto, a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to nothing else. In war a most hardy and valiant soldier: and in many foughten fields highly renowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander he proved, and General of an army. In peace again, for sound counsel in the civil law, passing well learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself so, that his tongue flourished only whilst he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence: but it liveth, nay, it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were, and recommended to posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends: yea, and invectives also against others: for able he was to put down and weary his adversaries, not only by declining and accusing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Factions quarrels and enmities there were exceeding many, that tormented him: and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set p down, whether he were urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself courted and baited them more. Doubtless by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharp biting, and beyond measure plain and free: but he carried a mind with him that stooped to no desires and lusts whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untroubled and without all spot of blame: despising all fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In thrift and frugality, in sobriety, in patience, in suffrance of travail and danger, his body was fittest to the very best. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abstereth and consumeth all things else) was not able to break and damme: when he was fourscore years old and six, he pleaded at the bar for others: he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year of his age he convened *Servius Galba* before the people to receive his judgment by them. As all his life time before the nobility was set against him so when he stood now to be *Censor*, they pressed hard upon him: inasmuch as all his competitors (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his colleague in the *Consulship*) conspired together, how they might give him the rebulle and put him besides the *Consulship*: not only for that their own teeth watered and they were desirous themselves rather of that honor: nor because they repined to see a new risen Gentleman, and one of the first held to be a *Censor*: but also because they looked for no other but that his *Censorship* would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men; considering how he had been

The common-
diction of *M.*
Porcius Cato.

crossed and hurt by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a shrewd turn, and be meet with them again. For even then, whilst he laboured and sued for the place, he used minatory speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship sharply exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith he maintained and upheld the suit of *L. Valerius* with him, saying that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rise in the City, and to bring in request again the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much moved in their respects and considerations; and so taught the heads of the nobility, they not only created him Censor, but also adjoynd unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretors took their journeys into their several Provinces. all save *Q. Naevius*; who before that he could go into *Sardinia*, was staid behind no less than four months, about certain inquisitions of poisoning; whereof, he late upon many without the City of *Rome*, in corporate burroughs, market Towns and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we list to believe *P. Antias*, he condemned two thousand persons.

Sensibly, *L. Posthumius* the Pretor, (unto whom the government of *Tarentum* by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain grassiers; and with great care and diligence followed the enquiry of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their families bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of *Italy*; he either judged and condemned as guilty and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to *Rome* unto the Senat; who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the latter part of *Spain* all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war subdued; but in the hither part, *A. Terentius* reduced *Corbis* a Town of the Suetetans, which he assaulted with mantles and other fabrics of war, and sold all the prisoners: which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of *Spain* also.

The old Pretors, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quinctius* returned to *Rome*; and both of them were with great accord and content of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph. And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in shew 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few dayes after, *L. Quinctius* triumphed over the same Portugals and Celtiberians, in which solemnity, there was represented in shew, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, whilst men hung in suspense between fear and hope what they would do, held a review and a new choice of the Senat. Seven Senators they displaced and deposed from that dignity: amongst whom, there was one of mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely *L. Quinctius Flaminius* who had been Consul. An ancient order (they say) it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senat, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers sharp orations of *Cato*, against them whom either he called and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away honours of service: but of all others, the fourest and bitterest is that of his, against this *L. Quinctius*; which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother *T. Quinctius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quinctius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters he articulated against him, That he had trained with him from *Rome* into his Province of *Francia* (in hope of many great rewards) one ** Philipus Pannus* notorious and costly Gaiymede. This boyas he was fooling and playing away from *Rome*, against the very time that the shew of sword-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to shew how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chanced as they were making good cheer together, and having taken their wine liberally were well heat therewith, newscame and reported it was in the banquet time, That a certain noble man of the Boians was arrived, with his children as a renegat from the adverse party: and was desirous to speak with the Consul for to have assurance from his mouth of safe conduct: who being brought into the pavilion began to parly with the Consul by a truchman or interpreter. And in the midst of his speech, How fain thou (quoth *Quinctius* to that wanton dandy, his Catamite) because thou hast mislead and lost the sight of those sword-players at *Rome*, wilt thou see presently here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him in good earnest of his desire that way: but the Consul at the first beck of that beauly filth and baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and first gave the poor Gaul a wound in his scorne as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to flee from him, and called upon the protection of the people of *Rome*, and the assistance of those that were present, *Quinctius* ran him quite through the sides, *Valerius Antias*, who never had read the oration of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying tale only, without any head or authority, lest the tale with some other circumstance howbeit much like in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty. He writeth, that *Quinctius* whilst he abode at *Plaisance*, sent for a famous courtesan (upon whom he was enamored) to a banquet, and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, vanishing himself

* This Philip take to be no Carthaginian. The name sounds not like others of that nation: but both it and Pannus are Roman pro, or names.

unto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners he had in irons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harloty sitting next beneath him, said, That she had never in all her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a sight that of all other she would faint fee. Whereupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratify the queen, caused one of those poor souls condemned to die, to be let out of prison into the banquetting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was & inhuman, whether it were committed as *Cato* hath objected in his Oration, or as *Valerius* hath written in his story, that any human creature should be thus massacred like a sacrifice, and the table besprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custom was to talk

and take the first essay in the honor of the Gods, and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and feed the eye of a wanton and shameless Harlot, lying in the bosome of the Consul. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quinctius*. That if he would plead guilty, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial: but if he confessed himself guilty then he would him to consider whether he thought any man would grieve and be sorry at the ignominy which he was to receive, who being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to shed mens blood at a very banker. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of *Rome*, *L. Scipio Africanus* had a great horde of service taken from him. This Censorship was likewise executed with severity and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely, in

C the pricing and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparel of women, also of their chariots and coaches: as if they amounted to the sum of 15000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Censors book. Item all bondslaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 10000 Asses or upward; that they should be valued at an higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand. These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a privat house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all houses either built by private persons upon common ground, or any wayes encroaching and leaning to publicke places they caused to be demolished and pulled down within thirty dayes. After this, they set out divers peeces of work to

D be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose, namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to scour the draughts and links where need was: and in the mount *Aventine* and other parts where none were already to make new. And particularly of themselves *Flaccus* caused the cautley or wharfe to be made against the waters called *Nepesinae*, that the people might pass to and fro that way: and also a street-way through *Formianum*, and *Custitor* his part built two galleries, *Matinum* and *Tatium*, in the Mines; and bought four shops for the City: he built there also the stately Hall or Palace called *Poreia*. As for the City revenues, they did let and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding raked rent: but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains, alreafaid being once cancelled by order from the Senat, and new made in the important suit and that with

E outcries and tears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers: then the Censors, by proclamation commanded those to avoid far from the substation, who had dismilled the former leases and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they denied the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a censorship of great note, full of rapine, ill will, and heart-burning, which troubled and molested *M. Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therein.

The same year two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from *Rome*, to wit, *Pollentia* into the Picene territory, and *Psaurum* into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the coloners. And the same Triumphs, namely, *Q. Fabius Labco*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and planting of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consuls that year achieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against they year following they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of *March*, on which day they entered into their government, put to question as concerning the Provinces, as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* (who also the year before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *P. Cornelius Silius*, also *L. Pappus*, *L. Iulius*, and *Cn. Sestius*. Unto the Consuls was assigned the province *Liguria*, together with the charge of the same armies which *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had conducted. As for both the Provinces in *Spain* [as we] beyond as on this side *Iberus* they were reserved with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the former year by special commission without casting any lots at all therefore. The new Pretors were enjoined for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of *Rome*. So he was *L. chief justice for the forainers, and Silius Cornelius* over the citizens, unto *Sp. Posthumius* fell *Sicily*, to *L. Pappus* *Apulia*, to *L. Iulius* *Gallia*, and to *Cn. Sestius* *Sardinia*. As for *L. Iulius* he was enjoined to make halt and let forward on his journey for the Transalpin Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the streights of the forrests and waies unknown beforetime, into *Italy*, as hath been before said, and were building them

* *Scipio*, *Laelius*.

a Town in that territory, which at this day is called *Aquileia*. This Pretor had in charge to impeach them in that enterprise, so far forth as he might possibly without war and force of arms: and it there were no other remedy but that they must of necessity use violence, then to certify the Consuls thereof: for agreed it was that one of them should lead the Legions against the Gauls. In the end of the former year there was a general assembly holden for the choosing of an Angur: wherein *Sp. Posthumus Albinus* was created in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* late deceased. But in the beginning of this present year *P. Licinius Crassus* the arch-Pontific departed out of this world, in whose place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was invested for the Bishop. But *C. Servilius Geminus* was created the arch-priest or high-priest aforesaid. In the honor of *P. Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of flesh and a show exhibited of 130 sword-bearers fighting at sharp: likewise there were represented funeral plaies and games, which continued three days: and after that solemnity, a feast was holden during which, when the tables were set and spread accordingly all over the grand-place of the City, suddenly there arose a tempest with great storms, which forced most men to erect tents and booths there: but after a while when the weather was fair again, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and said, That whereas the Prophets & wizards had foretold among other their fatal prelates, that they should be forced to quarter & pitch tents in the market place of *Rome*: now that prophesie was fulfilled, and they were freed and excused from farther danger. And no sooner were they ealed and delivered of that tempest, but they were troubled with another; for that it had rained blood two daies in the court-yard of *Vulcan*: and the Decemvirs published a solemn supplication for the expiation of that prodigious sign.

Before that the Consuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senat for to have audience, the embassages come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were so many men of those foreign parts seen at *Rome*. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad among the nations bordering upon *Macedony*, that the Romans gave no deaf ear to the complaints and accusations commened against *Philip*, and that many had sped well by complaining; every City and State in their own behalf, yea, and many privat persons in particular (for an ill neighbour he was to them all) repaired to *Rome*, in hope either to be righted and ealed of their wrongs, or to discharge their stomachs and be muned and comforted for their miseries. Likewise from King *Enmenes* there arrived an embassage accompanied with his own brother *Athenaus* to make complaint: as finding themselves grieved that the garillons were not withdrawn out of *Thracia* as also to inform that *Phil* had sent certain aids into *Bithynia* to *Prusias* who made war upon *L. Enmenes*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his son) at that time a very young Gentleman, was to answer to all these challenges: and anealy peece of worke it was not, either to bear in mind all the matters objected, or to think upon the points of every answer accordingly. For over and besides, that the articles were many in number, most of them were of very small consequence and importance: namely, strife about limits and land-marks, about carrying away men and ravishing women: of dividing of carrel of mismitting justice partially and with affection, or else of none mismitting at all: of sentences given and judgments passed in causes either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could speak to these points and give them good evidence, nor themselves be well informed and clealy instructed by him; being moved also and grieved to see the youth to row a skholer in the e affairs, and therewith much troubled in spirit, gave order to enquire and demand of him, Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father as touching the premises? And when he answered and said, Yea, they thought the first and principal thing for them to do was, to see and hear what were the answers of the King to every specialty and particular. And thereupon they presently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents thereof. Now therein were set down certain brief abstracts of pleas and defenses, to each severall point: shewing, *In primis*, that some things he had done according to the decrees & awards of the Roman Delegates and commissioners. *Item*, Whereas he had left some war undone, the default was not in him but in the very parties that accused him. He had interlaced between, certain grievances and complaints, as touching the iniquity and hard penning of those decrees; and how matters were not scanned and debated before *Caelius* with that indifferency and equity as was meet and requisite: and namely that without desert of his part, all men were set against him and insulted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of *Philip* was wounded and galled against the Romans. But when the young Prince excused some of these matters, and for the rest promised and undertook, that all should be done to the uttermost as it pleased the Senat to order and set down: then it was thought good to deliver this answer unto him. That his father had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat than that he seemed willing (howsoever matters were passed already) to make satisfaction to the Romans by the means of his son *Demetrius*. As for the Senat, they could dissemble, forget put up and enquire many things done and pass: yea, and were persuaded verily in their hearts, that they might believe and trust *Demetrius*: as knowing assuredly, that although they sent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had his heart and affection with them still, as a sure pledge and hostage: and that he was a friend to the people of *Rome*, so far forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leave letting him withal to understand, that for to do him honor, they would send Embassadors into *Macedony* to the end that if ought had not been so fully effectuated as it should have been, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or perval satisfaction to be made by any thing hitherto omitted: yea, and desirous they were, that *Philip* should understand, that by

A the mediation of *Demetrius* and for his sake, he stood yet in good terms of peace and friendship with the people of *Rome*. These things intended and done for the increate of credit and reputation, presently turned to the displeasure of the young Gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

Then were the Lacedæmonians admitted to audience in the Senat. They moved many petty matters and trifling controversies: but those that principally touched the main point were these, to wit, Whether they should be restored again whom the Achæans had condemned, or no? *Item*, Whether they were justly or unjustly killed, whom they murdered? Moreover they put to question, Whether the Lacedæmonians were to be comprised within the general assembly and Council of *Achæa*: or, that this State (as before-time) should have their rights and franchises apart by themselves from all others in *Peloponnesus*? The Senat ordained and awarded, *In primis*, That they should be restored. *Item*, That the sentences pronounced against them, should be reverted. *Item*, That *Lacedæmon* should do service to that high court and public Diet of *Achæa*: and finally, that this accord and award should be engroffed, subscribed, and signed as well by the Lacedæmonians as Achæans.

Q. Martius was sent Embassador into *Macedony*: who also had direction and order given him by the same commission, to visit the State of the allies in *Peloponnesus*: for there also remained some troubles after the old quarrels and variances yea, and the Mælians refused to appear at the general council of *Achæa*. Now if I would set in hand to record the causes and circumstances of that war, I should forget my purpose in the beginning of my work, wherein I resolved not to touch at all any discourse of foreign histories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs. Howbeit one memorable occurrence there happened, which I cannot pass by, namely, that albeit the Achæans had the better hand in war, yet it chanced that *Philopomen* their Pretor was taken prisoner by the Mælians, as he made an expedition to leize upon *Oron* by prevention, which the enemies were desirous to be matters of. Surprised he was in a valley of great disadvantage, and some few horsemen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Candiots, he might have fled and escaped: but for very shame to abandon those men of arms, which were the noblest Gentlemen of that nation, & whom he lately had made choice of, and not the power to do otherwise, but stay to see the last. For whilst he gave himself behind in the rearward, because he was desirous to make means for their evasion through the straits of that pass, and to that purpose valiantly received the charge of the enemies, his horse fell and cast him at once: so as with his own fall and his horse lying upon him he had like to have gone away in a swoon: a man now three or four years old and ten; and withal, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering disease, which had mightily wasted and consumed the strength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him: and so soon as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horse, no less respectful than if he had been their own General: in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himself, and forth of that by valley standing out of the pass, they carried him into the high way: and were so far possessed and overcome with joy to unexpected that they could not well believe their own eyes that they had gotten him. Some dispatched van-couriers to *Messene* with the news hereof: namely, that the war was brought to an end, considering that *Philopomen* was taken and was their prisoner. At first the tidings seemed so incredible, that the former messenger was held not only for a vain liar, but also for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the same at length it was believed. And then, see what they did! before they knew for certain that he approached near unto the City: they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to see the man: all (I say) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In so much, as the gates were choaked up with the thrust and throng of the press: for no man could believe assuredly it was true, the thing was so strange unless he might see him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, found much ado to put by the multitude whom they encountered, and to enter in at the gate: and so thick they stood in the press, that they took up all the wayes besides, so as he could not be brought forth to be seen. Now because the most part of the people might not possibly have a sight of him, they gat up all at once into the Theatre, which stood near unto the way, and pelted it full: and with one voice they cried aloud, That he might be brought thither and presented unto the view of the whole people. The Magistrates and principal citizens, fearing lest the compassion that might arise in mens hearts upon the beholding of so worthy a personage would raise some trouble and commotion: whilst some comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majesty with his present condition and calamity: and others calling to remembrance his manifold dejects and passing good turns, might haply be touched with pity: let him a far off in the open sight of them all, and then at once took him hastily out of their view: for their Pretor *Dinocrates* gave out openly and said, That the Magistrates were to enquire and demand certain points of him as touching the main issue of the civil war. Then he was brought into their Council-Chamber where their Senat assembled and began to consult about him. It was now well toward evening; and so far off they were from resolving in other matters, that they could not bethink themselves and agree in what place they might keep him that one night in safeguard. Attoned they were and amazed, to consider and think upon the greatness of his estate past, and of his noble vertue and valour: and no man durst receive the charge and custody of him in his own house, nor trust any one besides with:

his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publick treasury of the City, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled all about with strong square stone. Into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mighty huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engine laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more trust for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his means and mediation, to seek for remedies and redress of their present distresses and calamities. But those persons by whose motive and inducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weal) consulted apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to put him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by I delay. But those prevailed in the end, who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycurus* (the other General of the Achæans) were escaped alive, and the foresaid horrid men safe? When answer was made, that they were in safety: That is happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yielded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of *Messene* being conquered by force of arms, among other captivities, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of *Philopomen* were likewise rendred unto them, and interred he was by the general Council of all Achæans, in such solemn wife, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adore him as a God-immortal. The Historiographers, as well Greek as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this year) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopomen*, *Antibal*, and *P. Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and noblest Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintus Flaminius* in embassy to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans had in suspicion and jealousy, both for that he had received *Agathus* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because he made war upon *Fumeve*. Now, were it that among other matters *Flaminius* charged *Prusias*, that he entertained in his court the most implacable enemy of all men living, unto the people of *Rome*: who first solicited his own native country to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, persuaded King *Antiochus* to do the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his own accord to gratify *Flaminius* there present, and to do the Romans a pleasure, had not a meaning and intent either to kill *Antibal*, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were soldiers sent incontinently to belet and guard his house. *Antibal* evermore forsook in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and insupportable hatred that the Romans bare unto him: reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings, and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King *Prusias*. Moreover, he had in horrore this coming of *Flaminius*, as fatal unto him, and a mean to M work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all sides he was encumbered, and have a ready way of evasion to save himself, he had devised and caused to be made seven doores for egress out of his house, wherof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be environed with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be leached out and discovered, cannot long be hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Antibal* being advertised that the Kings soldiers were at the gate, assailed to steal away at a postern, which stood furthest out of the way, and wherof the conveyance was most secret, but perceiving that the soldiers had beset it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, N since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one old man, *Flaminius* shall obtain no great nor memorable victory of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betrayed into his hands. But this very day shall prove and testify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from their ancient manners. Their forefathers (quoth he) advertised King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed in field, and lying with an host of men against them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I say to take heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their Ambassador, even one that hath the bourn dignity of a Consul, to advise and counsel *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his own guest. Then after he had cursed the person of *Prusias* and his whole realm, and called upon the Gods protectors of the law of hospitality, to bear witness how he had violated his faith and broken promise with him, he set up of poison to his mouth, and drank it off. This was the end of *Antibal*, *Polixenus*, and *Rutilius* write, that *Scipio* also died this year. But I accord neither with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censors, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senat, where-

The end of
Antibal.

25

A as *Africanus* had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Censors next before. And so long as the said *Africanus* lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been called and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which disgrace and note of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *P. Servius Autus*, he is sufficiently rebuted by *M. Nevius* a Tribune of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Nevius* is recorded in the rolls and registers of Magistrates, by the title of Tribune of the Commons in that year when *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but he entered into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *L. Sempronius*, the tenth of December. From which time to the fifteenth of March are three months, upon which day *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship. So it seemeth that he was living during the Tribuneship of *Nevius*, and that he might well commence an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other in this regard, that they hapned all just at one time more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the pious state and glorious lustre of his life. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together, that they neither did nor were entered in their native country. Again, *Antibal* and *Philopomen* were both poisoned, *Antibal* was banished and betrayed by his own friend and host *Phisopomen* was taken prisoner and left his life in prison and irons. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of appearance at the day assigned unto him and being cited to his answer in his absence, willingly bannished not himself only for his life time, but his corps and funerals also after his death.

Whiles these affairs passed in *P. Servius* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embassadors into *Macedony*, diversly wrought in mens minds, and amused them some in one thing, and some in another. The common people of *Macedony*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the author of peace and which they destined him without all doubt to the Kingdom, after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawful wife, whereas he had *Perseus* by a concubine, who carried no token and mark of D a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be, Moreover, men said, that the Romans would place and establish *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk stuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects else he was inferior to his brother, but *Philip* also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was more in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Ordered otherwise he was, that the Macedonians resorted unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be E any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speak a truth, the young Prince himself returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt with pride than with becoming: as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much favour and honor (in respect of the Romans) he won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby not only with his father, but with his father also: and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived, and that *Philip* was forced to part with *Thrace* and withdraw his garisons, and to do other things either by virtue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. We have performed all but with an heavy heart and many a deep sigh and groan, and so much the rather, because he observed and saw how his son *Demetrius* converted more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans, because he would minister unto them no occasion of giving war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policy to avert their minds from all suspicion that he minded any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the midst of *Thrace* against the *Odryans*, *Dantheites*, and *Bessians*. He won the City *Philippopolis*, abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining: and after he had wasted the Lands and territories of the *Berberians* that inhabited the champain country, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garisson at *Philippopolis*, which soon after was chased and expelled by the *Odryans*, he determined to build a Town in *Demetria*, a region of *Thrace* near the river *Evrosus*, which issueth out of *Thrace*, and keeping his course through *Thrace* did he himself, and led into the river *Avius*, Not far from *Scribe* the old City he built a new, and called it to be called *Polystra* thereby to do honour to his eldest son *Perseus*.

During the train of these affairs in *Macedony* the Consuls took their journey into their several Provinces. *Mucellus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Proconsul, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first approach

his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publick treasury of the City, vaulted under the ground like a duggoon, and walked all about with strong square stone. Into it was he let down bound as he was; and a mighty huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engine laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more truit for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his means and mediation, to seek for remedies and redress of their present distresses and calamities. But those persons who for motive and inducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weal) consulted apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to put him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by delay. But those prevailed in the end, who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycurtus* (the other General of the Achæans) were escaped alive, and the foresaid horrid men safe? When answer was made, that they were in safety: That is happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yielded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of *Messene* being conquered by force of arms, among other captivities, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of *Philopomen* were likewise rendred unto them, and interred he was by the general Council of all *Achæans*, in such solemn wife, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adore him as a God immortal. The Historiographers as well Greek as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this year:) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopomen*, *Antibal*, and *P. Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and noblest Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintus Flaminius* in embassy to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans had in suspicion and jealousy, both for that he had received *Agathas* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because he made war upon *Fumece*. Now, were it that among other matters *Flaminius* charged *Prusias*, that he entertained in his court the most spitefull enemy of all men living, unto the people of *Rome*: who first solicited his own native country to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, persuaded King *Antiochus* to do the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his own accord to gratify *Flaminius* thus present, and to do the Romans a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Antibal*, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were soldiers sent inconspicuously to belea and guard his house. *Antibal* evermore forsook in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and execrable hatred that the Romans bare unto him; reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings, and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King *Prusias*. Moreover, he had in horror this coming of *Flaminius*, as fatal unto him, and a mean to work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all sides he was encumbered, and have a ready way of evasion to save himself, he had devised and caused to be made seven doores for egress out of his house. wherof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be environed with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be searched out and discovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Antibal* being diverted that the Kings soldiers were at the gate, assailed to steal away at a postern, which stood furthest out of the way, and wherof the conveyance was most secret, but perceiving that the soldiers had beset it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, N and that every place was invested with a few guard, he called for the poison which he had of long time before ready prepared for all such occurrent occasions: and uttered these words withal. "Let us bid these Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while, since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one old man, *Flaminius* shall obtain no great nor memorable victory of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betrayed into his hands. But this very day shall prove and testify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from their ancient manners. Their forefathers (quoth he) advertised King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed in field, and lying with an host of men against them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I say to take heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their Embassadors, even one that hath the born dignity of a Consul, to advise and counsel *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his own guest. Then after he had cursed the perion of *Prusias* and his whole realm, and called upon the Gods protectors of him, he let the cup of poison to his mouth, and drank it off. This was the end of *Antibal*, *Polixenus* and *Rutilius* write that *Scipio* also died this year. But I accord neither with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censors, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senat, where-

The end of
Antibal.

A as *Africanus* had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Censors next before. And so long as the said *Africanus* lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been called and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which disgrace and note of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *P. Valerius Antibal*, he is sufficiently rebuted by *M. Nevius* a Tribune of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Nevius* is recorded in the rolls and registers of Magistrates, by the title of Tribune of the Commons in that year when *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but he entered into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *J. Sempronius*, the tenth or *Decemvir*. From which time to the fifteenth of *March* are three months, upon which day *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship. So it seemeth that he was living during the Tribuneship of *Nevius*, and that he might well commend an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other in this regard, that they hapned all just at one time more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the portly state and glorious lustre of his life. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together, that they neither did nor were entered in their native country. Again, *Antibal* and *Philopomen* were both poisoned, *Antibal* was banished and betrayed by his own friend and host *Philopomen* was taken prisoner, and left his life in prison and irons. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither cited nor condemned, yet making default of appearance at the day assigned unto him and being cited to his answer in his absence, willingly banished not himself only for his lifetime, but his corps and funerals also after his death.

Whiles those affairs passed in *P. Valerius* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embassadors into *Macedonia*, diversly wrought in mens minds, and amused them some in one thing, and some in another. The common people of *Macedonia*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the author of peace and which they desired him without all doubt to the Kingdom after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of this lawfull wife, whereas he had *Perseus* by a concubine, who carried no token and mark of a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be, Moreover, men said, that the Romans would place and establish *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk stuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects else he was inferior to his brother, but *Philip* also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was more in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Offended otherwhiles he was, that the Macedonians resorted unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speak a truth, the young Prince himself returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt with pride than was becoming; as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much envy and honor (in respect of the Romans) he won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby, not only with his father, but with his father also: and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived, and that *Paul* was forced to part with *Thrace* and withdraw his garisons, and to do other things either by virtue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. We have performed all but with an heavy heart and many a deep sigh and groan, and so much the rather, because he observed and saw how his son *Demetrius* conversed more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans; because he would minister unto them no occasion of laying war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policy to convert their minds from all suspicion that he minded any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the midst of *Thrace* against the *Odryans*, *Dantheles*, and *Bessians*. He won the City *Philippopolis*, abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining: and after he had wasted the Lands and territories of the *Bessians* that inhabited the champaign country, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garrison at *Philippopolis*, which soon after was chased and expelled by the *Odryans*, he determined to build a Town in *Demetrius*, a region of *Thrace* near the river *Evros*, which disseth out of *Thrace*, and keeping his course through *Thrace*, cut a large hill itself, and rideth into the river *Avius*. Not far from *Strabe* the old City he built a new and named it to be called *Persopolis*, thereby to do honour to his eldest son *Perseus*.

During the train of these affairs in *Macedonia* the Consul took their journey into their several Provinces. *Mucellus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Proconsul, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first approach

approach of the Consul, the Frenchmen yielded the place. Twelve thousand men and their country villages, which was taken from them maugre their hearts, with all things else, that either they had gotten out of the country by pilling and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they addressed their Embassadors to Rome, for to make complaint of these abuses and wrongs: who having audience given in the Senat by C. Valerius the Pretor, declared, how by occasion that C. M. was discharged with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and possessions, as also for need and poverty, to pass over the Alps and seek themselves some place of habitation. And where they saw any quarters forlet, desart, and unpeopled, there they had planted themselves, without offering injury to any person: where also they had begun to build a Town, which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or Country Village. And now of late M. Claudius had sent unto them a message, that unless they submitted and yielded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (although it were less honorable) before the doubtful hazard & adventures of war, surrendered, rather to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of Rome. But a few daies after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon resolved in their mind to depart in silence and saying never a word, into what place soever they could, there to seek their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yea, and spoiled and stript of all that ever they had, and nothing left, that either they drove before them, or carried about them. In regard whereof, they were humble suppliants to the Senat and people of Rome, that they would not proceed in more rigour and cruelty against them, harmless persons as they were, and submitting themselves unto them, than against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senat caused this answer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into Italy, and presuming to build them a City upon other men's territories, without permission of the foreign Roman Magistrat, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senat was well pleased, that they should be thus deplored, considering they had yielded. And therefore minded they were to send with them their Embassadors to the Consuls, to command them in their name, to see that all their own goods should be restored again unto them, so that they made return thither from whence they came: who also should go forward immediately over the Alps, to give the States of France warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: forasmuch as the Alps were the faghter limits standing in the mids to confine between them, and therefore those mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other: and to make account of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time as they first made a way, and passage over them into Italy. The Embassadors employed about this rebuines, were L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Mutinus, and L. Manlius Acidinus. Thus the French, after restitution made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others, departed out of Italy. Now when these Roman Legats were come, they had good words and courteous answer from the Transalpine Nations. And those amongst them that were more ancient go, who without warrant from the whole State, durst be so bold as to take a voyage to settle upon any lands belonging to the Signory of Rome, and were so hardy as thereon to build a Town, for surely they deserved not less than to abide grievous smart for their rash demeanor. Moreover, as besides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that so great indulgency of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterprise the like. So they friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embassadors yea, and liberally presented them with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consul having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the ground of the Illyrick war, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senat, for a warrant and commission to pass with his legions into Illyria. The Senat was therewith contented, but whereas they were in question and consultation about conducting a Colony to inhabit Aquileia, they could not agree whom to send, whether Latins or Roman citizens. But in conclusion the Senat thought it better to plant there a Colony of Latins. The Triumvirs for to effect this, were created P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Acidinus.

The same year were two Colonies of Roman citizens erected at Mutina and Parma: and two thousand persons were either place translated out of the territory which lately was occupied by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuscans. They of Parma were endowed with eight acres of land, and those of Mutina with five a peece. The Triumvir-Commissioners who had the disposing and managing of the busines, were M. Aemilius Lepidus, T. Eburnius Carus, and L. Quintus Crispinus. Likewise the colony Saturnia consisting of Roman citizens, was brought into the territory of Calabria, by the conduct of Q. Fabius Labeco, C. Afranius Sello, and T. Semp. Gracchus, deputed Triumvirs therefore: who set out for every man ten acres of ground.

The same year A. Terentius the Pro-petor, not far from the River Iberus in the Aulestans country, fought fortunately against the Celibrians, and forced certain Towns which they had fortified. Bese Spain beyond Iberus was quiet this year, because both P. Sempronius the Propetor lay sick of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hap was) rested still and quiet, as being by nor man provoked to stir. Neither was there any memorable exploit achieved in Liguria by Q. Fabius the Consul, M. Marcellus was called home out of Illyria: and after he had discharged his

army,

A army, returned to Rome for to hold the election of the Magistrats. For Consuls he created Cn. Baebus Tamphilus and L. Aemilius Paulus. This man had been Aedile Curule together with M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was Consul five years before: and yet the same Lepidus suffered in a republic twice he was created Consul. Then were Pretors chosen, to wit, Q. Fabius Flaccus, M. Fulvius, L. Aemilius, L. Manlius the second time, M. Q. Fulvius Gellius, L. Caelius Denton, & C. Terentius. In the very end of the year there was a totemplification holden by occasion of certain prodigiosomen believed very that in the court yard of the goddick Concordia it rained blood for the space of two daies: and reported it was not far from Sicily that a new land was discovered out of the Sea, where never any was before seen. V. Iustus Aulus writeth that Aemilius did over this year: and that to compals and work his death, there were sent in embassage to Praefatus, Scipio Africanus, and P. Scipio Nasica, besides L. Quintus M. Manlius, who in that action is named moit.

The fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fortieth Book.

When Philip had given commandment to make straight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison, and persecuted they were of most noble birth: for to put them to death: Theosena fearing the King's malicious intent and wicked lust in the behalf as well of her own children, as of her sisters little ones (God wot) and very young infants brought forth and offered unto the said children, a naked kees sword, and a cup of deadly poison, persuading with them to avoid the torment, shame and dishonour, by self death: which offer she both obtained and effected, the kees sword being her own part, and flew her own self. Moreover in this book are related the debate and variance between Pericles and A. Demetrius the two sons of Philip King of Macedony: and how Demetrius came to his death by poison, through the malicious practise of his brother Pericles who devised false crimes and crafty slanders against him: and principally among the rest, charged him that he intended to kill his own father, and meant to usurp the Kingdom. It is of all because he was a friend to the people of Rome: by which means after the death of Philip Pericles obtained the crown. All in continuance the happy exploits achieved by many and diverse commanders in Liguria, and in Spain against the Celibrians. The books of Numa Pompilius were by cert. unauthentic as they I shoud in the ground of L. Peltius a Notary, under the Janiculum, found himself within a coffer of stone, and written both in Latine and Greeke. And when the Phetor of the Christo whom the books were brought, he deciphered them, and found therein many points tending to overthrow religion and the divine service of the Gods, he swore before the Senat that it was dangerous for the State and Common-wealth that they should be read and preserved: in such sort that by an Act of the Senat, they were burned within the Comitium or Hall of publick assembly. The C. Lucius Aquilius was now erected. Philip exceedingly distressed with himself and prickt with remorse of conscience, for that he had caused his son Demetrius to be poisoned, upon the selfe suggestion and accusations of his other son: and against him, devised to punish Pericles, and rather to confer the Kingdom upon Anigonius his friend, than that his son should succeed him: but in this designment and purpose of his he suddenly died: and so Pericles took the crown and Kingdom upon him.

The fortieth book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of the year next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretors cast lots for their severall governments. For the Consuls there was no other Province to employ them in but Liguria. The first jurisdiction among citizens fell to M. Q. Fulvius Gellius and C. Terentius. The other to P. Volterius. High Spain was assigned unto Q. Fabius Flaccus and the Nether-land thereof to L. Manlius, L. Caelius Denton had the governance of Sicily, and C. Terentius of Sardinia. The Consuls were employed to take matters: for Q. Fabius had written out of Camp a paper the Appians in line of rebellion, and greatly to be feared it was, that they would break out and make trade into the territory of Pisa. And well they knew already, that of the two Provinces of Spain, the higher parts were in arms and the war with the Celibrians was still in progress: as for the lower the military discipline there was clean corrupt and gone by reason of great punishments and fines: where unto the soldier were wholly given, by occasion was the Pleo of Italy long ask. For these causes thought good it was that new armies should be created and collected to wit four legions for Liguria, and every one of them to containe 5200 foot and 400 horse: unto which there was an addition of 15000 footmen, and 900 men of armie sent out of the Lombarlies. And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides they were commanded to enrol 7000 foot and 600 horse men of Latine allies, and to send into France to M. Metellus, who was to continue still in pacification, after the term of his Consulship expired. Likewise they had in charge to levy of Roman Citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of Latins 7000 of the one and 300 of the other to be conducted into both Provinces of Spain. And Q. Fabius Flaccus had his commission of government renewed for one year longer, with the charge of that army which he had in Liguria.

Ths

* 19 of April:
for the feast
unto the god-
dels *Pales* was
solemnized in
ex. caland. *Ma.*
when *as* *Nan-
tala* dies within
Rome; the
birth day (as it
were) of *Rome*.
* *Luna*.

The spring season that year was very stormy and tempestuous. On the 7th even of the feast *Pallia* about noon-tide, suddenly there arose a mighty blustering wind, which overthrow many edifices as well-towered as poriane. It cast down the brazen statues and images in the Capitol: it caught up the wicket of the door belonging to the Temple of the * *Alcon*, (which is in the Aventine) carried it away and set it fast to the back wall of the Temple of *Ceres*. It overthrew and laid along other statues in the great cirque or shew-placed called *Circus Maximus*, together with the pillars upon which they stood. The lanterns and pinnacles it rent and tare after a strange sort from the roof and top of certain Churches, and carried them clean away. And therefore this tempest was held for a prodigious token, and the Atrupices gave order for the expiation and satisfaction thereof. Likewise the same provision was made in regard of a report from *Rate*, that a mule was foled with three feet: and from *Formia*, that the Chappell of *Apollo* (and namely at *C. Jera*) was stricken I with lightning. For these prodigies, there were twenty greater beasts killed for sacrifice: and a supplication holden one whole day. And about the same time, intelligence was given by letters from *A. Terentius* the Pretor, that *P. Sempson* having continued above a year in *Spain* was departed this life, in the farther Province of *Spain*: which was the cause that the Pretors were wilded to make more halt, and so much the sooner to pass into *Spain*.

After this, the embassages from beyond the Sea had audience given them in the Senat. The first was that of the two *KK. Eumenes* and *Pharnaces*, and also of the Rhodians, who complained for the great loss and overthrow by the Sinopians received. And about the same instant arrived also Embassadors from *Philip* from the Achans and Lacedaemonians, who had their answer and dispatch, after a speech made by *Martius*, who had been sent to visit the estate and affairs of *Greece* and *Macedony*. But as touching the forehead Kings of *Asia* and the Rhodians this flood for their answers namely, that the Senat would send their Embassadors and Commissioners to take knowledge and see to all things there in place. But as concerning *Philip*, *Martius* had so told his tale, that he put the L.L. of the Senat in more fear and peevishness: for in his declaration he confessed, that *Philip* indeed had accomplished the will and pleasure of the Senat. But in such sort, as it was evident to be seen, that he would do so no longer than he were held thereto and compelled of necessity: for apparent it was, that he minded to make war again, considering that whatsoever he either did or said, tended to no other end. For first and foremost he caused all the multitude to be removed and translated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the Sea-coast, into that quarter which now is called * *Emathia*; and in times past was named *Taonia*, and gave those I Cities aforesaid to the Thracians and other barbarous nations to inhabit: supposing that this kind of people would be more faith and faithful unto him in his wars against the Romans. And verily this deed of his bred a great discontentment and murmuring throughout all *Macedonia*: in-
mouch, as few there were of them, who thus left their native habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in and contain their fester grief and heart-burning, and say no-
thing: but being prickd and nettled more to anger than curbed and bridled with fear, they brake
out, and were heard to curse and cry out upon the King as they went along the way in troops and
companies. Hereupon his fell stomach by nature was foggall that he had all men in jealousy, and
no time nor place there was but he suspected. In the end he began to give it out openly, that he
could not make account to be in safety and security unless he apprehended and kept in prison the
children of those persons whom he had before-time killed, for to dispatch and make away them
also (in time) one of or another. This cruelty in itself hainous enough and enormous, the cala-
mity and woful misery of one house made more odious and detestable. Murdered he had many
years before: *Herodotus* a noble man and a Prince of the Thessalians: and sometime after, he slew
also his own in-law who had married his daughters. These Gentlewomen being left Widows,
had each of them by their Husbands a little Son: and the names of these women were *Theoxena*
and *Archo*. As for *Theoxena*: she would in no wise marry again, albeit she had many suitors: that
woed her. But *Archo* was wedded to one *Poris*, the very principal and noblest personage of the
Aenean Nation: and when she had born him many children he died, and left them all very young.
Thereafterwards *Theoxena* likewise was married to the forehead *Poris*, to the end, that she might
have the bringing up of those her sisters children with her own hands: and in truth she was not
more kind to her own pretty son than to those her sisters children: but so tenderly regarded them
all alike, as if she had born them of her own body. Now when she heard one of the Kings
edict and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehension of all those infants whose fa-
thers before had been put to death: supposing that these children should be exposed not only to
the abuse and scornful mockery of the King, but also to the lust and villany of his guard she con-
ceived in her mind an horrible designment: yea, and she flew not to say. That with her own
hand she would rid them of their lives, rather than they should come within the clutches of *Phi-*
lip. But *Poris* her husband (who abhorred the very naming of so abominable a fact) said that he
would convey them out of the way as far as *Athens*, to certain truly friends of his there, and
would himself in proper person accompany them all the way thither, and take part with them of
that exile and banishment. So they put themselves in their journey all together (he and his wife
and children) from *Thessalonica* toward *Acha*, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast which yearly
they use to celebrate with much ceremonies pomp in the honor of *Evros* their first founder.
Now when they had spent that day in feasting full solemnly, about the third watch of the night
(when all others were found asleep) they were embarked in a ship prepared aforehand by *Poris*'s
making

* *Pellotisida*.

A making semblance, as if they would return to *Thessalonica*: but indeed purposing to cut over to
Euboea. But when they had laboured and wrought to no purpose upon the wind which was full
against them, they were overtaken and prevented by the day-light before they were far from the
Land, and past light. And being discovered by the Kings officers who had the charge and keep-
ing of the haven, there was a pinnacle or foil (well appointed with armed men) let out to catch in
that vessel, with express commandment (as they would answer to the contrary at their utter pe-
ril) not to come again without it. Now as they approached neerer, *Poris* verily for his part was
very earnest with the rowers, mariners, and sailors, to ply their business and make way from
them: otherwhiles stretching out his hands up to heaven, calling and praying unto the Gods to
help them in this their hard distress. But the couragious lady his wife all the while (turning again
B to execute that designment of hers long before purposed) tempered and mixed a potion of poison,
and brought forth certain swords withal. Now when she had let the poisoned cup before the
children in their very eye, and drawn the words naked: Death (quoth she) is the only mean we
have to save our liberty: lo here the wayes that lead to death: now as every ones heart standeth
to this or that, take thereto, and avoid the cruelty and pride of the King. Come on, and jolly
striplings, lead you the way first that are the bigger and elder: take sword in hand, fall thereupon
and work the feat at once: or if ye list rather to be long a dying, drink here of this cup. What
should they do? the enemies were fast upon them ready to board their vessel, their mother on
the other side, encouraging them instantly to take their death, in whichwise, that to enlende,
some dying the one way and some the other, were all cast headlong over shipboard, when they
C were but half dead. Then the for her part embracing her husband about the middle (be-
cause she would dye with him for company) threw her self and him both together into the Sea. Thus the
Kings men leized upon the ship, when the matters thereof were gone.

The horrible example of this sad kindled more coals, and set the malice and hatred kindled
against the King as it were on a light and flaming fire anew, inasmuch as now commonly in all
places they fell to open cursing of him and his children. Which maledictions and execrations it
was not long but all the Gods listened and gave ear unto, and caused that he likewise exercised
cruelty even upon his own flesh and blood. For *Perseus* seeing his brother *Demetrius* to arise
every day more than other in favour, greatness, and reputation with the whole *Macedonian* peo-
ple, and to grow also in credit and grace among the Romans, supposing with himself how he had
D no other hope left him of attaining to the crown, but by the means of some wicked practice bent
all his thoughts and studies that way, and aimed only at that mark. But believing verily that he
was not strong enough and sufficient alone, to execute and bring forth so much only, as within
that unmanly and womanish mind of his he had devised and conceived, he practised with his fa-
thers friends, and citizens founded their hearts one by one apart, calling out ambiguous and
doubtful speeches. And at the first verily some of them flew out countenance as if they could not
abide to hear of any such thing, because they repaid more hope in *Demetrius*. But afterwards, as
the hatred of *Philip* grew daily greater against the Romans, which *Perseus* still fostered and main-
tained, whereas *Demetrius* with all his might laboured against it: they fore-making in their mind
the unhappie end of *Demetrius*, who lay too open and was not heedful enough to guard himself
E against the fraudulent and mischievous plots of his brother, sided with *Perseus*: making this ac-
count in policy, to for that agoing and help it forward, which in the end would take effect,
and namely to enter in and advance the hope of the mightier. For the execution of the rest they re-
served every thing to a meet and convenient time therefore. As for the present, the best coun-
sell they thought upon, was this, to incense the King all that ever possibly they could against the Ro-
mans, to induce and put him forward still to think of nothing but war: whereas of his own ac-
cord his mind stood well enough and was enclined, And withal (to the end that *Demetrius* might
be from day to day more and more suspected) they entered of purpose (as before they were agreed)
into speech, as touching the hope and great part of the Romans: whereas when some of them
would seem again in scornful wise to debate their manners and fashions; others to de-
prave their deeds and acts, some scoffing in general at the very form and making of their City,
how it was not yet embellished & beautified either with stately edifices in publick places, or with
fair houses of private men: others mocking and having in derision the principal and chief per-
sonages of the City in particular: the inconsiderate young Gentlemen, carried away as well with an af-
fectional love to the Romans, as with a desire to cross his brother, would answer to these points
in the defence and maintenance of the Romans: by which means he brought him self both into
more jealousy with his father, and also to be suspected & exposed to slanderous imputations. Where-
upon his father acquainted him no more with any counsel as touching the Roman affairs, but
wholly relied upon *Perseus* and with him conferred thereabout, imparting unto him both day
and night all his projects and designs whatsoever. By this time were they returned whom he charged
G to send to the Bithynians for to levy succors and aid-souldiers, and brought they had with them from
thence certain noble young Gentlemen, and some amount of royal blood. One of them promised to
give his sister in marriage to one of *Philip*'s sons, inasmuch as the affection by way of affinity with
that nation, set the Kings heart also aloft. But *Perseus* brake out into these words: "What serves
all this for (quod he) since we have not to much help and aidery by aids from abroad, as harm and
dagger by a mischief and malady at home. We keep here and foster in our bosoms, I dare not say
"a traitor, but I assure you a very dangerous spie and no better: whose body verily the Romans
making
D d d d

gaint me so as you do, for discovering the ambush set for me, and complaining thereof; but a-
gaint him rather, that laid in wait to surpris me; neither would you let so light and make to
small account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger past, wherein I was, nor at the
peril to come, if such wait-layers may escape unpunished. Now, if there be no remedy, but that we
must die and lay nothing left us hold our tongues and be mute: let us only pray to the Gods be-
fore that this intended mischief begun in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be
satisfied, he who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in case (like as by the very in-
finit and suggestion of nature, they that are assailed and set upon in a desert wilderness, be
taught to implore and call for mens help and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of
any before) in case (I say) it be lawful for me likewise to open my mouth and speak. When I see
the naked sword drawn upon me: then I beseech you for your own love, even for the love of I
your good self, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more esteemed and
regarded, you have still well known long ago) to give me audience, and to hear me, as if you had
been awakened at my cry and piteous lamentation in the last nights riot, and came in the way
where I was forced to call, Help, Help: and as if you had taken *Demetrius* in the manner, with-
in my gate, in the very entry of my dore, accompanied with armed men, at an undecent and un-
due hour of this night past. Thole plaints and moans which then I would have uttered by way
of disordered and confused cries, in that suddain affright of mine upon the deed doing the same
of I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, nor (I wot) as
brethren that should banquet and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
after, that is certain and past peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers
waies. My birthright and mine eldership is a block in your way, between you and it: the law of
nations is against it: the ancient custome of the Macedonians checketh it: and finally, the will,
pleasure, and judgment of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly so high, but
by the effusion of my heart blood. You go to work, you assay all means, you leave no stone un-
rolled and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day, either mine own way diligence
or happy fortune hath guarded me and withstood your wicked parricide. Even yesterday, du-
ring the time of the solemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
and jousting, in time of the shew and pastime resembling a skirmish, you missed very little of ma-
king a bloody battail of it and a deadly conflict indeed: and nothing else saved me from death,
but this, that I suffered my self and my men to go by the worse and be overcome. From this mar-
tial combat, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would needs
have trained and drawn me to a supper. Why? think you father, that I should have supped a-
mong those guests unarmed, who came in arms to banquet with me? Do you believe, that I should
have been in no danger of their naked swords of steel at night? who in the day time and without
your fight, laid on such load with wooden swords and batons, that they had like to have kil-
led me? To what end else came you, brother, at that time of the night? why came you as an ene-
my, considering I was in choler and my blood was up? wherefore came you accompanied with
tail followers privily armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit
at supper with you: should I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
quet with me? Father, if the dore had been opened: wheras you hear me now to make my com-
plaints, you should have been by this time busied about my winding-sheet, herfe, and funerals.
I lay not forth and urge matters in slanderous manner, alter the fashion of these accusers at
bar: neither collect I bare conjectural presumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtful points:
for what need I so do? Denieth he that he approached my dore with a troop of men? or that
he had in his train a company, such as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do but send
for them whom I shall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to do, that can do this? and
yet I trow, they will never be so hardy and shameless as to deny it. If I had taken them in the
manner with their weapons about them with my mine entry, and so brought them before you,
then you would say it were a plain case and out of all doubt. If then, they confesse as much with
their mouths, hold them as culpable as if they had been surpris'd in the act doing. Now curse
(and spare not) the greedy appetite and thirst after a Kingdom: now fall to raise and call up the
furies out of hell to set brethren together by the ears: but good father, let not your curses and
execrations thus flie at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him
that lyeth in await, and the party who is forelaid. Let him be holden guilty that sought to kill
his brother, let him feel withal the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry against him.
But as for him who was in danger to lose his life through his brothers mischievous practice, let
him have his refuge and recourse to the mercy and justice of his father. For alas, whither else
should I flie for succour? seeing that neither the solemn review and purging of your army, nor the
running and jousting of the men at arms, neither mine own house nor my table, nor yet the very
night season (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repose) affordeth me safety and
security? If I go to my brother (being bidden to supper), die I shall: if I receive my brother with-
in my dore (coming to banquet) die I must. So that whether I go or stay all is one: I cannot a-
void but fall into trains and ambushes, laid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire
and be safe myself? None have I regarded nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
self, father, as for the Romans, I stand in no such terms with them of grace and favour as to trust
upon their account: nay, they all wish me changed, because I take the wrongs done unto you by
them,

A "them, to the heart; because I shew my self discontented and touched with the indignity that to
many Cities, so many nations are plucked from you and namely, that of late they have depopulated
and bereaved you of all the maritime parts and sea coasts of *Illyria*: and so long as either you or
I live, they never look to enjoy *Macedonia*. But if by the mischiefous practice of my brother, I
might once be rid out of the way and without ill, I could have made an end of you, yea, and per-
venture before that day came, (which they would never say to long for) then they know well
and make still account, that both the King and Kingdom of *Macedonia*, will be theirs ere long enough.
Indeed if the Romans had spared any piece at all without *Macedonia*, I should have thought and
made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so
long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your self yesterday how
violently the soldiers charged upon me: what wanted they but the disparagement and edged
weapons? well, that which they failed and missed of in the day time my brothers haubaquets met
with in the night. For what should I speak of the greater part of the nobility they have prom-
ised and built all their hopes of dignity, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and na-
mely, in him who now can do all in all with them and is a greatest reputation. And surely, to
speak a truth, him they prefer not only before me his elder brother, but also they go within a
very little to let him before your self, his liege King and natural father. For this is he, for whose
love and in favour of whom, the Senat hath remitted and pardoned you that penalty which you
had incurred. This is he, who now protecteth you from the force of Roman armies: who de-
meth it meet and reason that your old age should be obliged and beholden to his youth. For him
stand all the Romans with him take part all those Cities which are delivered and free from your
subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that wish for peace with the Romans, and take con-
tentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or help can I have elsewhere, but in you alone?
Wherefore think you send those letters of *Quintus* lately unto you: wherein he writeth, That
you did passing well for your own estate, in sending *Demetrius* to Rome: and exhorteth you with-
all, to send him again the second time, accompanied with more Embassadors and thole the very
principal and best of all the Macedonians? This *Quintus* (if you will needs know the reason)
is the man, who leadeth, induceth and directeth him at this present in all things: he is his coun-
sellor and school-master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his own father, & hath
put him in your stead. There it is, where all these privy plots have heretofore been first contrived
and set a hatching: and at this present in willing you to send more in embassage, and thole the
chief personages of the Macedonians with him, he seeketh nought else but helpers and assistants
to put thole designs in execution. As many as go from hence to Rome, be they never so sound &
uncorrupt at their setting out, be they loyal subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philip* for
their King, return from thence tainted and infected with the alluring enticements of the Ro-
mans. *Demetrius* alone is altogether in their books. They are all for him, and pais for none else.
Him they call their King, during the life of his own father. Now, if I seem to be touched, offen-
ded and grieved herewith by and by I am sure to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of
mine ears, not only from others, but also from your mouth father. That I aspire and seek to be
King. For mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were
here let between us both, I would none of it. For who is he, that I should need to underrime &
supplant, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and
long may he be so. I pray God, and I wish to survive him no otherwise, but if I be worthy and
deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor
of the Kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed coveteth to be a King, yea, and ungraciously co-
veteth it, who hath need to make pace forward, and to step before the course of nature, the order
of age, the custome of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*,
suppose ye? Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and hope: to him
appertaineth the Kingdom by right and by my fathers will: Let us rid him out of the World,
What? I am not the first that sought to be a King by murder of a brother. As for my father he is
aged, he is desolate, and bereaved of a son: he will have more care to look to his own person, than
mind to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoice, they will approve and
maintain my bid. These be nice points, and these be ticklish and doubtful hopes, but believe me
father, they are not altogether vain and frivolous. For this stands the case, and this is the sum of
all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whilst I am alive, by inflicting punishment
upon thole who take weapon in hand to kill me: but let their enterprise speed once, and take ei-
ther you or I shall never be able to pursue them to the purpose and revenge my death.
When *Perseus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes wist-
ly upon *Demetrius*: as if he would have made answer immediately, and so were all silent a long time,
and said not a word: for they perceived evidently that he could not for weeping open his mouth:
but in the end he was urged by them to speak, and then after that necessity had furnished his
grief, thus he began. "My father, all thole means of help which were ever wont to serve the defend-
dant in good head, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaintive my accuser. By thole false
and fained tears of his, wrung out and shed to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath
made my true tears suspected, which gushing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & wound-
ed heart within. And whereas himself hath not ceased (ever since that I returned from Rome)
to practise secretly with his consorts and complices both night and day to lay wait for my life,

"now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world believe
 "that I play the part not only of a secret and cunning wait-laiër, but of an open thief and a noto-
 "rious murderer and cut-throat. He seemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might
 "make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent bro-
 "ther. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have
 "no parcel at all of hope left so much as in you. This circumvented as I am, left alone, forlorn, de-
 "stitute and void of all income he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with forrain stran-
 "gers: a thing I wis that doth me more harm than good. Moreover, see how he proceedeth like a
 "practiced and cunning barrister, in that he interteth and minglet the last nights work together
 "with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more suspicious by the course
 "of mine other years passed, this criminal matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know I
 "anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, will, and
 "intended designs, by this subtle invention of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which
 "was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this
 "acculation of his was not premeditated and studied upon beforehand, but framed *extempore*, and
 "occasioned only upon the suddain fright and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Perseus*, if I
 "had been a traitor to the King my father & the realm, if I had conspired with the Romans and
 "other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you should not have waited for this nights devised fable,
 "but you ought to have accused me before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vain
 "and frivolous without this surmise, and served to discover and bewray your envy & spite which
 "you bear against me, more than it detecteth any crime which is in me; yet you should have let
 "me alone and forborn this day, or put it off until another time; that it might have been clearly
 "seen whether of us twain laid wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary man-
 "ner of hatred. As for me (so far forth as is possible can in this suddain trouble of my spirits) I will
 "endeavour to speak severally of each point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly,
 "and reveal I will the ambushes and trains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He
 "would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder
 "brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertained by the law
 "of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also, as he saith, by your judgment; I the yon-
 "ger might step into his place, and succeed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and
 "wherefore seereth that other part of his Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been to respective to
 "the Romans, and that upon the affiance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were
 "perswaded thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of *Mace-*
 "*donia*, & if which I presumed so much of their good grace and favor to me, what need had
 "I then to commit a parricide? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embowed with my
 "brothers blood by me murdered? and was I desirous to make my self odious & execrable among
 "them, with whom either for mine honesty indeed, or at least waies for a counterfeit shew ther-
 "of I have won some credit, such as it is, if haply it be any at all? Unless perhaps, you think that
 "I, *Quintus* (by whose virtue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill
 "my brother: *Quintus*, I say, who is so kind unto his own brother, and liveth with him so loving-
 "ly. This plaintif & accuser of mine, hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which
 "they bear unto me, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of me, yea, and in manner
 "the content of all Gods and men in my behalf: in which regards all, he took himself not able to
 "match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet see, how the same man
 "saith to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was faine to have
 "recourse to this last shift of practising mischief and wickedness. Will you have this to be the cause?
 "Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be
 "reputed worther of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have fought and con-
 "quered the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some sort or other, the order
 "and manner of this pretended and devised crime. He hath burdened me, that I have laid for him
 "many and sundry waies; yet hath he knit up all these means and conched them together in one
 "daies work. I purposed to kill him (saith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and
 "affoiling of the army even when we jousted together, and seemed to charge one another in bat-
 "tel: wile yea upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity. I intended twis (be-
 "lieve him if you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I
 "would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to ban-
 "quet with him & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapon about them.
 "You see, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this preten-
 "ded murder: namely the very day of sports, the time of supper, of banquet and collation. As for
 "the day, let us examine it and the manner thereof: was it any other than that, wherein the army
 "was forced and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice cut in twain, the royal coats of all
 "the arms of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a stately shew; and we
 "alone, your two sons (saith he) marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Ma-
 "cedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatory sacrifice
 "(if haply I had committed any sin before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very
 "same instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast
 "sacrificed entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, & the handling of swords pre-
 "pared

A "pared aforehand against the banquet, to perform a parricide? that afterwards I might with some
 "other sacrifices expiate and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wicked-
 "ness? A likely matter surely. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of slandering ano-
 "ther, upon a desire to gather matter and make it suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing upon
 "another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit
 "to let forward that designment than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon you &
 "fighting with you so roughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse be-
 "ing requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choler you had once denied to sup with
 "me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you and seek some other
 "opportunity, since I had prepared the poison for that present only? But I must leap from that de-
 "signment to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day,
 "under a pretence of banquetting with you: if I thought that for fear of death you forbore my ta-
 "ble at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not fensibly that for the laid reason you would
 "avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, father,
 "if upon such a festival day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much as
 "among my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth,
 "and merriment I feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy let us the farther out, be-
 "cause in that warlike pastime of lully youths, our side went not by the worse. But this misery &
 "unhappy fear upon that our mirth, hath well delayed and cooled the wine I spent it hath the
 "strength thereof turning up into our heads: which if it had not come between we as great laiers
 "as wait as we were, had to this hour lien sound asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assail
 "and force your house, and that done to murder you the master thereof, would I not think you,
 "have for born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine so freely and likewise kept my soldiers
 "from drinking drunk? But because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse
 "thereby, this my good brother also, whom God wot is none of these naughty and suspicious crea-
 "tures, comes in with his vie and faith, I know nothing, I charge nobody, neither wot I what to
 "say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask, how you
 "came to that knowledge, you cannot chuse but confess that either my house was full of your
 "spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons for openly, that every one law them.
 "And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at
 "this time persueeth the matter with any accusatory spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom
 "he named, whether they had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought
 "into it as a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted.
 "But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner: whether they
 "took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did by my warrant direct-
 "ly, or privily? For this is it that your (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which
 "you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the case is plain yea, & they
 "will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well
 "or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you
 "mingle my cause with that action of theirs, which in respect it nothing at all. But rather de-
 "clare, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed?
 "why was there none of us besides those persons that did bear your spite? If secretly, what was the
 "train and order of the execution of that design? After the banquet ended, and I the lesser of the
 "banquet retired from thence, should those four have staid behind to fall upon you when you
 "were asleep? How could they have carried it so close as not to be spied, for that a life before them
 "had been seen in a brawl? And say, they had killed you: by what means could they escape them-
 "selves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? Fie, fie
 "*Perseus* speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you
 "at the heart, which kindlyeth your envy and setteth you on fire. How cometh it to pass, *O Deme-*
 "*trius* that men speak abroad that you shall be King? why should you be deemed of some more
 "worthy than my self, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my
 "hope, which but for you, were sure & certain? There are the secret thoughts of *Perseus*, although
 "he saith nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine
 "accuser: these conceits they be that fill your palace your court and your realm, with surmises slan-
 "ders and suspicions. But for mine own part, father, like as I taught neither to hope for your royal
 "crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because I am the
 "younger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder bro-
 "ther: so it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, to demean my self so in any
 "action that I should seem unworthy to have you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities
 "whatsoever. The one point I should attain unto by indirect courses and wicked vices, in not
 "yielding unto him, as right and reason would: but the other by my good carriage and sober be-
 "haviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brothers, and those things which in right ought to
 "turn to my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me for. It was no seeking of mine, that I was
 "delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to Rome as Ambassador: but when I was ap-
 "pointed by you, father I refused not to go. At both times such was my demeanor, that I had an
 "eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your Kingdom, or the Mace-
 "donian nation. And therefore you were the cause, father, of that friendship which I have with the
 "Romans.

"Romans. As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin war once: I that was an hostage and Ambassador among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for you my father, even I, will become a most spiteful and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I at this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might stand me any way: only I beseech you, that it may not prejudice and harm me. It began not by occasion of war, neither is it referred for the time of war. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance of peace, I was employed in embassy. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I neither purchase fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiety against you father, if I have done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I refuse no punishment. I crave no pardon or favor. If I be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not overweighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, since I can be overthrown by no crime justly objected unto me. This is not the first day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the first day, that he is seen to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my father had been displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others, being the elder brother, should have been a mediator and intercessor for me (the younger) to my father, and a means to purchase a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but see! where my succour and refuge should have been, there contrary-wisely is my ruin and overthrow. From my feasting and banqueting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither not half waked, but with mine eyes full of sleep, to answer in the case of parricide: and forced I am to plead mine own cause without my counsel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had been to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to study, premeditate and frame an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. In stead thereof I not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your Majesty first (wroth and angry as you were) to command us to plead our causes: and then my brother, who hath stood up to accuse me, as for him, he hath pronounced an Oration (studied for, and devised long before hand: but by I was allowed no longer time (than whiles I heard my self accused) to be think me what to plead: or to examine and take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that present moment of time, could I, think you (so suddenly taken as I was) either give ear to my accuser, or consider and think duly of mine own plea? (onied so I was, with that sudden trouble and unexpected occurrence, that much ado I had to understand what I was charged with: so far was I from devising what to speak in mine own defence. What hope should I have now and in the what case were I, if I had not my father for my judge? at whose hands (albeit I am not so well beloved as mine elder brother is, yet since I am the party defendant, I ought at leastwise to find as much pity and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save me, in regard of my self and you: but he requirith you to take away my life, only for his own assurance and better security. And what will he do against me think you, after you have made over the crown and scepter into his hands: who now already thinketh it meet and reason, to dispose of my blood at his good pleasure? In uttering of these words, the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his mouth so, that he could neither speak or draw his breath. Then *Philopater* after he had commanded them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, spake and said, That he would not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquiry into both their lives, and observing their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in small. Hereby they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was sufficiently refused and evicted & the only thing in *Demetrius* to be suspected, was the over-great favour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very seed of the Macedonian war, fowled as one would say, during the life of *Philip*, but the war was after to be waged most of all against *Perseus*.

The two Consuls took their journey into *Liguria*, the sole consular Province of them both; and because they had achieved their exploits fortunately there, ordained there was a solemn procession for one day, it fortuned that there came two thousand *Ligurians* or thereabout, to the utmost frontier of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* lay in leaguery, requesting to be received under his protection. *Marcellus* after he had commanded the said *Ligurians* to give attendance upon him in the same place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to *M. Ogulnius* the Lord chief justice of the City, to write back again unto *Marcellus* to this effect. That it was more meet that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertained, should give order and determine (as touching the *Ligurians* who yielded and submitted) what was expedient for the common-weal in that behalf, than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion, they thought it not good to accept of the *Ligurians* (surrender: and being once received then to be disarmed: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requisite they should be sent and referred over to the Consuls.

The Pretors at the same time arrived in their Provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in base *Spain*, where he had been Governor before during his former Pretorship; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* in the higher: where he received the army of *Tarentum*: for that other side of *Spain* beyond *Iberus*, had been left without a Lord Deputy, by occasion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretor. Whiles *Fulvius Flaccus* assaulted a Town in *Spain* named *Mibicula*, the Celtiberians made head and came upon him; where many and sundry shot skirmishes passed, and wherein many Roman soldiers were both hurt and slain. Howbeit *Fulvius* held still his resolution, and by no forcible

A cable means whatsoever, could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians coiled out of heat with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their favours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked: and the Pretor gave the pillage thereof to his soldiers. Thus *Fulvius* after he had gained this Town, and *P. Manlius*, when he had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had been dispersed: without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And there were the exploits in *Spain*, during that summer season, *Tarentum* who was departed out of that Province before, entered the City of *Rome* in a petty triumph, by way of ovation. He carried before him in show, eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and fourscore of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

B The same year the Romans were chosen Arbitrators between the people of *Carthage* and King *Masiniassa* as touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: *Gala* the father of this *Masiniassa*, had won the ground in question from the *Carthaginians*, *Siphax* afterward dispossessed *Gala* thereof: and consequently to gratify *Asdrubel*, his wives father, freely gave the same to the *Carthaginians*, and let them in possession again. Now last of all, even this very year, *Masiniassa* had dispossessed the *Carthaginians* of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no less courage and fervency of spirit than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The *Carthaginians* laid claim and put in their plea. For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveyed to them by the free gift and donation of *Siphax*. *Masiniassa* counterpleaded again and a ledged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was clear on his side. In regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession wherein he was: saying, that in his cause he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respective to him, a King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienate the right of possession, but left all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senat of *Rome*.

Nothing was there done after this in *Liguria*: for first, the enemies were retired for safety into their wilds and forests out of the way: and afterwards they called their army, and slipped away every man to their own villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dimiss their forces: and thereupon sent to the LL. of the Senat to know their pleasure in that point: who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats the next year: and the other, with his legions, to winter at *Pise*. A rumour there ran, that the *Transalpine* French put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of *Italy* this multitude thus levied, would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that *Cn. Baburn* should be present at the general assembly at *Rome*, for the election aforesaid, because *M. Baburn* his brother lived to be Consul. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Baburn* *Tamphilus*. This done, the Pretors also were chosen, namely, the two *Quintus Fabius*, the one *Maximus*, and the other *Brutus*: *T. Claudius Nero*, *Q. Petilius Sproitus*, *M. Pinarius Pansa* and *L. Daronius*. When these were entered into their magistracy, the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The *Ligurians* fell to the Consuls: as for the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and *C. Fabius Maximus* for the strangers: *C. Fabius* *Brutus* had the government of *Gaul*, *T. Claudius Nero* of *Sicilia*, *M. Pinarius* of *Sardinia*, *L. Daronius* of *Apulia* together with the *Iliarians*: for that the *Tarentins* and *Brundusins* had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoyed by the robberies of pirates and men of war from beyond Sea: and the like complaints were made by the *Messinians* of the *Ligurian* navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, containing in every one 5200 Roman footmen and 300 horse: also to enrol 15000 footmen and 300 horsemen of Latine allies. In the Provinces of *Spain* (both the one and the other) the old Pretors continued still in their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reinforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 200 horse of Roman citizens together with 6000 of the one and 300 of the other, from out of the Latine nation. All this while they forgot not their navy at Sea. And the Consuls had in charge to hire for that purpose, two wardens called *Dumvires*, who after they had out of the *Aetolian* fleet into the Sea twenty ships, and set them afloat, should furnish them with mariners, and those Roman citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural Romans free born should only be Captains and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two *Dumvires* were parted and ordered betwix them the defence of the maritime coasts, with ten ships apiece: that the Cape of *Minerva* should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so that one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to *Messilia*: and the other the left side even to *Brundum*.

This year were seen at *Rome* and reported from forraign parts many uncouth and strange prodigies. In the Church-vaults belonging to *Vulcan* and *Concordia*, it rained sheer blood: and the Bishops made relation, that the Spears [of Mars] shook and moved of their own accord. Also

of *Paonia*) returned into *Macedony*. This *Didas* (as hath been said before) sent to conduct *Demetrius* home, abused the simplicity of the young Gentleman, who was nothing circumspect and wary; but seemed discontented and complained to him (as good cause he had) of those that were nearest in nature and blood unto him: he, I say, by flattering, by soothing him up, and seeming withal to be offended and grieved for his part at such hard usage, laid snares and grins, and set traps for him: and in conclusion, by his double diligence and offering his voluntary service to do him pleasure, protesting also to be true and fast unto him, yea, and to keep his counsel, fetched out of him the very secrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpose with himself to flee to *Rome*, and to effectuate this designment of his, he was perswaded, that of a special grace and favour the Gods had sent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretor of *Paonia* to be his helper and assistant: for through his Province he conceived some hope to pass and escape with security. This intent and plot of his was both immediately disclosed to his brother *Perseus*, and also by him declared to his father. And first were letters hertof brought unto him, whiles he lay at the siege of *Petra*. Afterwards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward, and withal, order was taken to watch and observe *Demetrius* that he started not aside; but all underhand and close, without semblance of any such matter. These occurrences above all others, caused the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into *Macedony*. These new accusations thus presented; troubled him much: howbeit he thought good to expect the return of those whom he had sent to *Rome* as spies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agony of these cares and perplexities, when the King had continued certain months, in the end those Embassadors came home: who at first ere they set foot out of *Macedony*, had devised and framed before hand what reports they would make from *Rome*. These messengers, to make up a false and forged letter, (sealed with a counterfeit signet of *T. Quintius*). The said letter was indited to this tenor and effect, That *Quintius* should seem for his own excuse to say, that albeit young *Demetrius*, carried away with an inordinant desire to be King, had slipped a little, and treated with him about some such matter, yet would he do nothing to prejudice any one about *C. Philipp*, neither would he be thought or found a man to give any unadvised and ungracious counsel. These letters struck it dead sure, and made the King believe, that all the former imputations fastned upon *Demetrius* were true and past all peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* presently was put to the rack and examined; but after he had endured intolerable pains a long time, and confessed nothing, he died in the end under the tormentors hand. *Perseus* accused *Demetrius* again before his father, for that he intended and provided to take his flight through *Paonia*. And there came forth certain to testify against him, saying, that he had corrupted, inveigled, and induced them to accompany him in that journey. But that which made most of all against him, was that same devised letter of *T. Quintius*. Howbeit there was no grievous sentence pronounced openly against him, to the end, that rather by some covert and cautious pretence, he might come to his death: and this, not for any fear that he had of him, but doubting, lest some open punishment executed upon him, might reveal and discover his secret designment, of making war upon the Romans.

Demetrius
murdered.

Philipp himself taking his journey from *Thessalonica* to come to *Demetrius*, sent *Demetrius* his son to *Aspron*, a City in *Paonia*, and the same *Didas* still to accompany him: but *Perseus* he addressed to *Amphipolis*, for to receive the hostages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his son *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feast thereof; where upon he came from *Aspron* to *Heraclea*. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediately he felt that he was lapped: for within a while he began to work extremely, and for very dolorous pain, he was forced to rise from the Table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he piously complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father. Of the murderous mind of the parricide his brother, and of the treacherous villany of *Didas*: and all this while endured deadly wrongs and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one *Thyrus* a Staberean, and *Alexander* of *Berkhas*, who entwined his head and throat with the bed-cloaths, carpets and cornerpieces of caparoty, and held them so hard, that they throaked and smothered him, and in the end stopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent young man piteously made away: whose enemies, one single kind of death could not content and satisfy, but needs they must kill and murder them twice.

While these things happened in *Macedony*, *L. Emilius Paulus*, who continued still in government after his Consulship expired, marched with his army against the Ligurians in games in the beginning of the spring. So soon as he was entered into the confines of his enemies country, and there encamped, there came Embassadors unto him under colour of seeking peace, but indeed only to effout and spy. *Paulus* made them answer, That he could contract no accord with them, unless they yielded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse, but said, That they needed some time to perswade their nation into it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had ten daies truce allowed to effect this, they requested moreover, that the Roman soldiers might not pass over the next hills adjoining either for fowel or forage, forasmuch as those lands were the only tilled and well manured grounds of their appurtenances and territory. When they had obtained so much, they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they

A had averted the enemies, and suddenly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and assaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the assault in such sort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to let forth and display their engines, or room sufficient to put their army in order of battell: but were compelled to defend their camp more by standing thick thronged together against the enemies in the very gates than otherwise by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the sun, when the enemies were retired, *Paulus* dispatched two light horsemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Consul, as far as *Pisa*, that he should come away with all speed to succour him, being in time of truce besieged. But *Babius* had delivered up his army before to *M. Vinarius*, the Pretor, he went into *Sardinia*. Howbeit he both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Emilius* was invellied by the Ligurians, and he wrote also to *M. C. Marcellus*, whose province was next adjoining, to bring over his forces (if he thought it good) out of *Gaul* in to *Liguria*, and deliver *L. Emilius* from siege. But alas, these succours should have come all too late; for the Ligurians the very next day returned and advanced against the camp. *Emilius*, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but also might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himself to close within the strength of his rampart, minding to hold off and not to fight, until *Babius* might with his army come from *Pisa*. Now the letters of *Babius* came great fear at *Rome*: and to mance the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the City, some few daies after he had made over his army unto *Fabius*, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in *France* could not possibly passe into *Liguria*, by reason of the war with the Istrians, who impeached the planting of the colony at *Aquileia*; against whom *Fabius* was gone, and might not possibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding *Emilius* was this, (and yet the same seemed to be with the latest, considering the urgent necessity of the time) in case the Consuls made halt to go into their provinces: which to do, all the L. of the Senat called aloud and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied hardly to stir one foot before the levy of soldiers was fully finished; alleging that it was not their slackness, but the violence of the plague, which caused it to be so late ere it were performed. Yet for all this, such was the general accord and consent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuse but go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclamation to assigne a certain day, upon which all the soldiers whom they had enrolled should shew at *Pisa*: and commission they had to take up D subitary soldiers; all the country over as they went, to press them forth presently and have them away. Moreover, the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commanded, the one, namely, *Petilius*, to enrol in halt two tumularily legions of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fifty years old: and *Fabius*, to levy of the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horsemen. The two Duumvirs or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, *C. Matienus* and *C. Lucretius*, who were soon provided of ships ready rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And *Matienus*, who had the charge of the coasts upon the gulf of *Gaul*, was commanded to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to the tract of the Ligurians, if haply he might any way tread *L. Emilius* and his army. *Emilius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horse men above said, were intercepted and staid by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his own forces to trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to assail them thencefore) he put his men in battell array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the signal given they should at once from all parts rally forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he assigned two others, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the false postern gate called *Extradiuaria*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattelled the Hastati, Iaveliniers of the first legion, and the principes of the same legion in the rearward to second them, commanded both by *M. Servilius* and *L. Salpinx*, Knights or Tribunes military. The third legion he marshalled full against the other gate *Principalis* on the left hand. This change only was here, for that the Principes were let in the front, and the Hastati behind in the tail of the line. Sex, *Julius Caesar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Quaestoria*. Two cohorts and the Triarii of two legions had commandment to stay behind for the defence of the camp. The General himself in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible means he possibly could devise, to provoke and whet the stomachs of his soldiers, and to give a point edge to their courage and choler: one while reproaching his enemies for their falsehood and treachery, who having craved peace and obtained truce; during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to assail the camp: another while shewing and declaring unto them what shame and indignity it was for the Roman army to be besieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may be accounted thieves and robbers, then go for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you should escape from hence, not by your own virtue and valour, but through the help and succour of others, with what ease shall any of you be able to meet, I say, not those soldiers who have vanquished *Antioch*, defeated *Philip*, and subdued *Archelaus*, the mightiest King, and greatest commander of our age: but even them who many a time have hurried and chased the very same Ligurians like brute beasts, over the wilds and forests as they fled, and hewed them in peeces in the end?

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doubtful what to do : but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of retreat, it upon their discretion they should fall to running away. They saw no other hope but in fighting out, and to they began to renew the skirmish afresh, with more resolution than before. Fiercely they were encountered and charged in the midst of their battle ranged (who came to aid the Romans) wing, where they saw the soldiers of their own nation ranged (who came to aid the Romans) they made head, and advanced their ensignes with more boldness and confidence. And verily that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated, but that the eleventh legion seconded and succoured them : and withal they that were left within *Eburacum* garrison, came from the town in the very midst and hottest of the conflict ; and *Acilius* from another part plied on their backs. Down went the Celibierians along time, and were cut in pieces between. As many as remained, made shift to flee and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Cavalry was sent out after them two ways in several bands : who also committed great slaughter and execution. That day were slain of the enemies about 23000, 4000 taken prisoners, with five hundred horse and above ; besides 88 military engines gotten from them and carried away. A great victory this was, but not without bloodshed of the Romans part : for of two legions there died somewhat more than two hundred, but of Latine allies 830, of foreign aids, much about 2400 lost their lives in the field. The Pretor then retired with his victorious army into his own camp. *Acilius* was commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next morning they tell to gather up the spoils of their enemies ; and those who had born themselves valiantly in that service among the rest, were rewarded with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the whole army. After this, when the burnt and maimed were brought back into the town *Eburacum*, the legions were led through the country *Carpetania*, towards *Contrebia*. This City when it was once besieged sent to the Celibierians for succour ; but they came not in time : not for any slackness of their part, but because after they were departed from home, and had entered on their journey, the foul waies hindered and staid them, which they were not able to pass for the continual rain that fell over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled so high, that possibly they could not come forward : whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in despair of help, from their friends, rendered the town. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous weather to put his army into the same City. Now the Celibierians, who were on foot in their journey, and not aware that their friends had surrendered, at length having passed over the rivers (when the rain gave over and the weather took up) came to *Contrebia* ; but seeing no camp without the walls, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dilloided and gone, they approached the town, and marched loosely and retchlessly forward in disorder. The Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put them to the rout. But see what happened : that thing which hindered them that they could not make head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours) the same flood them in good stead to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran for scattering, and were so spread all over the plains, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to compass them about on every side. Howbeit 12000 of them were killed, & above 3000 taken prisoners, besides 400 horse, 62 engines of war won from them. Those who after their struggling flight retired homeward, met with another troop of Celibierians coming forward, unto whom they retired, and the yielding up of *Contrebia* and their own misfortune : by which means they caused them to turn and goe back againe, who immediately flit away in their villages and forts. Then *Flaccus* departed from *Contrebia*, and conducted his legions through *Celiberia* wailling and spoiling as he went : where he forced many castles until the greater part of that country was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high Spain that year. As for the lower province, *Manlius* the Pretor fought fortunately in certain battells against the Portugals.

The same year a Colony of Latins was planted in *Aguilina*, within the territory of the Gauls, and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed with fifty acres of land. The Centurions received had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and forty acres apiece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. In which year also two Temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* near the gate *Colina* (which *L. Porcius Licinus* the son of *Lucius* dedicated, being a Duumvir deputed for that purpose, and had been vowed before by *L. Porcius* the Consul in the Ligurian war) the other to the goddess *Pity*, in the herb market : and of this chappell *M. Acilius Glabrio* the other Duumvir, had the dedication ; where, he erected and set up in the honor of his father *Glabrio*, a gilt statue, which was the first gilded image that ever was made in Italy. This *Glabrio* the father was he, who had vowed to edifie the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battell against *K. Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, and by warrant from the Senat, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those daies wherein these holy houses were consecrated, *L. Emilius Paulus* the Proconul, triumphed over the Ligurians Irgaures. He had born before him in these five and twenty golden Coronets, and dresses them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Ligurians, men of mark, whom he took captive, were led before his chair. He dealt among his soldiers, 300 Asles apiece. The fame of this triumph of his, was much more renowned by this

at this occasion, that the Ligurian Embassadors craved to have a perpetual peace with the Romans (saying, That their whole nation were relieved, never to take arms again, but by commandment and licence of the people of Rome. *Q. Fabius* the Pretor, returned his answer unto them by the advice of the Senat, That it was no news to hear this language from the Ligurians ; but as for them upon and was befitting rather, to carry a new mind, and the same agreeable to their speech ; and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and by them which they were enjoined to forsake much as the Senat would believe none but the word only of the Consuls in the behalf of the Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to obieve peace. Thus was peace concluded with the Ligurians : but there was a battell fought in *Corfica* with the Islanders there ; in which *M. Titinius* the Pretor slew 1000 of them in the field ; which defeat compelled them to give hostages and besides 100000 pound weight of wax, 10000 thence the army was conducted into *Sardania*, where passed some fortuitous battells against the Romans. A season at this day not fully quieted & appeased. In this very year also were the hundred hostages led back again to the Carthaginians ; with whom the people of Rome made and maintained peace, as well for their own part, as in the behalf of *K. Masinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession of that territory which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing to do. *M. Bibulus* was sent for to Rome, against the general assembly for the election of magistrates : who elected Consuls, *A. Posthumus Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After this, were elected Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, *P. Cornel. Mancinus*, *T. Minucius Molliculus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Mancinus* ; and they all retired into their magistracy upon the 15 day of March.

In the beginning of that year wherein *A. Posthumus Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls : *A. Posthumus* the Consul brought into the Senat twelve persons who were come from *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hither province of Spain : to wit *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant general, and the two colonels, *T. Manius* and *L. Massilius*. These men after they had made report of two fields fortuitously fought against the Celibierians, of their country yielded and brought under their subjection ; and that the term of government in that province was expired, and no more left to be done there ; so as there was no need either of the ordinary money which was wont to be sent for soldiers pay, or of corn to be carried unto the army for that year : requested of the Senat first to regard of their happy successe, to yield honor and praise to the immortal gods : and then, that *Q. Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, and bring with him that army of his from thence, whole valie in service, both himself and also many Pretors before him had used : which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisite and needfull in a manner to be done : forasmuch as the soldiers were so distressed and obliat, that it seemed impossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and depart without licence, if they were not dimissed : or else break out into some dangerous fire of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hand. The Senat gave order that *Liguria* should be the province for both Consuls : which done, the Pretors also cast lots for theirs. To *A. Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens : and to *Minutius* over the forrainers ; *P. Cornelius* had the government of *Sicily* : *C. Mancinus* of *Sardania*. Unto *L. Posthumus* was allotted the farther part of Spain, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the hither. This *Sempronius* (because he was to succeed *Q. Fulvius*) fearing his province should be left naked and disinforced of the old soldiers, I demand (qu. he) of you, *O L. Minutius*, since you bring word that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celibierians will continue still in their allegiance for ever, so as that province may be protected and held in obedience without any army at all ? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and loyalty of these Barbarians & do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whether you will give counsel to the Senat, for to send a supply into Spain : for they only should be called and discharged, who have served out their full years required by law, and so that new and raw soldiers be mingled with the rest of the old : or that the old Ligurians should full and whole be removed out of the province, and new legions enrolled, and sent thither in their stead ? Considering that the small account that usually is made of such faith and untrained soldiers, were enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebel and make war again ? Soon said it is, but not so easily done, to have made an end of all troubles in such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to wars, and prone ever and anon to make insurrections. Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which being near unto the soldiers lying in winter garrison, were by them held in awe and kept down, have yielded and are become subject : but they that were further off, be in arms still and have weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my LL) even now before hand, that I will perform my service to the Commonwealth, with the help of that army which is there already at this present ; but in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him, will submit that question which is in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my young and new soldiers among them, to be presented to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answered to these demands in this manner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life, to divine and foretell what was in the heart of the Celibierians now, and what they would mind and intend to do hereafter : and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was, to send an army among these Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) be-

"cause as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being subjects. But whether it be more expedient to employ new forces, as the old, it is for him to speak and fer down, upon his knowledge can say, how loyalty the Celtiberians will carry themselves in time of peace, and is withal assured, that the soldiery will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture and give a guess what they think in their heart, either by their grumbling words secretly one to another; or their speeches uttered in the presence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick audience: I tell you truly they have eyed out with open mouth, that either they will keep their General with them in the province, or home they will with him into Italy. This debate between the Pretor and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded before the Senat by the Consuls, who thought it meet and reasonable, that order should be taken for their own furniture and setting forth with men, money, and munition to their provinces, before any thing were spoken or treat of as touching the Pretor his army. So, ordained it was, that the Consuls should have their entire army of new soldiery, to wit, each of them two legions of Roman citizens with their cavalry, together with the usual and accustomed number at all other times of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horse. And with this power they had in charge to make war against the Ligurian Apuans. As for *P. Cornelius* and *M. Baebius*, they continued still in place of command: and were willing to hold their provinces, until the Consuls were thither come. Then they were commanded to discharge the army which they had, and to return to Rome. After this, speech there was concerning the army of *Tib. Sempronius*; and the Consuls had warrant to enroll one new legion, consisting of five thousand and two hundred foot and 400 horse: over and besides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horse of Roman citizens. Likewise the Latine nation was charged with a levy of 7000 foot and 300 horse. With which army it was thought good, that *T. Sempronius* should go into the higher province of Spain. As for *Q. Fulvius*, he was permitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all those soldiery, as well Romans as allies, which had been transported over into Spain before the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumus* and *Q. Martius*: and more than that (after a new supply was come) the supplement in two legions above 1400 foot, and 600 horse, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latins, and six hundred horsemen; and namely, those whose valorous service *C. Fulvius* had tried and found in two battles against the Celtiberians. Moreover, solemn processions and thanksgiving were by authority ordained for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-wealth: & then the rest of the Legions were sent into their provinces, *Q. Fabius* being had his commission renewed to govern *Gallia* still. Thus it was agreed in the Senat, that there should be eight legions maintained and kept in pay this year, over and above the old army in *Liguria*, which was in good hope shortly to be dismissed. Howbeit even these forces (being no greater than they were) hardly could be made full and complete by reason of the pestilence which now three years had reigned, and dispeopled the City of Rome and all Italy. During which plague the Pretor *T. Minutius*, and not long after him, the Consul *C. Calpurnius* died: with many other brave and famous persons of each degree and quality. So, at length these men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodigious token and strange wonder. Whereupon *C. Servilius* the Arch-bishop was charged, to search out means for to appease the wrath and anger of the gods; and the Decemvirs likewise to perseute the books of *Sibylla*: the Consuls to vow certain presents and oblations, to *Dian Apollo*, *Essestapins* and *Lady Salus*, and to set up their images garnished with gold: which he vowed and erected accordingly. The Decemvirs proclaimed supplications & prayers two daies together for the health of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent resort and assembly. Above twelve years of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flowers upon their heads, & bare branches of lawre in their hands, while they were at their prayers & devotion. Moreover, there was crept into mens heads a suspicion that some devilish and wicked hand might be the cause of all this. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, a commission was granted out unto *C. Claudius* the Pretor (who was substituted and chosen in the room of *T. Minutius*) to make search and diligent inquisition after all contentions of poison, & the practices thereof, within the City & for the compass of ten miles about it every way: In like manner, to *C. Manlius* for to fit in the enquiry thereof before he crossed over-sea into his province of *Sardinia* in all the mart-towns and places of assembly which were more than ten miles off from Rome. Of all others, the Consul his death was most suspected. For given out it was, that *Quarta Hostilia* his wife, had murdered him: but when he was seen once, that her own son *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was declared Consul in place of his father in law and mother's husband, the death of *Piso* the Consul began to be more infamous and suspicious: a great deal then before. And witnesses there came forth ready to depose, that after *Albinus* and *Piso* were pronounced Consuls (in which election the said *Flaccus* was rejected and suffered a repulse) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his dish, that this was the third time that he had for the Consulship and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be ready to stand for it again, for that the world would and bring it about, that within two months he should be Consul. Among other testimonies and depositions making for the cause and tending to the same, that speech of hers also, taking effect too truly and to just within the time, was thought sufficient to condemn *Hostilia*.

In the beginning of this spring, while the levy of soldiery raised the new Consul at Rome, whilst the death of the one and the choosing of the other into their place, caused all thing there

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A to go more slowly forward; in the mean time *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Baebius* who had done nothing worthy of the remembrance during the Consulship, led their armies against the Ligurian Apuans. These Ligurians, who before the coming of the Consuls into the province looked for no war, were surprized at unawares, and to the number of 12000 of them yielded: whom *Cornelius* and *Baebius* resolved, upon advice had first with the Senat by letters) to transport from the mountains, into plains and champion country from their own home; to the end they should have no more hope to return; for otherwise they supposed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samnitis country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of Rome, which sometimes had been in the tenure and possession of the Taurians. In which place they being desirous to plant the Ligurian Apuans, published an edict, that they should descend down the mountains *Andros*, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that ever they had. But the Ligurians sent their Embassadors oftentimes to intreat, that they might not be forced to abandon their domesticall gods, the place of their nativity, and the sepulchres of their ancestors; and therewith promised to deliver up their armor, and to put in hostages. Howbeit, seeing they could not prevail, and having not strength and power enough to wage war again, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there was transfarled from thence at the publick charges of the City, to the number of four thousand persons free born, together with their women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 15000 Sesterces, toward the building of new houses. And for to distribute and divide land among them the same men to wit, *Cornelius* and *Baebius* had commission, who also removed them into their parts. Howbeit at the request of these twain, there were Quinquagars or five commissioners assistants granted unto them by the Senat, by whose advice they might manage all their affairs being finished, after they had brought with them to Rome their old army, they obtained of the Senat a grant to triumph. And these were the first that ever triumphed & made no war before. Only the enemies were led in shew before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be carried or led in pomp; neither was there ought to be seen in their triumphs, which might bedekt and given among the soldiery.

The same year *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pretor in Spain, by occasion that his successor stayed long ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintering camp, and began to waite and spoil the farther parts and territories of *Celiberia*: from whence the inhabitants came not in to submit and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angered the barbarous people, then persuaded them: for when they had secretly gathered together certain forces and companies, they beleaguered and barred the passage *Manlianum*, by which they were assured that the Roman army would passe. As *Sp. Posthumus Albinus* was upon his journey into the nether province of Spain, *Gracchus* his colleague charged him to advertise *Quintus Fabius* for to bring his army to *Tarraco*, for that he propoised there to discharge his old soldiery, to distribute the supply which he brought, & to range in order all his army by companies. Notice also was given to *Flaccus* of the very day (which was neerer at hand) upon which his successor would come. This new occurrence caused *Flaccus* to lay aside those enterprises which he intended, and in all haste to withdraw his forces out of *Celiberia*. The barbarous people knowing not the cause hereof, but supposing that he had some inkling of their revolt, and now they had in secret taken arms, and that thereupon he was sore afraid, guarded and stepped the passage so much more streightly. Now to soon as the Roman army was entered into the pass one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies arose suddenly at once out of two parts, and charged the Romans which when *Flaccus* perceived, he gave commandment by the ministry of the Centurions, that every man should keep his place and stand on his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readiness; by which means he appeased the tumult and affright in his host. Then after he had brought all his labouring beasts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattelled and put in array all his bands and companies, partly by himself in person, and partly by his Lieutenants and colonels: according as the ground and the time required, shewing no sign at all of fear, but putting his men in mind of the enemies, in these terms: "Ye have (quoth he) to do with those that twice already yielded have yielded unto us, who are inured and practised still in wickedness & perjury, not bettered in virtue and courage: those I say who are like to make our return home honorable and glorious, which otherwise would have been obscure and nothing memorable: so as we shall carry to Rome for a triumph, our iwards all bloody and newly bathed in the green wounds and flesh massacre of our enemies; and bear away the spoils of their bodies, all embued and still dropping with their blood. Time would not permit him to say any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmost skirts of the army, and anon the main battels encountered and joyned conflict. The fight was hot and cruel alike in all parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought valiantly, and the two wings of either hand did their devoir as bravely. The auxiliary strangers had to deal with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themselves, but better soldiery by odds than they were; in such sort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranged battell and close hand-fight, call their companies into a pointed and coin-femmed battalion for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies in which manner of fight they are so strong, that it is not possible to withstand them, wherefore they give their violent charge. And then the legions also were put in disarray,

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and the whole main battel after a fort, was disbanded and broken. Which disorder and fear-H full trouble when *Flaccus* perceived he rode a gallop to the legionary men of arms: What? (qd. he unto them) is there no help at all in you? and shall this army here be thus defeated utterly and come to nought? Whereat they cryed on all hands to him to give direction and speak only the word what he would have done, & he should see how they would belitt themselves in the execution of his command. "Marry (quoth he) double your troops, you that are the horsemen of two legions, and run your horses with full carrier against that wedge-formed battalion of the enemies, where with they press upon our men; and this shall you perform with the more violence of your horses, if you disburden them and let them have full head, and to let spurs and rush in among them: which we have read in stories, that the Romans many a time have practised to their great praise and honour. No sooner said, but done it was; plucked were the hides over their horse heads; twice they ran through the mids of them and fro from one side to another, brake all their lances upon the enemies, overthrow them, and made foul work and slaughter among them. When this pointed battalion of the Celtiberians was once broken, (even the whole and only hope they had;) then they began to fear and tremble, then were they at the point to quit the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The extraordinary Cavalry in the out-wings (seeing to brave a service performed by the Roman horsemen) were enkindled: by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any mans commandments, charged upon their enemies, thus disordered and in disarray already. Then the Celtiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General seeing them once turn back and shew their hin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equitum*, and to exhibit games in the honor of *Imp. Opt. Max.* The Celtiberians, thus disbanded and scattered in the rout all over the length of the freight passage, were killed and cut in peeces. It is recorded that there died that day seventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prisoners alive more than three thousand, together with 27 field ensigns, and well near eleven hundred horses. For that day, the victorious army lodged within no camp at all: yet was not this victory so clear, but it cost them the losse of some souldiers: for of the Romans were slain four hundred seventy and two; of allies, and namely of Latins: 1019; and together with them, and souldiers three thousand. Thus the army having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to *Tarracoon*. *Tib. Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius*. *Tib. Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius*. In the way as he came, and showed how he rejoiced on his behalf, for this good man-ning and happy achieving the affairs of the commonweal: whom done, they agreed together with great accord as touching the souldiers, namely, which to exile and lend away, and whom to retain in their service. Then *Fulvius* having shipped the souldiers that were discharged, took his journey to *Rome*: and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into *Celtiberia*.

Both the Consuls led their forces into *Liguria*, and entered the countrey in two divers quarters, *Posthumius* with the first legion and the third, belet and invetted the two mountains, *Baifia* and *Suisfontanus*, and so freighly he kept the narrow passes of those parts with his garisons, that he cut them off from all victuals, and tamed them with extreame scarcity and want of all things. *Fulvius* with the second legion and the fourth, after he had assailed the Apuan *Ligurians* from the coast of *Pisa*, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river *Maera*; and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, he sent them over to *Naples*, coasting along the *Tuiscan* sea. From whence they were brought into the *Samnit* countrey, and a certain territory assigned them to inhabit amongst the rest of their countrymen. As for *A. Posthumius*, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the *Ligurian* mountaineers, so long untill they were driven by all manner of calamities following war, to come in and submit; yea, and to deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence *Posthumius* departed and took the sea, because he would visit the coasts of the *Ligurian* Ingunes and *Intemelians*. Now, before that these Consuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at *Pisa*; it chanced *A. Posthumius* & *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, the brother of *Q. Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof. This *Fulvius* was a Colonnell of the second legion, who during the time of those months, wherein he turn he had the command and charge thereof, diminished that legion, having bound the Centurions by an oath, that they should make payment back of their wage-money well and truly to the Quæstors in the chamber and treasury of *Rome*. Notice hereof being given to *M. Posthumius* at *Placentia*, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after those called souldiers, and pursued them with a company of light horsemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Pisa*; of the rest he gave information to the Consul, who put the matter to question, and after it had been debated in council, an act of the Senat passed against the said *M. Fulvius*, that he should be confined and sent into *Spain* beyond the farthest province of *Spain*. As for the souldiers, they were commanded to return again to their colours, and for an ignominious disgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they should be content and take up with fix months wages. And look what souldiers repined not to the army accordingly, the Consul had warrant and commission to make sale of him and all that he had.

The same year *L. Davonius*, who was returned with ten ships to *Brundisium* from out of *Ilyriam* (where he sat as Pretor the former year) leaving his ships there in the rode, came to *Rome*; where

A where, in discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and peace at sea upon *Geminus* the King of the *Illyrians*, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon the coast of the *Adriatick* sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to complain, but they could never find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Embassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Geminus*, who avouched, that when the Romans came for to parlie with the King, he hapned to be sick in the most remote parts of his kingdom: and therefore *Geminus* their King and master requested the Senat, who was to give credit to those false accusations and forged slanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But *Ennius* alleged moreover, that divers and sundry persons, as well citizens of *Rome* as *Latine* allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were slain and detained at *Coreyra*. Whereupon it was in council thought good that they should be brought to *Rome*, and that *C. Claudius* the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before such time no answer would be given unto King *Geminus* or his Embassadors.

Among many others that the plague this year consumed, certain priests and prelates also died, and namely, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whose room was chosen *Q. Fabius Labeo*. Also *P. Manlius* one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whole head *Q. Fulvius* the son of *Marcus* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very young, and not out of his em-brodered *Prætexta*. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of *C. Prætextatus Cornelius Dolabella*, there was debate between *C. Servilius* the Archibishop, and *Cornelius Dolabella* one of the Duumvirs for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that under years office, that he might consecrate and inaugurate him the King sacrificer, he refused to do so, for this cause the bishop set a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed to the people; and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paid? Now the end of it when mock of the tribes called into the rails for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey the bishop, and awarded the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that office which he had, behold it lightened at the very instant from heaven, which is the only ominous sign that interrupteth the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledge of the bishops made scruple of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but they consecrated *P. Cladius Scutulus*, who had this been in the second place. In the end of the year *C. Servilius Geminus* likewise the Archibishop himself departed this world, who also was one of the ten Decemvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledge of the bishops, deputed for the holy D. room. But *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was created the lower sign Pontifice, notwithstanding many noble persons made suit therefore. Likewise *Q. Marcius* *Philop* a Decemvir for the holy mysteries, *Scipio* the son of *Africannus* was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the inhabitants of *Cume*, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak *Latine*: as also to the publick criers, to make portale of goods in the *Latine* tongue. The Senat gave thanks to the Pisans for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, *Q. Fabius Dente*, *Marcus* and *Publius*, both named *Popilius*, and both surnamed *Lanus*. Letters were brought from *M. Marius* the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of *Sardinia*, had commission also to enquire after the practise of pyloning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of *Rome*) importing thus much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and that the informations and presentments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still, and therefore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province *Sardinia*.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* with great honour for his acts there achieved. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Consul with *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and within few daies after, rode triumphally into *Rome*, accompanied with his souldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumph a 1200 golden coronets. Moreover in gold 31 pound weight, besides 173.00 peeces of coin in *Olean* silver. He dealt to his souldiers fifty Denarii peeces out of the booty and pillage which he had gotten. To every Centurion he gave it double, and to the gentlemen of *Rome* that served on horseback, triple. The like he did by the Latin allies, and to all the general he paid double wages. This year was the law first propoted by *L. Julius* a Trib. of the Com. as touching the year of the age requisite and meet for to sue for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that family was surnamed *Annalis*. Many yeas after there were created four Pretors according to the law *Babin*, which provided that there should be each other year four chieftains. And there were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornелиus Scipio*, *L. Valerius Lavinius*, *Q. Fabius Dente*, and *M. both named* *Mutius*, and both surnamed *Scævola*.

Unto the Consuls *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* the government of the same provinces was ordained, which to those of the former yeas, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens as allies. In both provinces of *Spain*, *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Posthumius* continued still to have the command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Consul was enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Roman civill jurisdiction within the City of *Rome*, and commission to enquire into the devilish art of self calling pyloning both within the City, and within the compass of ten miles, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* was lord chief justice in forrain pleas and causes, *Q. M. Scævola* was lord deputy of *Sicily*.

and C. *Fulvius* in *Sardinia*. *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, before that he went in hand with any at-
tairs of State, said he would both discharge himself and also the City of the duty to Godward, in
performing the vows which he had made. He declared that on that very day wherein he fought
his last battell with the *Celiberians*, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honour of that
most mighty and gracious god *Jupiter*, and likewise to build a temple to *Fortuna* *Augusta*; and
how thereto the *Spaniards* had contributed certain sums of money. So a decree passed, that those
plates should be set forth: and two *Duumvirs* chosen, to give order and bargain for the edification
of the same temple. Likewise there was set down a certain list of money to be disbursed for the
delaying of the charges; so wit, not exceeding that sum in the solemnity of the plays, which
was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when he exhibited the like sports after the end of the *Aetoli-*
an war, *Item*, that for these games he should not seek or fend for, gather and raise, receive or do
any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senat, which in the time of *L. Aemilius* and *Cn. Babius*
the Consuls was made as touching such pastimes. This decree the Senat ordeined, by occasion of the
superfluous and excessive expences employed about the plaies of *T. Sempronius* the *Aedile*; which
were very chargeable not only to *Rome* and the Latine allies, but also to forraign provinces. The
winter this year was very sharp, by reason of snow, and all manner of tempestuous weather. The
streets that were tender and subject to frost and cold, were all blasted and killed; besides the win-
ter season continued much longer then ordinary in other years. And therupon the festivall so-
lemnity of the Latine holidays were troubled and disordered by a suddain and insupportable
storm and tempest upon the hill *Capitol* that by an ordinance of the Bishops, it was celebrated
again the second time. The same tempest cast down certain ages in the Capitol, and disfigu-
red very many places with thunderbolts and flashes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of *Ju-*
piter in *Tarracina*, the white temple at *Capua*; *Item*, the gate there called *Romana*, and the bat-
tlemens of the walls in divers places. Among these wondrous prodigies it was reported also
elements of the walls in divers places. For this cause the Decemvirs were com-
manded to go to the books of *Sibylla*: and out of that learning, they shewed to what gods sacrifice
should be made, & what number of beasts was to be killed. And because many places were with
lightning defaced, they obtained that a solemn supplication should be holden one whole day in the
temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the foresaid games and plaies which *Q. Fulvius* the Consul had
owed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the
election of the Censors, wherein *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Arch-bishop, and *M. Fulvius Nu-*
bilio, who had triumphed over the *Aetolians*, were created. Now between these two men, there
had been notorious enmity, oftentimes testified and shewed in many sharp and bitter debates,
between the Senat, and also before the people. When this election was ended, the two Censors ac-
cording to the ancient use and custome, (as upon their ivory chairs of estate in *Mars* field, near
the altar of *Mars*. To whom there soon repaired thither the principal Senators, accompanied with
a troop besides of citizens: and among the rest, *Q. Cassius Metellus* made a speech to this effect.
“My matters, you that are Censors, we have not forgotten that you ere while were chosen by
the universal body of the people of *Rome*, to be superintendents and wardens over us for our man-
ners and behavior; and that it becometh us to be taught, admonished, & directed by you, and not
you by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what therein in you, that either is offensive
to all good men; or at leastwise which they wish were amended. When we behold and con-
sider you severally put, either you, *O M. Aemilius*, or you *M. Fulvius*, we have not this day in the
City of *Rome* any men, whom if we were called to a new testimony for to passe our voices again, we
would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we see you both together,
we cannot chuse but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and coupled as com-
pansions in government; & that the common-weal shall not receive so much good by this. That
ye plague and like us all so well, as is usual harm in this. That you dispute and dislike one ano-
ther. These many yeers together, there hath been great heart-burning and much malice be-
tween you and the same must needs be grievous and hurtfull unto your selves: but now it is
become that from this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudiciall to us & the common-
weal, then unto you. Upon what motives and cause we are thus fearful, much we could say,
well, then unto you. Upon what motives and cause we are thus fearful, much we could say,
but that peradventure your irreconcilable anger is such, as hath incensed and possessed wholly your
spirits and minds already. These quarrels, jars, and grudges of yours, we all in generall would
request you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherein we are assembled: and
since the people of *Rome* by their voices have conjoined you in one office; suffer your selves
by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect atonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart
& without chafe the Senat; review the Cavalry and Knight-hood of *Rome*; number the citizens;
afflict their goods; purge and cleanse the City; & finally commendate the solemnity of the censo
with a sacrifice. And whereas in all your praies well-need, ye shall use this ordinary form of
words, *That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happily, to my self and to my col-*
leagues. See that you with the same truly, sincerely and from the very heart, that whatsoever ye
shall pray unto the gods for, we then may believe and all the world see, that you desire the same
to be effected indeed. *T. Tullius* and *Romulus* in this very City reigned together with great unity &
concord, in the midst whereof even in the very market place, they had encountered and joined
battell together as mortal enemies with their cruell armies. What! not enemies only have an
end, but wars also. And many a time most venomous and pitiful foes become faithful allies,
yes,

The Orator
of Metellus, to
the Censors,

- A “yes, and otherwhiles neer neighbors and fellow citizens. The Albans after their subjection and
“and utter ruin of their City, were brought over to inhabit *Rome*. The Latins & Sabins both, were
“ennidened Romans. An old saying it is, and not to old as true, and for the truth become a
“common proverb, that enmities ought to be transitory and soon die, whereas friendship should
“continue & live for ever. At these words, there arose a confused bust, among them there assem-
bled, in token of their content and approbation: and anon were heard the distinct voices of them
all in general, craving and requesting of the Censors the same: which making one entire found,
brake off the speech of *Metellus*. Then *Aemilius* among other matters complained, that *M. Fulvius*
had twice put him besides the Consulship, which otherwhile he was ture of. And *Fulvius* on the
other side found himself grieved, that he evermore by *Aemilius* had been provoked, and that he
B had waged law by stipulation against him to his dishonor and disgrace. Yet both of them made fair
and lawed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by
so many honorable personages of the City. So, at the instant request of all them that were present,
they shook hands and thereby assured one another to forgive and forget all matters past, and truly
to make an end of malice, and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commended
by the whole assembly, and conducted by them into the Capitell. Where the Senat approved
and highly praised, as well the careful industry of the principal citizens, in effecting this weighty
matter, as also the good nature and flexibility of the two Censors. Who afterwards when
they required to have a certain sum of money assigned unto them for to employ in the publick ed-
ifices and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one
whole yeer.
- C The same yeer *L. Posthumus* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Pretors in *Spain* agreed to together
that *Albanus* should make an expedition again the *Pacceti* through *Lusitania*, and to return from
thence into *Celiberia*. But *Gracchus* went as far as the utmost quarter of *Celiberia*, for that in
those parts there was the greater war. And first he forced the City *Munda*, which he surprised
suddenly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hostages, and put a garrison
there, he went forward assaulting forts and burning the villages, until he came to another City of
exceeding strength, which the *Celiberians* call *Cerisma*: where, as he was about to approach
the walls with his engines of batterry, there came unto him orators out of the City; who like good
plain men of the old world, made a speech unto him, nothing dissembling but that they would
war and be revenged, if their strength and forces were sufficient. For they requested leave to passe
D to the *Celiberian* camp, there to receive aid and succour: but if they could not speed, then they
would consult: part by themselves what to do. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*; and some few
daies after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day,
and the first thing that they craved at the Pretor his hand was this, That he would make them to
drink before they parted. When they had once quaffed and carowed round, they called again for
more: whereas, all that were present stood about them, laughed heartily, to see them so rude
and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldest man of the com-
pany began in this wise: We are sent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what affur-
E means hath induced you to levy war against us? To this demand *Gracchus* answered, That
he came with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army; which if they were so defi-
F rous he would do them the favour to see, that they might be able to make more certain report to
their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and
knight marshalls to put in arms and embattle all the bands and companies, as well foot as horse;
and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battell. These Embassadors
after they had once seen this sight, were sent away: who went directly to the *Celiberians* their
neighbors, and frighted them for sending any succour to the City besieged. The townsmen within
having in vain set fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their towers (which was the signal agreed
upon between them) and seeing themselves destitute of the only hope they had of aid, yielded
by composition. So they were enjoined to make payment of four and twenty hundred thousand
Sesterces; and to deliver forty of their noblest gentlemen and best men of arms: not by way
of hostages (for commanded they were to serve in the wars); and yet in truth, they stood for a
pawn of assurance for their fealty. From thence anon he marched to the City *Alba*, where the
C *Celiberians* lay encamped, and from whom of late the Embassadors afore said came: whom, for
certain daies he provoked to fight, making small skirmishes, by sending out against their corps de
guard his light-armed vanguardiers, to the end that scuffling together every day more then other
he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his
design had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliary souldiers, that after some
short skirmish, they should make semblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and as if
once turn their backs, and flee as fast as they could to their own camp: himself in the mean while
G put his men in battell array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might see
his own bands and companies retiring back on foot purpose, and running a way, and after them
the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chace. Now had he his army embattel-
led for the purpose, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer stay then only
to suffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he set up a loud cry, and at
one instant joined forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected
violent charge: and to they that were come to assail the camp of others, could not so much as de-
fend

Curvius, Titus Claudius Nero, and T. Pontius Capito. The Roman games were exhibited again the second time, by the two Aediles of the Chair. *Cn. Servilius Capito, and Ap. Claudius Ceno*, by occasion of certain prodigies that hapned: for there was an earthquake: and in the publick pavilions and tabernacles, where the sacred beds of the gods were solemnly spread, the heads of the gods which were laid in those beds, turned away of their own accord, and the wool together with the other coverlets which were laid before *Jupiter* fell down. It was taken also for a prodigious wonder, that the mice and rats had gnawn and tasted before of the olives upon the table [of *Jupiter*]: for the satisfaction and expiation of which prodigies, nothing else was done, but the solemnizing of those games and plaies again, as is afore said.

The one and fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and fortieth Book.

The fire in the Temple of Vesta went out. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, vanquished the Celtiberians, and received their submission for a memoriall of the worth by deeds by him achieved. he built a town in Spain called *Gracchuris*. *Posthumus Albinus* the Pro-Consul, subdued the *Perseans* and *Lusitans*: and both of them triumphed. *Antiochus* the son of King *Antiochus*, whom his father had given in hostage to the Romans, after the death of his brother *Seleucus*, who succeeded his father late decease, was sent from Rome into the Realm of Syria. The Consors held a review and numbering of the Citizens: and solemnly purged the City. There were enrolled in their books, of Roman Citizens 273,244. *Q. Voconius Saxa*, a Tribune of the Commons, published a Law. That no man should make a woman to be his full heir. *M. Cato* was the man that perswaded and spoke for this Law, and his Oracion is extant. Moreover, this book containeth the wars and exploits of many Captains against the *Ligurians*, *Strians*, *Sardians*, and *Celtiberians*: also the occasions and causes of the Macedonian war. *L. Julius Peneus* the son of *Philip* began: for he had sent an embassage to the *Carthaginians*, which they gave audience unto in the night sleaze. Other States also, and Cities of Greece he solicited. This *Perseus* setting religion aside (for man, strictly and magnificient Temples he built in divers places, and namely, at Athens, *Jupiter Olympius*: and at *Antiochia*, *Jup. Capitolinus*) was otherwise a King of most base demeanour and carriage.

The one and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The beginning of this book, and the greater part thereof immediately ensuing, is lost. *Imprimis*, As touching the disposition of the Provinces by lot, as well of Consuls as Prators: and namely, how the government of Gaullell to *A. Maclius*, and of *Liguria* to *M. Junius*: and how of the Prators *M. Titinius* was assigned to the hither Province of Spain, and *T. Pontius* to the further; *Nero* to *Etruria*, *T. Ebutius* to *Sardinia*. Item, as concerning the fire of Vesta, the exploits of *T. Gracchus* and *L. Albinus* in *Bisica* and *Portugal*: the survey and taxing of the City of Rome holden by the Consors; the Law *Voconia*, as touching the inheritance of women, mentioned in *Ulpian*: in *S. Aurelianus* de *Civitate Dei*, and other: finally, of the acts achieved by *M. Junius* about *Genova*. And thus it sheweth a prupt and broken front as ye see.

To have armed the same, which in peace he had received of his father: and for that cause it is said, That he was passing well beloved of the youth and lusty gallants, who desired nothing more than to spoil and raine booties.

Now when the Consul was in deliberation with his counsell, as touching war in *Isfria*, some were of opinion, to proceed thereunto incontinently: before that the enemies could assemble their forces; others advised to consult first with the Senate: but their counsell importuned, who were for speedy expedition. So the Consul dislodged from *Aquila*: and encamped near the Lake *Timavus*, which lieth hard by the sea. Thither came *Aius Firmus* (one of the navall Dumnivirs) with ten ships: for two full Dumnivirs or wardens had been chosen to make head against the Ilyrian fleet: who with twenty ships in all, keeping the upper sea, were to guard the sea-coasts: so as they had *Aeneas* (as it were) the middle center between: for *L. Cornelius* took the charge of all that lay on the right hand thereof as far as to *Tarentum*; and *C. Furius* of the left, unto *Aquila*. These ten vessels (I say) were sent to the next port, against the marches of *Isfria*, with other ships of burden fraught with store of victuals and provision. The Consul followed after with his legions, and pitched his camp five miles from the sea. And within a short time there was a good and frequent market kept in the port: from whence there was conveyed all manner of provision into the camp. And to the end that this might hold in more security, good guards were set about the camp.

A on every side. Toward *Isfria* there was one standing frontier garrison, consisting of a cohort of *Placentins*, levied on a sudden, opposed and lodged between the sea and the camp. And to the end the same might serve for a guard to defend them that watered at the river, *M. Ebutius* (a Colonel of the two legions) was commanded to adjoin two squadrons of souldiers out of the second legion. *T. and C.* both *Alis* (Colonels likewise) had led the third legion, by the way that goeth to *Aquila*, which should guard the forragers and fowellers. From which quarter about a mile distant was the camp of the French. And a certain petty King there was among them, one *Carmeninus*, having the conduct of three thousand armed souldiers, or somewhat more. So soon as the Romans were approached, the lake *Timavus* with their camp, the Ilyrians set them down secretly in a close place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman army as it marched, by croise and crooked waies, eysing and lying for all advantages that might be preferred: for intelligence they had of all that was done either at sea, or by land. And when they perceived upon a time the corps de guard before the campe feeble and weak, and that there was a great number of unarmed Merchants between the camp and the sea, without any defence at all either from land or water, they ran at once upon the forelaid guards, to wit, the *Placentine* cohort: and also the squadrons of the second legion. Now their enterprise at the beginning was covered and hidden by occasion of a morning mist, which at the first warmth of the sun brake and scattered away, and then began somewhat to appear through it: but the light was not yet clear and come to the full: by reason whereof every thing (as commonly in such a case) shewed far bigger than it was. And this at that time mightily deceived the Romans, causing the army of the enemies to seem the greater by many degrees. At which sight, the souldiers of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the camp with a great tumult and alarm, and there caused far more fear than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a ready answer to those that asked them the question. Over and besides, a great noise they heard from the camp gates, as where there was no sufficient guard to sustain the first assault. Besides, their running thus in a throng together in the dark, while one tumbled upon another, made such a confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy was within the rampier or no. No other cry was heard but this: To sea. To sea. For by occasion that one souldier at adventure began to set up that note, all the camp presently rung again therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at first, (as if they had been commanded so to do) to the sea they ran, some few armed, but the most part without any armor or weapons: afterwards more, and consequently at last in manner all; yea, and the Consul himself, seeing that he laboured in vain to reclaim them, back he fled, and could prevail neither by command nor authority, nor yet with pri-ers in the end: only *M. Lucius Strabo* (a Tribune or Colonel of the third legion, abandoned of his own legions) remained behind with three ensignes and no more. The Ilyrians finding him alone (for no man else was seen in arms to make resistance) entered joyntly into the camp ran upon him (as he was embattelling his souldiers and encouraging them in the quarter about the Prator's lodging) surprised, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmish and fight was more cruel, than for proportion of so few defendants: and not ended, before that the Tribune himself and those about him, were slain every man. The Generall his pavilion and all about it, was overthrowen: which when the enemy had ransacked and rifled of all that was there, they went as far as the treasurers lodging, the market place, and to the gate *Quinana*: where they found abundance of all things set out ready for their hands, and within the treasurers pavilion the tables spread and covered with good eates and meat upon them. Then their chief Lord & Leader (the petty King afore said) made no more ado but late him down, fell to his victuals and made good cheer; and anon all the rest following his example, did likewise, and never once thought of arms, or of enemies; and like to those who were not wont to fare so well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romans all the while stood in far other terms. They trembled, they went halting to their bulinels both on land and sea. Down went the shipmen and sailors with their tiles and booths; and look what provision of victuals or other things were set forth to sale upon the strand and shore, they harried and hurried a shipboard: the souldiers all affrighted ran again to the sea-side, for to be embarked. The mariners fearing lest their vessels should be overcharged, some put back the prets and wightood them for coming in, others shove off from the wharf, and lanced into the deep. Hereupon began a brawl and broil, and from that they fell together by the ears, souldiers and mariners, one with another: some went away with knocks and wounds, and others left their lives behind them: untill at length, by the Consul's commandment the fleet was retired far from the land. Which done, he began to sort the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of so great a multitude) twelve hundred found with armor about them, and very few horsemen that had brought their horses with them. All the rest were a confused and disordered company, resembling the rascall sort of camp-followers, as victuallers, launders, scullions, and lackies: who had been a ready booty to have preyed upon in case the enemies could have thought upon any feats of arms. Then at last came a messenger to recall the third legion and to surpise the guard of the Gauls: and with that, from all parts they began to return again toward their own camp, for to recover it, and wipe away and blot out the shameful stain and dishonour which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commanded the souldiers to throw down upon the ground their forrage and fowell, they charged the Centurions to let the elder and unweildy souldiers two and two upon the horses and

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labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load : and willed the horsemen to take up behind them every one a young lusty footman ; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion for to regain by their valour the camp , which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second : and easily (say they) may it be won again , if the Barbarians , whilst they are encumbered with the pillage , might be surprised at unawares , and be taken themselves , like as they overtook others before . This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the souldiers . Aloft were the ensigns born and advanced apace , neither staid the post-ensigns one whit for the souldiers . Howbeit the Cohort and those companies which were brought from the sea , came first to the rampier . *L. Atius* a principall Centurion of the second legion , not only encouraged the souldiers , but made remonstrance unto them , That if the Itrians these victories , had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it , they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea , so soon as they had turned them out of their tents : and afterwards have let a good *corps de guard* at leastwise before the rampier and the avenues thereof ; but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzzling wine they were dead asleepe like beasts . And herewith he commanded *A. Bacchonus* his own ensign-bearer , a man of approved valour and singular prowess , to advance his banner forward . Mary , that I shall (quoth he) full soon , if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly . With that he forced his whole strength and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp , he was the first himself that entered at the camp gate . On another part likewise *T. and C. both A. Elii* , and Colonels of the third legion , were come with their Cavalry : then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage , and after them the Cohort with his whole army . But of the Itrians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away : the rest were dead asleepe indeed , and never awoke again . So the Romans recovered all their goods , save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed . The Roman souldiers who were crazy and sick and had been left in the camp , after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier , found their hands again caught up weapons , and made a great slaughter and execution . But above all others *C. Popilius* , furnished *Sabellus* a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome* , bare himself most bravely that day , who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far . Eight thousand Itrians fell upon the edge of the sword , and not one taken prisoner alive : for the choleric and desperate indignation of the souldiers was such , as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties . Howbeit , the Cohort of the Itrians , drunk as he was , had no good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat , and hastily mounted on horseback by his men , and so fled away and escaped . Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven souldiers : and of them , more died in their morning fight than in the recovery of their camp . Now it chanced , that *C. and L. both named Gaulis* , new Coloners and inhabitants of *Aquila* , as they came with victuals , had like to have tumbled ignorantly upon the camp , when it was taken & possessed by the Itrians . They being retired back in great haste to *Aquila* , leaving their carriage behind them , set all on a fright & uproar not only at *Aquila* , but also at *Rome* within five daies after : for thither was the rumour run . That not only the camp was lost , and the army utterly defeated . Whereupon , as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms , writs went forth for musters and levies of souldiers extraordinarily , not in the City only , but also throughout all *Italy* . Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled , and the Latine allies were commanded to set out 10000 foot with 200 horse . *M. Junius* the Cohort had commandment to pass over into *Gallia* , and to levy of the Cities and States of that Province , as many as they were able to make and furnish . It was ordained withal , that *T. Clodius* the Prætor should make proclamation , that the souldiers of the fourth legion , and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse , should meet together at *Pisa* , and that in the absence of the Cohort he should defend that Province : also that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint the *Rendezvous* at *Ariminum* : that the first legion and the like number of allies , as well foot as horse , should there assemble . Then *Nerva* took his journey , clad in his rich coat of arms toward *Pisa* his Province . And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum* *C. C. C. C.* a Colonel , to take the conduct of the legion there , took musters at *Rome* . *M. Junius* the Cohort , passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul* , and arrived at *Aquila* , having levied aid-souldiers as he went of all the Cities of *Gaul* and the Colonies , to be in readiness out of hand . There he was certified that the army was safe and sound : whereupon he dispatched his letters to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm , and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them , went to his companion in government . Great was the joy at *Rome* , coming thus as it did unlooked for . The musters were laid aside , the souldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath , and the army visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was dismissed and sent home . The Itrians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men , not far from the Cohort's camp , after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army , disbanded and slipt every man away on all sides to their severall Cities , and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquila* , there to winter .

When their troubles of *Istria* were thus at length appeared , there went forth an act of the Senat , That the Cohort should agree between themselves , whether of them twain was to return to *Rome* for

A for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrats . At what time as *A. Licinius Nerva* , and *C. Papirius Turrani* , two Tribunes of the Commons , in all their Orations to the people inveighed bitterly against *M. Junius* in his absence , and promulged a Law to this effect , That after the Ides of *March* (for the Cohort had their governments already prorogued for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place , to the end that so soon as he was out of his office , he might presently be called to his answer judicially . *Quintus Elius* , one of their Collegues , withstood this bill by them propoled , and after much debate and contention prevailed so much that it passed not . About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *L. Posthumus Albius* being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* , had audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Delona* , there to discourse of the acts by them achieved , to demand their deserved honours . To the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortal gods . Moreover at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Eburnus* the Prætor , which his lion brought and strength of the *Balvris* had invaded the province standing in peaceable terms : neither was he able to make head against them with so feeble an army as he had ; & the same walked and continued in his humble suit to the Senat to relieve and succour their Cities at leastwise , for that their villages and country towns were already past help . This embassage , with all other matters concerning *Sardinia* , was put over to the new Magistrats : as pitiful an embassage also was presented unto them from the Lycians , who complained grievously of the Rhodians , unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio* . Indeed (say they) we lived some time under the censure of *K. Antiochus* , but the servitude of ours under the Cohort , comprised to this present state and condition wherein we now are seemed unto us an excellent liberty : for not only are we now yoked and kept under publike authority in generally , by taxes , levies , and impositions : but every one in particular endureth meer bondage and slavery . Our selves are abused , yea , and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes : upon our bodies , our backs and sides they work upon and discharge their humour of cruelty : in our good name (an indignity unupportable) we are detained , depraved , and deamed : yea , openly in the face of the world , they caley not to commit outrages against us , even to wrap and extend their authority over us , and to try matters upon us with extremity : to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt , that there is no difference between us and slaves bought and sold for filer in open market . The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the Lycians , addressed their letters to the Rhodians to this effect , that it was no part of their meaning and intent , that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians : or that any other born free , should be enthralled by any person : but their will was , that the Lycians should in such terms live under the government and protection of the Rhodians , that both States the one as well as the other might range and frame themselves like good subjects under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome* .

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain* , one immediately upon another : first *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians : and the morrow after *L. Posthumus Albius* over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts . *Tib. Gracchus* carried in slew 40000 pound weight of silver : and *Albius* twenty thousand . Both of them divided among their souldiers twenty five Denarii apiece , to each Centurion the same double , and trebble to every horseman . Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romans .

It followed about that time , that *M. Junius* the Consul , came out of *Istria* to *Rome* , by occasion of the election which was to be holden : and when the two Tribunes of the Commons , *Papirius* and *Licinius* , had in the presence of the Senat baited and wearied him with interrogatories , as touching the affairs passed in *Istria* , they brought him forth also before the body of the people . To which questions after that the Consul had answered , how he had not been above 11 daies in the Province : and as for the things that hapned in his absence , he knew no otherwise than they did , only by the common bruit and report : then they went on urging him still , and asking how it came to pass , that *A. Mælius* rather came not to *Rome* , to give account unto the State , why he passed out of *Gaul* (which was his allotted Province) into *Istria* : and to shew , when it was that either the Senat decreed , or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to enterprize that war ? But happily it may be said (quoth he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own head alone , yet no doubt , executed it was right worthily with policy and valour . Nay , I was , but far contented with it and hard it is to say , whether it were begun more lewdly than managed incon siderately . Two entire *corps de gard* were on a sudden at unawares surprised by the Itrians : the Roman camp was forced & taken with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein : the rest scattered without arms , and the Cohort himself was the foremost man that ran away to the sea side unto the ships : and surely he should render an account of all these matters , when he is a private person again since that he should not do it being Cohort . This storm past , the generall assembly for the Magistrats election was holden : wherein were created Cohort , *C. Claudius Pulcher* , and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* . The next day following were the Prætors chosen to wit , *P. Aelius Tubero* the second time , *C. Quinctius* , *L. Lucinius* , *C. Nummius* , *C. Mæmilius* , *C. Cornelius Scipio* , and *C. Valerius Laevinus* . The civil jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tubero* , the soverain to *Quintus* , and the government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Nummius* of *Sardinia* to *Mummius* . Howbeit , this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Cohort , And by lot it fell to *Gracchus* :

but *Istriato Claudius* his Collegue. *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces; whereof *Scipio* by lot **H** obtained one and *Laevinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entered their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrats, and *L. Minutius Thermus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, entered into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to dwell: which it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no souldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnites and Pelignians complained, that four thousand households were gone from them, and retired to *Fregella*: and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of souldiers in all their levies. Two cautious means and devices were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as yet issue of their race behind them in their house, That they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, some did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for, both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen **K** or other whom they liked of; with condition to manumite and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgessie and freedom of *Rome*, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practices, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an express inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassal and villain, and to alienate him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that, who-soever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These petitions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Istria* and *Sardinia* which were in arms to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or galleaces, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenal. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Istria*. The Consuls also were enjoined to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain*, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Crustumium*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Mars*: That in the territory of *Rome* there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Puteoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. While these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entered at the gate *Collina*, after much couring and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chase, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Consuls killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appertained, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, bel fell *Istria*, to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*. **N**

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by virtue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies and proclaimed. That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Marcus Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Prator had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict above said of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoined, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that who-soever were manumitted and made free, should take an oath, that he who manumitted or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, for to exchange the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumitted. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

While these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Aquileia*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontiers of *Istria*. Where, as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the

Istrians

Istrians entered into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pillaged and ransacked, than for any assured hope that they had of their influence, to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a commotion of their abeyance from all their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and tumultuary army, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage than with pertinence of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand: the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at *Rome* of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consuls, *C. Claudius* the Consul learning that this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province, and the conduct of the army, without long **B** lemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed thither, but only his Collegue. His voyage thither was not so rash and inconsiderate, but his courage there where after he had very uneasomely reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the souldiers, who were chief that tied) and with opprobrious terms shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this difference with his commotion in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province, whereupon the souldiers made answer again and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commandment which according to the ancient custome of their fore-fathers, he had made his totem vows within the Capitol; and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, as accompanied with his Officers, rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was so far engaged with anger, that he hated upon the treasures deeply belonging to *Manlius* for chains and gyres, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to *Rome*. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole host round about him; who as they supported the cause of their Captains and Leaders, so they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion, the Consul being laden and wearied with the tumultuous and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the trumps and laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to *Aquileia*.

From thence he wrote unto his Collegue by an Edict, to charge those new souldiers who were enrolled for *Istria* to meet at *Aquileia*: to the end that no business should keep him at *Rome*, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content and did all these things requisite full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the souldiers at his first coming; he made an Oration in the public audience of the people as touching the demeanor of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having staid no longer than three daies at *Rome*, he set out with his Lictors formally in their out-attour, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitol and to departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haste (if not more) as he **E** came from thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to animadvert by all forcible means the town *Nesutium* into which the principall persons of the *Istrians* and *Adriatic* kind were retired, *Claudius*, with his two new legions, perceived him before the town; and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to besiege it with mantles and engines of battery. The overflow of the river which ran along beside the walls, and not only impached the assaults, but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channel and bestowed many daies work thereabout. This mightily grieved the barbarous people to see how they were cut off from water; howbeit they never thought open for all this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children; and when they had so done, became they would **F** present to the view of their enemies, so horrible a sight and terrible spectacle; they mimicked them upon the walls openly in their fight, and then threw them headlong down. While the silly women and poor infants (amidst their pitious and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman souldiers mounted over their walls and entered into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the terrible outcomes of those who fled) that the town was lost; for fear he should be taken alive flabbed himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this two other towns, *Munda* and *Exeria*, were won by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was bestowed every whit upon the souldiers. Five thousand and six hundred and two and thirty persons were sold out-right in port-aule under the guideline. The Captains of this war were first engaged with **G** rods and then executed. Thus *Istria* by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeased: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made submission, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The *Istrians* war was no sooner ended but the Liguans began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Pro-Consul, (who the former year had been Prator) was governor and commander at that time of *Pise* with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other

Consul

labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; and willed the horsemen to take up behind them every one a young lusty footman; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion, for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second; and easily (say they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, whilst they are encumbered with the pillage, might be surprised at unawares, and be taken themselves, like as they overtook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the soldiers. Aloft were the ensigns born and advanced apace, neither staid the port-ensigns one whit for the soldiers. Howbeit the Col, and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Atrius* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not only encouraged the soldiers, but made remonstrance unto them. That if the Ithrians these victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents; and afterwards have let a good corps de guard stay awhile before the rampier and the avenues thereof; but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzzling wine they were dead asleepe like beasts. And herewith he commanded *As Baculus* his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowess, to advance his banner forward, saying, that I shall (quoth he) full soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp, he was the first himself that entered at the campgate. On another part likewise *T.* and *C.* both *Albi*, and Colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavalry; then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Col, with his whole army. But of the Ithrians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away; the rest were dead asleepe indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Roman soldiers who were crazy and sick and had been left in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier found their hands again caught up weapons, and made a great laughter and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, furnished *Sabellus* a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome*, bare himself most bravely that day, who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Ithrians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive; for the choleric and spitefull indignation of the soldiers was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the Col, of the Ithrians, drunk as he was, had to good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men, and so fled away and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven soldiers: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their camp. Now it chanced, that *Cn.* and *L.* both named *Gaulis*, new Colonels and inhabitants of *Aquila*, as they came with victuals, had like to have tumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken and possessed by the Ithrians. They being retired back in great haste to *Aquila*, leaving their carriage behind them, set all on a fright and uproar not only at *Aquila*, but also at *Rome* within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run. That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the army utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms, writs went forth for musters and levies of soldiers extraordinarily, not in the City only, but also throughout all *Italy*. Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commanded to set out 10000 foot with 100 horse. *M. Junius* the Col, had commandment to pass over into *Gallia*, and to levy of the Cities and States of that Province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withal, that *T. Claudius* the Prætor should make proclamation, that the soldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at *Pisa*; and that in the absence of the Col, he should defend that Province: also that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint the Rendezvous at *Ariminum*; that the first legion and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then *Nero* took his journey, clad in his rich coat of arms toward *Pisa* his Province. And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum* *Caius C. Julius* a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took marches at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Col, passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul*, and arrived at *Aquila*, having levied aid-soldiers as he went of all the Cities of *Gaul*, and the Colonies, to be in readinesse out of hand. There he was certified that the army was safe and sound: whereupon he dispatched his letters to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government, Great was the joy at *Rome*, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the soldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath, and the army visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was diminished and sent home. The Ithrians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Col, his camp after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army, disbanded and slipped every man away on all sides to their severall Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquila* thence to winter.

When the troubles of *Italy* were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senat, That the Col, should agree between themselves, whether of them twain was to return to *Rome* for

A for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrates. At what time as *A. Licinius Nervæ*, and *C. Papirius Turanus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people inveigled bitterly against *M. Junius* in his absence, and promulged a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of continue no longer in place, to the end that it should be out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Ælius*, one of their Collegues, withstood this bill by them propoed, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, there to discourse of the acts by them achieved, to demand their deserved honors. To the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortal gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letter from *T. Eburnus* the Prætor, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*: Namely, that the Ithians which his son brought and made head against them with so feeble an army as he had, so the same waies neither was he able to winch the perfistence. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the Sardinians, making humble suit to the Senat, to relieve and succour their Cities at leastwise, for that their villages and country towns were already past help. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, the Lycians, who complained grievously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by *L. Coracilius S. Spon.* Indeed (say they) we lived some time under the tyranny of *K. Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the Col, compured to this present state and condition wherein we now are seemed unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now yoked and kept under publicke authority in generally, by taxes, levies and impositions: but every one in particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yes, and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and dest they work upon and discharge their humour of: meety in our good name (an indignity unpardonable) we are detained, depraved, and deamed: yea, openly in the face of the world, they create not to commit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try matters upon us with extremity: to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt, that there is no difference between us and slaves bought and sold for filch in open market. The Senat moved that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: that any, or that any other born free, should be enthralled by any person: but their will was, that the both States the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good citizens under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome*.

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain*, one immediately upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians: and the morrow after, *L. Posthumus Albinus* over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in shew 40000 pound weight of silver: and *Albinus* twenty thousand. Both of them divided among their soldiers twenty five Denarii apiece, to each Centurion the same double, and treble to every horseman. Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romans.

It followed about that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul, came out of *Spain* to *Rome*, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, *Papirius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senat baited and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affairs passed in *Spain*, they brought him forth also before the body of the people, to which questions after that the Consul had answered, how he had not been above 11 daies in the Province: and as for the things that hapned in his absence, he knew no otherwise than they did, only by the common bruit and report: then they went on urging him fill, and asking how it came to pass, that *A. Mælius* rather came not to *Rome*, to give account unto the State, why he passed out of *Gaul* (which was his allotted Province) into *Spain*: and to shew, when it was that either the Senat deceived, or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to enterprize that war? But haply it may be said (quoth he) that albeit the war was undertaken upon his own head: yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policy and valour. Nay, I wis, but far contrariwise: and hard it is to say whether it were begun more wisely, than managed inconspicuously. Two entire corps de guards were on a sudden at unawares surprized by the Ithrians: the Roman camp was forced & taken with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the rest scattered without arms, and the Col, himself was the foremost man that ran away to the sea side into the ships: and surely he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a private person again since that he should not do it being Col. This storm past, the generall assembly for the Magistrates election was holden: wherein were created Coll. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Prætors chosen: to wit, *P. Ælius Tubero* the second time, *C. Quintus*, *L. Cæcilius*, *C. Numius*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Valerius Leptinus*. The civil jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tubero*, the sortain to *Quintus*. The government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Numius*: of *Sardinia* to *Mummius*. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Col. And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*: but

but *Ifratio* and *Claudius* his Colleague. *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces; whereof *Scipio* by lot obtained one, and *Laevinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entered their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Ifratia*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrates, and *L. Minutius Thermus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Ifratia*, entered into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how the dangerous wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassages of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Consuls and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their the Consuls and Consuls of the former year: the sum of them departed and removed thither to their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to dwell: which it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no soldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnites and Pelignians complained, that four to four hundred households were gone from them, and retired to *Fregella*; and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of soldiers in all their levies. Two cautious means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left issue of their race behind them in their house, that they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, some did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen; or other whom they liked of, with condition to manumite and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, that held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgessie and freedom of *Rome*, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practices, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an express inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassal and villain, and so to alienate him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that, who so ever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These laws were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Ifratia* and *Sardinia* which were in arms to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousand, and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quingitremes or gallexes, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenal. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Ifratia*. The Consuls also were enjoined to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain*, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Crispianum*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Mart*: that in the territory of *Rome* there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Puteoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. While these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entered at the gate *Collina*, after much courting and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chase, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Consuls killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appeared, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, fell *Ifratia*; to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*.

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by virtue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies and proclaimed. That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Consulship of *Marcus Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mammilius* the Prator had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law an Edict aboveadd of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoynted, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that whosoever were manumitted and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumitted or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, to overthrow the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumitted. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

While these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Aquileia*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontiers of *Ifratia*. Where, as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the

A Ifratians entered into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pilled and ransacked, than for any assured hope they had of other succour, to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a commotion of their able youth, to man their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and tumultuary army, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage than with pertinence of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand: the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at *Rome* of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consuls, *C. Claudius* the Consul learning left this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province and the conduct of the army, without solemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed suddenly in great haste (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no man privy thereto, where after he had very unseasonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the soldiers, who were the first that fled) and with opprobrious terms shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion: in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the soldiers made answer again and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commandment when according to the ancient custom of their fore-fathers, he had made his solemn vows within the Capitol, and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his Lictors in their rich coats of arms, warlike, hereat he was so far enraged with anger, that he caused upon the treasures depyly belonging to *Manlius* for chains and gyres, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to *Rome*. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole host round about him; who as they supported the rule of their Captains and Leaders, so they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion the Consul being laden and wearied with the contumacious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the trumps and taunts of the multitude in general (for they stuck not over and besides to mock him and make a laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to *Aquileia*, in the same ship wherein he came. D From thence he wrote unto his Colleague by an Edict, to charge those new soldiers who were enrolled for *Ifratia* to meet at *Aquileia*: to the end that no business should keep him at *Rome*, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content and did all these things requisite full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the soldiers at the *Red-woods* above-mentioned. But *Claudius* was at *Rome* well-near as soon as his letters: where, at his first coming, he made an Oration in the publick audience of the people as touching the demeanour of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having staid no longer than three daies at *Rome*, he set out with his Lictors formally in their coat of arms, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitol and to departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haste (if not more) as he came from thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to animadvert by all possible means the town *Nesumum* into which the principall portions of the Ifratians, and also their King, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, perceived him do so before the town: and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to set it with mantlets and engines of battery. The course also of the river which ran along by the walls, and not only encompassed the assailants but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channell and belowed many daies work the about. This might have frightened the barbarous people to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit they never thought of expecting for this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children: and when they had no more thought of this, they went prent to the view of their enemies, so horrible a sight and terrible spectacle they imagined they would upon the walls openly in their fight, and then threw them headlong down. While the silly women and poor infants amidst their piteous and lamentable cries were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman soldiers mounted over their walls and entered into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the full outcries of those who fled) that the town was lost, for fear he should be taken alive flung himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this two other towns, *Manlia* and *Fregeria*, were won by assault and raled. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was flowed every whit upon the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and two and thirty persons were sold out right in port-lane under the guindall. The Captains of this war were first scourged with rods and then beheaded. Thus *Ifratia* by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was made submission, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The Ifratians war was no sooner ended but the Ligurians began to conspire to take arms and enter into rebellion. *C. Claudius* the Pro-Consul, (who the former year had been Prator, was governor and commander at that time of *Pisa* with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other

Consul

Whiles mens minds were much possessed already with religion, and set upon their deu-
 ons word was brought moreover of certain fearfull prodiges: to wit, that at *Tifulum* there was
 seen a burning flame in the sky: that at *Gabes*, the Temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens
 honics:

There wanteth the beginning of a discourse as touching the demeanor of K. Perſus.

and incontinently inveſted the Town, making full account, that the next day either the enemies H would yeeld, or elſe they ſhould be able to win the place by mere force. In the mean time, the other regiment abovementioned of the Dardanians, which ſaith about, knowing nothing at al of their fellows deſcend, began to aſſail the camp of the Baſtarnians, left without a ſufficient guard for defence.

* * * As the manner of the Kings was he ſate in a ſtately throne of Ivory to hear pleas and decide controversies of the ſmalleſt and moſt trifling matters. So tranſported was he and carried away with an humor of levity and ſpirit of incontinency, ſo diſtracted & wandering in al the courſe of his life, that he was never ſettled and well contented in any condition or ſtate whatſoever: in ſuch ſort, as neither he knew his own ſelf, nor any man elſe witt well what to make of him. He would not ſeem to ſpeak unto his friends, and hardly was ſeen to laugh familiarly among thoſe of his neereſt acquaintance. He made a fool of himſelf, and mocked others likewise: ſuch was his inordinate and arrogant muſiſcence. To men of honor ſtanding highly upon their worth and reputation his manner was to bellow childiſh trifles, as ſugar-plums to eat or to play withal, toys and gewgaws inſtead of great and pretious preſents: others again that looked for nothing, thoſe he enriched. And therefore ſome deemed, that he knew not what he did: others gave it out, that he did al in plain mockage: and there were again that let not to ſay, how he was out of his right wits, and clean beſides himſelf. Yet in two things, which were both great and laudable, he carried with him a Princely and Royal mind indeed to wit, in adorning Cities with ſtately gifts, and honouring the Gods with divine worſhip. He promiſed the Megapolitans in *Arcadia* to raiſe a wall about their City: and in truth the better part of the money to defray the charges thereof, he lent unto them. He went in hand to build a magnificent Theatre of marble at *Tegara*: at *Cizicum*, K he gave freely to the *Prytanæum* (a fair hall by it ſelf in the heart of the City, whereat the common charges, certain had their diet office-*ceſt*) by way of honourable reward, a cupbord of golden plate ſufficient for the furniture and ſervice of one table. As for the Rhodians, I cannot ſay, what one ſpecial gift ſingular above the reſt, he beſtowed upon them: ſo liberally minded was he to them-ward and his hand ever open to give them of all ſorts whatſoever they needed or required. Now, his magnificence in honoring the Gods, what it was (if there were nothing elſe) the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* begun by him in *Athen* (ſo univerſally in the whole world) may teſtify ſufficiently. Moreover, he beautified *Delos* with goodly ſea-enſigns, and with a great number of ſtatues and images. Likewise he promiſed to edify at *Antiochia* a ſtately Temple in the honor of *Jupiter Capitulinus*, not only arched above-head with a golden embowed roof, but ſealed allover the wall ſides with plates of gold: beſides many other things in divers places, which by reaſon that he reigned but a very ſhort time, he could not finiſh and perform. In magnificence alſo of plays, publick ſhews, and pageants of every ſort, he over-went al the Kings his progenitors before him, as well in regard of Grecian actors and gameſters, whereof he had many about him, as of the reſt who were acquainted with the faſhions of his own country. He repreſented the fight of ſword-players at the ſharp with unrebated delight of men, who were not uſed to behold ſuch fights: but afterwards by often exhibiting the ſame, in ſuch manner, as ſometimes they drew blood one of another, yea and otherwhiles gave not over lo, but fought to the uttermoſt, even to death, he made it a familiar exerciſe & a pleaſant ſpectacle to the eyes: and thereby ſet an edge upon the courage of many young gallants, and emboldened them to embrace chivalry and follow feats of arms. So as in proceſs of time, he that was wont at the beginning to ſend as far as *Rome* for theſe ſenſers, and to hire them for great wages and reward, now with his own * * * L. *Cornelius Scipio* (had the juſtification) over ſortainers, To *M. Atilius* the Pretor, the government of *Sardinia* by law was fallen, but he was enjoyned to paſs over into *Corſica* with the new legion which the Conſuls had enrolled, conſiſting of 5000 foot and 300 horſe. And during the time that he ſhould be employed there in, the wars, *Cornelius* had commiſſion to continue in his charge and place of command, within *Sardinia*. Unto *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* for low Spain; & *P. Furius Philus* for the higher, were aſſigned 3000 Roman footmen and an 150 horſe: but of Latine allies, 5000 of the one and 300 of the other. N As for *L. Claudius*, he was appointed to *Sicily* without any ſupply at all. Moreover, the Conſuls had commiſſion to enrol two legions beſides, with the full number as well of foot as horſe and to charge the [Latine] allies, with the ſetting out and maintenance of a 1000 footmen & 600 horſe. This levy and taking of muſters, the Conſuls went through with, in more difficulty, by reaſon of a great mortality, which beginning the year before with a murrain of kine & oxen, turned this year into peſtilent epidemical diſeaſes of men. Look who fell ſick once, lightly they died before the ſeventh day: and thoſe that overlied and eſcaped that *crife*, lay long ſick by it, and commonly of the quartan ague. The moſt that went of this malady were ſlaves, whoſe breathleſs carcaſſes lay ordinarily along every ſtreet unburied: and more than that, * men were not able to inter ſo much as the dead bodies of free perſons they died ſo thick: in ſuch ſort, as they purified and rotted above ground: for neither hungry dog nor greedy gripe, would once touch them. And for certain it was known and noted, that neither al that year nor in the former, during the mortality of man and beaſt, there was not a vultur or gripe any where to be ſeen. Divers Prelats and Priests of State dropt away of this plague, and namely, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* a Biſhop, the father of the Pretor: *Tib. Sempronius Longus* the ſon of *Titus* one of the Decemvirs for ſacred rites and divine ſervice: *P. Ælius Patus* the Augur: *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *C. Ateilius Æmilius* the chief ſuperintendent

* Libitina non ſufficient.

A of all the pariſh-prieſts, and *M. Scmp. Tuditanus* a Biſhop. Theſe were ſubſtituted Biſhops in place of the dead to wit, *C. Sulpitius Galba* in ſtead of *Tuditanus*. * For Augers were ſubordinated, *T. Veturius Crasſus Sempronianus* in the room of *Gracchus*; *Q. Ælius Patus* for *P. Ælius*. Decemvirs over holy rites were elected, *C. Scmp. Longus*, and *C. Scribonius* ſurnamed *Curio*, ſupplied the want of the grand ſuperintendent aforeſaid. Still continued the peſtilence: whereupon the Senat^r ordained, That the Decemvirs ſhould have recourſe to the books of *Sylla*: by whole order and direction, publick ſupplications held for one day long: and after a devout manner, the people conceived and made a ſolemn vow in the common place, according to that form of words which *Q. Marcius Philippus* induceth and prompted unto them to this effect: That if this malady and peſtilent diſeaſe, were removed out of the territory of *Rome*, they would for two daies paſe a ſolemne vow a feaſt-go in proceſſion and pour out their prayers with al devotion. In the Veientian^r country a man child was born with two heads; and another at *Stimula* but with one hand. At *Ostia*, a maid child came into the world with teeth in the head and over the Temple of *Saturnus* (ſtanding in the market place of *Rome*) there was ſeen in the ſkie a bow full bent al the day long, if the air were clear and the weather fair: and at one time there ſhone out three ſuns. Alſo in one night, there evidently appeared many flaming lights and fire drakes floating along in the air. The men of *Lanuvium* and *Cere* affirmed plainly, That within their Town they ſaw a Serpent with a creſt and mane, yea, and the ſame marked al over with yellow ſpots like gold: and it was head for certain, that in the territory of *Capua* an oxen ſpake.

Now were the Embaſſadors returned out of Affrick by the * Names of *Jure*, thoſe I mean who went to *Carthage*, after they had been with King *Maſſiſſa*, and ſpoken with him. But better & more certain intelligence they had by this King than from the Carthaginians themſelves, as touching the affairs that had paſſed in *Carthage*. Howbeit ſo much they reported upon their aſſured knowledge, that Embaſſadors came from King *Perſus*, and had audience in the Senat^r ſecretly by night within the Temple of *Æſculapius*. Alſo both the King, ſhined ſtarry, and the Carthaginians themſelves but faintly denied, that Embaſſadors likewise had been ſent from *Carthage* unto *Macedony*. Whereupon the Senat^r was of advice and resolved to diſpatch their Embaſſ^r alſo into *Macedony*. And theſe three were ſent to wit, *C. Lælius*, *M. Volterius M. ſtulus*, and *Sex. Digintus*.

During this time *Perſus* by occaſion that certain Dolopians obeyed him not, and of ſome matters in controversy, had diſſerent^r referred the audience, and decision to the Romans, and reſtored the arbitrement of the King led forth an army againſt them, and reduced the whole nation under his obedience and juſtification. From thence he paſſed over the Oetean mountains, and upon certain religious motions ariſing in his mind, he went up to *Delphos* for to viſit the Oracle. Being thus on a ſudden ſeen in the very heart and midſt of *Greece*, he ſtruck a terror not only into the cities next adjoining, but alſo the bruit of this tumultuous alarm was blown aſſur as to *K. Eumenes*. After he had ſtaied at *Delphos* not above 3 daies, he returned into his own realm, by the way of *Phibetia*, *Achaia* and *Theſſaly*, without any damage done or wrong offered to the territories through which he paſſed. Neither thought he it ſufficient thus only to win the love and favor of thoſe Cities & ſtates through which he was to journey, but he addreſſed either Embaſſadors or wrote his letters, praying them to bear no longer in mind the enmities which had been between them and his father, for almuch as they were not ſo bitter and deadly, but they might well enough, yea, and ought to end and die with him: as for himſelf, he ſaw no let or hindrance in the world to embrace them for entertaining a faithfull amity with him. But above al others he ſought means to be reconciled to the Achæans, and to reenter into grace and favor with them. This nation alone of all *Greece*, together with the City of *Athen*, were grown into theſe terms of deſpight and malice againſt the Macedonians, that they debared them from once ſetting foot within their confines. And hereupon it came that when certain ſlaves fled out of *Achaia*, they retired into *Macedony* for refuge, and there remained: and becauſe the Achæans had forbidden the Macedonians to come within their liberties, they durſt not likewise for their parts enter into the marches and frontiers of his Kingdom to recover their bondmen. Which when *Perſus* perceived he cauſed al thoſe fugitive ſlaves to be apprehended, and he diſpatched his letters into the Achæans, wherein he wrote,

F That he would right courteouſly ſend back their ſlaves home again, although they were run away from them unto him: adviſing and adviſing them to beware and look well unto it, that there were no more any ſuch eſcapes and runnings away of their bond ſervants hereafter. When theſe letters were read by *Xenarchus* their Pretor, who fought to curry ſome favor and to wind himſelf into grace with the King moſt of them that were preſent judged the letters to have been written right graciouſly and with great government and moderation, but principally thoſe perſons, who beyond their hope were to recover and receive their ſlaves whom they had loſt. But *Callicrates* one of them who were fully perſwaded, that the ſafety of their whole eſtate depended upon the loiall obſervance and inviolable maintenance of the accord contracted with the Romans, ſpoke thus or to this effect following, "It may ſeem to ſome here (ſay he) my maſters of *Achaia*, that we are in queſtion at this preſent of a ſmall matter and of mean importance: but for my part am of opinion, that we are not now in hand to treat but have already debated, and after a fort concluded, one of the greateſt affairs and of moſt conſequence that we know. For we who have intereſted the KK. of *Macedony* and the Macedonians to come within our borders, and have decreed that this edict may ſtand firm and irrevocable, and that for this intent eſpecially, becauſe we would admit neither Embaſſadors nor meſſengers from the KK. for fear left by enterourſe

The oration of Callicrates the Achæan.

* Servili, 25
fume think

* Morta

The Oration
of Archid.

"of them, the hearts of some among us might be solicited and tempted to novelty and alteration: For we now are content to hear the King, although absent in person, preaching in some sort to us, yea, and more than that (God send us good luck) approve and applaud his Oration. And whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid for a bait to deceive and hurt them, yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same, we, blind beetles that we are, suffer our selves to be caught and fed with the vain appearance and colorable shew of a little kindness, and for hope to recover some poor slaves (a matter of small worth & reckoning) suffer our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of subversion. For who leeth not, that the overture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the King, only to violate and break out association with the Romans, wherein standeth all our weal and welfare? Unless some man peradventure will make a question, whether the Romans must levy war against I P. *Perseus* (no doubt thereof) now after *Philip* is dead, which in his life time was expelled, and by his death only interrupted? Two sons, ye know full well, *K. Philip* had, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*. For nobleness of parentage by the mothers side, for virtue, for wit, for the love and affection of the Macedonians, *Demetrius* far surpassed his brother. But for that the father intended ever & meant, that whether of his two sons hated the Romans, he should have the crown after him for recompence he caused *Demetrius* to be murdered, for no other crime in the world that could be laid to his charge, save only that he was entred into amity with the Romans: but *Perseus* he made the King, whom he knew that the people of *Rome* judged more worthy to suffer punishment than to inherit a Kingdom. And this *P. Perseus*, what other thing hath he done else after his fathers decease but made preparation for war: First and foremost, he procured the Bithynians, to the terror of all the world for to invade *Dasdania*: who if they had it ruled there, *Greece* should have had more troublesome neighbors of them than *Asia* hath of the Galatians. And albeit he was disappointed of this hope yet he gave not over to design and plot for war; nay, if we will speak a truth, he hath already begun the war. *Delos* he hath subdued by force of arms & could not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debatable and litigious should be referred to the award of the people of *Rome*. From thence having passed over the mountain *Olympos*, that all upon a sudden he might shew himself in the very centre of *Greece*, he ascended up to *Delphi*. And to what end, think ye, hath he taken this diswonted voyage and unaccustomed expedition? After this he made his progress all over *Thessaly*: And what if he annoyed and hurt none of them all, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me so much the more this manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them whither. Then, forsooth, he sendeth his letters unto us, with a goodly shew of a bon-prefect, and willet us to think of no means how to prevent (from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to enlure and repel that edict of ours, wherein the Macedonians are debarr'd from setting foot within *Peloponnesus*? and to bring about, that we may have again the Kings Embassadors to come unto us, that we may entertain mutual hospitality between their Princes and ours? and anon after, see the Macedonian armies, yea, and the King also in person to cross from *Delphi* (for a small arm of the Sea lieth between) (straight over into *Peloponnesus*) and finally, that we band and combine with the Macedonians, when they shall take aims against the Romans? As for me, this is mine advice: to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entire order, as they now stand until such time as we are come to some certain terms. Whether we have cause to be afraid, or fear only our own shadows? If the league shall continue firm and sure between the Romans & the Macedonians, then may we have intercourse of friendship, of commerce and traffick with them. But for this present to think & consider hereof in my simple judgment is a nice and ticklish point, & besides out of season, untimely, and somewhat with the foolishness. When he had thus said, *Archidamus* brother to *Xenarchus* the Pretor discours'd in this manner following. "Callicrates" (quod) he hath caus'd both me and all of us besides, who are of contrary opinion to him, for to find the more difficulty in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whiles in maintenance of the association which we have with the Romans, he saith that it is disturbed and troubled, & (albeit there be no man about either to disturb or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and contrived, that whatsoever seemeth to gain say him may be thought to oppose and let himself against the Romans. In the first place, as if he had been a man, not converting here among us, but one come from the Senat of *Rome*, or some inward secretary and of the privy council to the KK, he knoweth forsooth and uttereth all that in great secrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretelleth like a wise man what would have ensued, in case *Philip* had lived longer: & namely, how it came about, that *The Perseus* thus inherited the crown: what the Macedonian designs are: and what the Romans intend to do. But we, who know neither for what cause nor in what manner *Demetrius* came by his death nor yet what *Philip* meant to have done if he had lived still, must accommodate & frame our counsel to those occurrences which have openly pass'd in the view of the world. We take knowledge, that *Perseus*, after he was invested in his throne and crowned King, repair'd to the Roman Embassadors: and we knew likewise that he was intuitivly by the people of *Rome* with the style of (King *Perseus*). We hear besides that Roman Embassadors came to the King, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgment, these be all signs of peace and not of war: neither can the Romans take offence if, as we follow'd them when they bare arms so we follow them now likewise, as the authors of peace. And verily I see no reason why we alone of all other Greeks, should make it mortal and inexpiable war against

"the

A "the realm of *Macedony*. What! is it because we are so near unto the Macedonians, and by that vicinity expos'd to all dangers from thence? or that we are the weakest of all the rest, and like to the Dolopians, whom *Perseus* of late hath subdued: No, I wis, it is for otherwise and clean contrary. Sure enough we are for any harm they can do us, in regard either of our own forces, (which the Gods of their goodness have vouchsaf'd us) or of the distance of place so far remote. But let case we be as much subject & as the Thessalians and *Ætolians*: Say we are of no more credit and authority among the Romans (albeit we have been their associates and friends) than the *Ætolians* be, who were their open enemies but the other day: Then, what right, what privilege, and commerce, the *Ætolians*, the Thessalians, the Epirots, and in one word, all *Greece* besides, have and use with the Macedonians, we also may have and hold the same. How is it then, that we alone like cursed and damned creatures, should thus prostitute to abandon the common law of men, and (as it were) renounce all human society. Be it that *Philip* (when time was) did somewhat, and gave us just cause, armed as he was and ever warring upon us, to pass this decree and edict against him: what hath *Perseus* detain'd? *Perseus* (I say) the new King, a harmless Prince that never did us injury: nay, who is willing and seeketh by contenties and good turns to cancel and rale out all former quarrels and enmities of his fathers? why are we the only enemies that he hath in the world? And yet, I might full well & truly say, that from the former Kings of *Macedony* we have receiv'd to great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof, we should put up and forget the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if haply he have done us any) at least while now after he is dead, and his head laid, indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of *Cenchrea* and the Consul lay encamp'd with his army before *Elatus*, we sat in council three daies together, debating and devising, Whether we should band with the Romans or side with *Philip*? And albeit the present fear of the Romans before our eyes might have made us in our opinions to incline somewhat and lean toward them: yet there was something in it doublets, that it was so long ere we could resolve and say a truth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings. Why then me thinks, those self same regards should be of some force and efficacy to move us. If not to be their special and bell friends, yet at least will not to be their principal and greatest enemies. Let us not (alleviate) make semblance and shew of that, which we are not in hand with, and all is no point of this present question. There is no motive made of a new society: there is no perion about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance, wherein we should rashly enwrap and entangle our selves and be tied to any inconvenience. Only let there be a mutual commerce between us, and an alternative intercourse of yielding and demanding right to and fro, as appertaineth: let us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffick within our country, debar our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdom: that by this means our slaves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flee unto, And what prejudice is this to the Roman confederacy? Wherefore make we thus of a small thing and evident, to draw a matter and suspicion? Wherefore raise we such troubles of nothing? Wherefore seek we to draw others into jealousy and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of courting & flattering them? If there will be war, *Perseus* (ye may be sure) maketh no doubt, but that we altogether will follow the Romans: yet so long as the peace holdeth, sure and undisputed we in some sort our malice and hatred for the while: if ended for ever it may not be. When the same men who had contented to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this propoale, the chief and principal persons among them took great indignation and disdain, that *Perseus* should seem to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the sending an embassy. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree pass'd at this Session. Afterwards were Embassadors address'd unto them from the King, at what time as a Diet was holden in *Megalopolis*: but the side which was for the Romans, and feared to give them occasion of displeasure and offence, did what they could to debar them from access and entrance into the Council. And much about this time, by reason of these jars the *Ætolians* grew enraged among themselves, and by discharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the state to a final ruin and desolation. But being weary thereof, they in the end as well of the one side as the other, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, and also laboured at home to have the quarrel taken up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was cross'd by a new mischief that came between, which also rubb'd the former grails and fretted the old sores. For whereas certain Hypæcætes, exiled persons, and being of the faction of *Proxenus*, were promiscuously liberty to return home again into their country, with safe conduct also granted by *Enplemus* one of the chief & principal men of the City: so it was, that fourscore of them, men of mark and quality (whom to meet upon the way as they returned, *Enplemus* himself went out with the multitude) after they had been friendly received with courteous greetings, salutations, and shaking of hands: had no sooner enter'd within the gate of the City, but they were massacred notwithstanding they pleaded the faithful promise of protection and call'd the Gods to witness, but all in vain. By this occasion the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before, and turned in the end to a light fire. Now there arriv'd *C. Valerius Lavinius*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *C. Memmius*, *M. Popilius* and *L. Caninius* as sent from the Senat of *Rome*. Before these commissioners, the Embassadors from both factions appeared at *Delphi* and debated the matter with great earnestness and vehemency, where *Proxenus* seem'd to have the better hand as well in right of the cause, as through his eloquent tongue:

Ggg 3

Proxenus

Proculus (I say) who within few daies after, drank a cup of poison of his wives tempering, wherof he died & she, condemned therefore, departed into exile. The like madnes hauned the Candors alio & distracted them with intestine disention. But upon the coming of **Q. Minus** the Lieutenant General, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of seven sail, to appeale their debates, they tell to some terms of peace and atonement. There had been a truce alio before of six months but afterwards the war flamed out much more terrible. The Lycians likewise at the same time, were incited & plagued with war by the Rhodians. But my meaning is not neither is it any part of my purpose, to describe the wars of forrain nations, nor to discoure of the circumstances how to proceede for enough I have to do, & more than I can well discharge, to write the acts only of the people of Rome.

The Celtiberians in *Spain*, who being tamed by force of arms had submitted to **L. Gracchus**, remained quiet all the time that **M. Tullius** the Pretor continued there in government. But immediately upon the arrival of **Ap. Claudius** they revolted, and began to shew themselves in open action of rebellion, by giving a suddain assault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day, when the sentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might discerne enemies coming a far-off and so they gave the alarm. **Ap. Claudius** having put out the signal of battail, in few words exhorted his souldiers to fight and play the men led them forth at the free gates at once. The Celtiberians made head and opposed their forces as they issued forth. At the first the skirmish was equal on both parts: for that by reason of the streights of the passage, all the Romans could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed till apace, they were all at length gotten without the trench, so as they were able now to display their battailions & to confront their enemies from one point of their battail to the other, wherewith before they were environed: and then they made it forlike a fallly upon them, that the Celtiberians were not able to endure their violence. For before the second hour of the day, they were discorered and 15000 of them either died in the place, or yielded their bodies prisoners: 32 military engines they lost and were turned out of the camp the same day: and here is an end of that war. For as many as escaped the conflict gat them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That year were created Censors, **Q. Fulvius Flaccus** & **A. Posthumius Albinus**: who made a review of Senators and chose new. For President of the Senat they elected **M. Emilius Lepidus** the Archbishop. Nine they put out of the Senat-houle. The principal persons noted and disgraced, were **the M. Corn. Maluginensis**, who two years before had been Pretor in *Spain*; **L. Corn. Scipio**, Pretor for the time being, and **L. chief Justice** of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and **L. Fulvius**, who was whole brother to the Censor himself, & as **P. Antius** reproth, equal in degree of calling, and his fellow every way. The Consuls also after they had made their vows within the Capitol, went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, **M. Emilius**) had in charge given him by the Senat, to appeale the sedition of the Padoans in *Venice*, who as their Embassadors made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civil war.

The Embassadors who were gone into *Æolia* for to pacify the like troubles, brought word back, that it was not possible to bridle and refrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of the Consul made all whole among the Padoans and cured the malady: who having nothing else to do in the province, returned to Rome.

These Censors were the first that caused the streets of Rome to be paved with hard flint and pebble stone within the City: and the high waies and causeys without to be raised with gravel & the sides thereof to be wel banked and kept in reparations: alio bridges to be made in divers places: a scaffold besides for the *Ædiles* and Pretors to behold the games & paises. Moreover the barriers in the race, from whence the horses begin to run and the *Ouales* to mark and score up the number of courses * * * Over and besides the goies beyond * * * the iron gates and cages * * * and at the seats in the mount Albane for the Consuls. They took order besides all this for the paving with flint of the cliff or descent from the Capitol and from the gallery or porch before the temple of *Serapis* looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called *Senaculum*, and the court *Hofstia* above it. Alio the merchants Hall or bunc without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with stone, and fenced it about with strong flukes and posts of wood. The gallery alio *Emilia* they caused to be repaired: and made an ascent by stairs from the *Tiber* to the burie or merchants Hall afore said. Without the same gate alio, they paved with pebble stone the gallery or walking place into the *Aventine* * * * from the Temple of *Venus*. The same Censor, bargained for the making of walls about *Calatia* and *Oxyrum*: and having made alie of some publick edifices there, they employed the money raised thereof in making of shops & stalls round about both the market places. The one of them, that is to say, **M. Fulvius**, (for **P. Posthumius** said plainly, that unless it were by vertue either of an act of the Senat, or grant of the people of Rome, he would put forth no works to be made with dispende of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Piscarium* & at *Fund*: alio make a conduit, for water to be conveyed to *Pollentia* and at *Piscarium* for a way to be paved, and *Sinussa* * * * In these colonies he caused also a sink or vault to be made about them, to carry away all filthines into the river: alio the market place to be enclosed with porches, galleries, and shops and three stately halls called *Lani*, with quaires fours or four thorough-fares, and as many fronts. For these works one of the Consuls, disbursed the money, and bargained with the Publicans and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of those colonies above named gave him great thanks. These Censors were likewise severe and precise in exercising their office for the redressing and reformation of meane manners: for many Gentlemen had their horses of service taken from them, which were allowed them by the City.

A little before the years end, there was a solemn procession holden one whole day for the happy achievement of the affairs in *Spain*, under the conduct and good fortune of **Appius Claudius** the Pro-consul: and twenty head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another procession with supplications, at the Temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that there was reported from the Sabines countrey, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many houses.

After that **App. Claudius** was returned out of *Spain* to Rome, the Senat ordained, that he should enter the City with the pomp of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, **L. Posthumius Albinus** and **M. Popilius Laenas**, were elected Consuls: which done, the Pretors alio were created, to wit, **Cn. Fabius Buteo**, **M. Matienus**, **C. Ciceronius**, **M. Fur. Crassipes**, **A. Atilius Serranus**, & **C. Cluvius Saxula**, these three last reheated the second time.

This buines and solemnity finished. **Ap. Claudius** came entring with Ovation pomp into the City for his victory of the Celtiberians, brought into the common treasury 10000 pound weight of silver, and 5000 of gold. **Cn. Cornelius** was consecrated the Flamin of *Jupiter*.

The same year there was set up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddes *Minerva* with this inscription, Under the conduct and happy government of **Tib. Sempronius Gracchus**, Consul the legion and army of the people of Rome, subdued Sardinia. In which Province, there were slain and taken prisoner 80000 enemies, which Gracchus (after he had managed the affairs of state most fortunately, destroyed many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and customs to the Common-wealth) brought home with him his army safe, and founds charged with an exceeding rich booty, and recovered the City of Rome, in a second triumph. In memorial of which exploits, he caused this table to be set up as a present in the honour of *Jupiter*.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Island Sardinia, and the picture alio and resemblance of sundry battails. Moreover, in this year were represented to the people certain pastimes and shews of sword-players, wherof some were small and of no account: but one above the rest, exhibited by **T. Flaminius**, surpassed. And this he did in honour of his father deceased: with a dole of flesh among the people, a great publick feast besides, and stage-plays for four dayes together. But the principal matter in this festival solemnity was this, that in three daies space there fought at utterance with unrebrated swords, threecore and fourteen champions,

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The two and fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of **L. Flornus** upon the two and fortieth Book.

Fulvius Flaccus the Censor, uncovered the roof of the Church of *Juno Lacinia*, which was slated with marble, and alio to cover a Temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Senat he was forced to bestow the slates there again. Eumenes the King of Asia complained in the Senat, of *Pericles* King of Macedonia. His injuries done to the people of Rome are here reported: for the which, defiance was sent, and war proclaimed against him. **P. Licinius Crassus** the Consul, unto whom the Province of Macedonia was assigned, passed over thither, and in certain light expeditions, fought sundry battails with *Pericles* in Thessaly, all by horse-service but with bad success. The Senat appointed a day of bearing between *Mainalia* and the *Carthaginians*, touching the territory in question. Embassadors were sent to the adjacent Cities and States, and to the confederat Kings, to request them to contribute alio and assist in friendship by reason that the Rhodians stood in doubtful arms. The Censors took a review and numbered the citizens of Rome, wherein were enrolled in the said book 257221. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits against the Islanders of *Corfica* and the *Ligurians*.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that **L. Posthumius Albinus** and **M. Popilius Laenas** the Consuls had before all other things proposed unto the Senat as touching the government of the Provinces & conduct of the armies, ordained it was, that *Liguria* should be the charge as well of one of them as the other. Altho that both of them should levy new legions, (and two a peece they were allowed to have) therewith to defend the said province and keep it in obedience. Besides 10000 footmen and 600 horse of Latine allies. Moreover to enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horsemen of Romans for a supply in *Spain*. Last of all, commanded they were to press 1500 footmen and a 100 horse of Roman citizens: with which strength, that Pretor unto whom *Sardinia* fell, should pass over into *Corfica*, there to war, and **M. Atilius** the old Pretor, in mean time to see unto the government of *Sardinia*. This done, the Pretors went to cast lots for their provinces. **A. Atilius Serranus** had the place of Lord chief justice within the City, and **C. Cluvius Saxula** the jurisdiction

between

decree prejudicial unto him, he would cross and revoke the same by which countenance of his he afflicted his colleagues; but the LL. were offended so much the more and stormed against both the Consuls, yea, and persisted still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in council as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Coss. made means to be sent into Macedonia (because the war of Perseus was so near at hand) yet *Ligurius* was assigned to both of them: for the LL. protested and said, That they would not pass a decree for the government of Macedonia, unless the case of *Papilius* were proposed, and an act thereof entered. Afterwards, when they demanded a warrant to enrol new armies, or at least, wile to levy a supply for making up the old, both the one motion and the other was denied. The Pretors also, who required to have a supplement with them into Spain, had a nay; and namely, *M. Junius* into the higher province, and *P. Lucretius* into the farther. As for *C. Elicinius Crassus*, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City over citizens, and *Cn. Scipio*, the Consul for these causes being highly offended and angry with the LL. for that he had refused the Latine feasts and holidayes to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with an intimation that they would go straight into their province, and not attend the managing of any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

The Oration of *Emmetus*

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Consulars, *Antias* the brother of *K. Emmetus* came in embassy to Rome, to inform criminous matter against *Perseus*, and to give the particulars of the preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit than he) deliver unto us, that *K. Emmetus* presented himself in proper person where he was received with such honor, as the people of Rome thought not only meet & agreeable to his deserts, but also fit and suitable to their own favours and benefits, which they had in ample manner conferred and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate, where he shewed the cause of his coming to Rome what it was: namely, " (besides a lamentable desire that he had to see those gods and men by whose grace & favour he enjoyed his good estate as better he durst not wish) because he gladly would advertise the Senat by word of mouth to prevent and withstand the designs of *Perseus*. And beginning his speech with the platforms and enterprises of *Philip*, he recounted withal, how it cost his son *Demetrius* his life, for that he stood against the war with the Romans: moreover, how he had caused the whole nation of the *Balkanians* to quit their own country where they were born and bred to the end that by their head he might pass over into Italy; but whiles (qd. he) these matters he projected and calt in, he knew to be the most spiteful enemy that the Romans had, And therefore *Perseus* having received this war (as a man would say) by way of inheritance left him by his father even together with the crown and scepter, from the very first day of his reign, doth nought else but entertain, foster, and promote the same by all the means and devices that possibly he can. Mighty and puissant he is besides in number of young lusty, and able men for service who during the time of long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great part of the is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time of his age, which as it is accompanied with the very strength and vigor of his body, so his spirit and mind is inured and hardened with skilfull experience and long practise of martiall feats. For from his very infancy nuzled hath he been in the field and camp, conversing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavilion of his father, acquainted with the wars, not only waged against neighbour nations, but also against the Romans; and that which more is, employed by his father in many and sundry expeditions and excursions of service. But since that himself entered upon the Kingdom, and swayed the regal scepter in his own hand, he hath exploited & accomplished many things with marvellous felicity and success, which his father *Philip* before him could never compass and effect, notwithstanding he tried and assayed all means as well of open force as secret fraud. To augment this greatness of his, he hath purchased already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hardly in continuance of long time, and by many labors and ample benefits attain unto: and namely, throughout the States of Greece and Asia, all men reverence his majesty. For what good turns, N for what pleasures done, for what bounty of his they should thus do and honour him so much, neither fee I, neither can I say for certainty whether it happen by a special gift and fortune that he hath of his own, or that (which I am my self afraid to speak) it be the deep malice and hatred which he hath conceived against the Romans, which is the cause that he is of that countenance and so gracious among them. Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is highly esteemed and of passing authority. The daughter of *Selvus* he hath taken to wife, without any fault of his own but being earnestly wooed and requested thereunto. And to *Prusias* he hath given his own sister in marriage, after much seeking and instant intreaty. These two weddings were solemnized with the exceeding joy and innumerable presents of infinite embalgues: and who should be present to celebrate the Auspices and complements, yea and give thoseippoules in marriage, but the noblest and most renowned States that were? The *Balkanian* nation had been much solicited by *Philip*, yet could never be induced to draw open any covenants of accord and amity with him: but now there is to be seen a league engrossed, yea and engraven in three several conspicuous places, the one in *Thesbeia*, a second at *Sidennum*, within a most holy, sacred and renowned Temple, and the third at *Delphi*. What should I speak of the general Council of the Achaeans? wherein, had not the design been dashed by some there in place, who intimated and

alleged

"alleged hard the seignory and empire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he should have set forth even within Achaia. But contrariwise I assure you my durs: and deferred honors (unto whom it is hard to say, whether they be more bounden and obliged for private pleasures or publick benefits) are either forlent through retchlesse dilate and negligence, or else annulled and abolished of wilfull malice and hostile hatred. As for the Aetolians, who knoweth not, that in his civil broils, and seditions they fought to *Perseus* for to relieve and succure, and not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such furniture of his own, and made that preparation for war as home, as he needs none from abroad. Can himselfe he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 4000 in horse. For ten years he is stored with corn aforehand, so as for that kind of purveyance he may spare his own territories, and also for sea his enemies. As for money in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the force of naturall Macedonians, he wageth 10000 mercenary soldiers, and hath wherewith to meke pay for as many years, besides the yearly cuttomes & profits that arise out of their Kings mines. Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arsenals and armories, sufficient to furnish three such armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case that *Macedony* failed him and were not able to find enough; all *Thrace* is subject unto him from whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running fountain and living spring. The rest of his speech he knit up with an exhortation in this manner. "I relate not these things (qd. he) my selfe, as blown abroad and vented by headleffe heat and doubtfull rumors; neither have I been so ready to beleve them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations should be verified upon my enemy; but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own knowledge, as if I had been sent by you of special purpose to be a spie: and declared that and no more, which I had seen with mine eyes and not otherwise. Neither would I have left mine own realm wherein (by your means and goodness) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warm enough, to sort to follow so large a sea as I have done and to carry vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these chiefes of mine have sent the most renowned and noblest Cities of Asia and Greece discovering more and more from day to day, what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they be let alone and permitted to run on as they begin, would be engaged to far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves by any repentance. Beheld I have *Perseus* (I say) how he consisteth not within the realm of Macedonia, but one while seizeth upon this by force of arms, another while gaineth and getteth that by favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived and considered well how unequal the match and condition is, whiles he upon you prepareth a war, and you again perform to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and so far as I could fee into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and execution. For he chased *Abruptus*, a confederat prince and friend of yours, lord of his Kingdom. And *Artaxerxes* the Illyrian, another of your associates and allies, he killed outright, because he found that he had written some letters unto you. As for *Eurypha* & *Callistates*, both the bans, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the Bactrians, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would repeat unto you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The Bizantines he persecuted against the order taken in the second: upon *Dolopia* he levied war; *Thessaly* and *Doris* both he invaded and overran with his army, to the end, that in some intestine and civil war, by the help of most parts he might afflict and plague the better. He shuffled all together, and made a very confusion of the State in *Thessaly* and *Perrebia*, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds and crossing out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were over-debtly engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himselfe, he might depresse and oppress the great men and principall personages. Having wrought these practices uncontrolled, whiles you sit still looking on and loffing, all he seeing you to let him do with Greece what he list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he be passed over into Italy. How safe this may be to you, may, how this can stand with credit, fee you to that and be advised. For my selfe, I assure you, I thought it meet (thame and very villany, that *Perseus* your enemy should enter into Italy to make war upon you, before that I your friend and ally, came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have in this manner performed my devoir, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in some measure acquit my selfe and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity; what remaineth behind for me to do, but to be your besdman to all the gods & goddesses, to vouchsafe you that grace, that you may provide for your own Commonweal, and also for us your friends and allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came near unto the LL. of the Senat, But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senat, so silent were they all, & kept the council-house close that with secrecy. But after the war was brought to an end, then came abroad, both what the K. spake, and what answer was returned to him again. Some few daies after, the Senat set to give audience unto the Embassadors of King *Perseus*: but having their minds and ears both, poised aforehand by King *Emmetus*, all the defence that the Embassadors made, and all the entreaty they used, was rejected. Besides, the flouters used by *Harpanus* (the principal person of the embassy) moved their patience and exasperated their throats. For he said, that indeed the KK. desire & endeavour was, to be credited and beleaved in his tracks. H h h h Apology

The forlaid law proposed by the Martins the commons with a generall consent by their voices granted

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at *Rome*, with *Gulufus*, the son of *Mafaniffa*: between whom hard hold and much debating there was in the Senat. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners from *Rome* before time, to view the place and to enquire into the caule) *Mafaniffa* within the last two years by force and arms possessed him self of more then three score and ten towns and castles within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an easie matter was it for him to do so, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were to be seen and obliged by their capitulations to the good-abearing, that they held their peace; for, inhibited they were to bear arms without their own country. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they disiziced the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one exprels article of the accord, where they were debar'd in plain terms to wage against the associates of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit, the Carthaginians could no longer endure this pride, cruelty, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators that it might please them to grant one of these three requests: to wit, That either they might debate with another different audience before them (being alike to both alike) touching the right of the one and the other; or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawful arms, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (if partiall favour swayd more with them then the truth of the caule) to let down at once what their pleasure was (should be given away out of their own, to *Mafaniffa*). For they yet, would have longeage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas he himself had no they, nor would ever see to make an end (so unforseeable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtain one of these points, and that there could be found any fault or treipsals of theirs, committed since the peace granted unto them by *Scipio*; then, that they rather then any other would challenge them. For rather they had to live in servitude under the signory of Romans with safety, then enjoy such a liberty as should be exposed to the injuries of *Mafaniffa*. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruel and bloody butcher. At which words the tears trickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the ground, as they moved pity and compulsion to themselves, if they procured delight and malice against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulufus*, what he had to answer as touching these matters? or else (if he had no rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to *Rome*. *Gulufus* made answer, that neither was cause for him to deal in those points, where he had no commission from his father: nor for his father to give him any such charge. considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of what business they would treat, nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to *Rome*. This only was known, that there was a close council holden for certain nights, by the principal States of Carthage within the Temple of *Aesculapius*, from whence Embassadors were dispatched to *Rome* with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to *Rome*, to beleeves the Senat not to give credit to the slanderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause but

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for that he had continued so constant in his fealty and allegiance to the people of Rome. The Senate having heard what they could say of both sides, sat in council as touching the demands of the Carthaginians: and at length commanded him to go into *Namidia*, and give his father to understand from them, that with all speed he send his Embassadors to the Senat, as concerning those complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: also to give intimation and knowledge unto the Carthaginians, that they repair likewise thither to debate their controversies & differences between them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honor of *Masaniassa*, they would be as willing to do it hereafter, as they had been ready heretofore. Many, to minister justice for favour and affection, that they would not do it in any wise. Willing they were that every man should know and hold his own, and keep him within compass; neither minded they to let out new limits, but to observe the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both towns to inhabit, and territories to possess; not to this end, that in time they should pluck that away by wrong and outrage, which during the wars they could not take from them by martial law and force of arms. Thus was the young prince, together with the Carthaginians, dismissed. Pretens were given both to the one and the other, according to the order, and other courtesies of hospitality were friendly observed.

Much about the same time *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, *App. Claudius Cæto*, and *T. Annius Lælius*, Embassadors sent into *Macedony*, for to demand amends and restitution, and withal to disclaim and renounce the Kings amity, returned to Rome. Who having related in order what they had seen and heard, enflamed the Senat more against *Perseus*, who were already of themselves enkindled enough. They made report, "That throughout the cities of *Macedony* they saw preparation for war in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many daies they could find no means of access to the speech of the King; and in the end, after they were departed from thence homeward, as being past all hope of parley with him, then and not afore, they were called back again out of their way, and to be brought unto his presence: that the sum of their conference and speech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league first contracted with *Philip*, & afterwards renewed with himself since the death of his father, wherein by express words he was inhibited to bear arms without his own frontiers, and likewise debared to levy war upon any confederate allies of the people of Rome: after this, that they had recounted and laid abroad from point to point those specialties, which they themselves had lately heard *King Læmus* to declare and discourse, which were all apparent truths, upon his own assured knowledge. Moreover, that the King held a secret council for many daies together, with the Embassadors of the Cities of *Asia*: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it reason and equity that he should make satisfaction, yea, and restore back both to them and also to their associates, whatsoever he held contrary to right, continued in the accord. That *the King* hereupon at the first fell into a fit of choler and indignation, and gave them hard terms, reproaching at every other word the Romans for their covetousness and insolvency. And as for their Embassadors that came unto him one after another, he said they were but spies, to listen and see what he did or said; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he should conform and frame himself in all his words and deeds, according to their beck and commandment. At the last, when he had this wife discharged his choler with high words & broad speeches for a long time, that he commanded them to repair again unto him the next morrow, for that he would give them their answer in writing; and then he delivered unto them a script to this effect as followeth. First, as touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all. If I suffer it to be renewed, it was not for any liking or approbation thereof, but because I being new come to the crown, and lately possessed of the Kingdom, I was to bear and endure all things whatsoever. But in case they will enter into a new league with me, requisite it is that a treaty and agreement passe first of the conditions. And if they could be content that a covenant were drawn with equal and indifferent capitulations, yet I will sleep upon it and be well advised what to do for the best, as I doubt not but they likewise will have a good regard to the profit of the Commonwealth. And herewith, that he suddenly flung away from them, and we all began to avoid one of the palace. Whereupon we proceeded according to our commission to abandon and disavow his amity and society. At which word of ours, he steared in great wrath and fury, and with a loud and shrill voice, warned us upon our own perill and hazard, to be gone out of his marches of his realm within three daies: finally, in this manner we departed and put our selves in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our first coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind farewell at our departure. When they had once done, the Thessalian and Etolian Embassadors had audience.

The Senat, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonwealth was to employ, thought good to write unto the Consuls, that the one or other of them (who first might) should repair to Rome for the creation of new magistrates. And no great matter to speak of, as concerning the state, was that year done by the Consuls. But more expedient it was thought for the commonwealth, to suppress and appease the Ligurians, whose blood was up and chafed against them, considering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectation. Moreover, the Embassadors of *Asia* gave occasion, that *Genius* also King of *Ibrycum* was had in jealousy: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had waited to their

A their country: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian Kings were all one, and to great together, that with once consent and common counsel they prepared to war upon the Romans: finally, that the Illyrians were now at Rome in thew and semblance of embassy, but indeed and very truth, no better then spies, addressed on purpose by the motive and advice of *Perseus* to hearken and learn wherabout they went at Rome. These Illyrians were sent for into the Senat house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassy from *King Genius*, to answer unto those accusations which it might be the Illeams framed against him: it was again demanded of them, how it hapned that they went not directly nor flewed themselves in such sort to the magistrats, that according to the manner and custome, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinary allowance of the City, meet for them during their abode, that thereby knowledge might have been taken, as well of their coming, as also of their business and errand? But being taken tripping and failing in their answer, they were commanded to void out of the Council-chamber. For thought it was not meet, to give them their dispatch as Embassadors, since they made no means to present themselves unto the Senat: but rather they were of advice, to dispatch Embassadors of their own to the King, to signifie unto him, which of his associates had complained unto the Senat, how he had burnt their villages within his territories: yea, and to tell you it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his own allies. In this embassy were sent, *A. Terentius Varro*, *C. Pleorinus*, and *C. Cicerinus*.

Likewise those Embassadors, whose commission was visit the aforesaid Kings, returned out of *Asia*, and reported that in the said *Asia* they had communication with *Enmenes*; in *Syria* with *Antiochus*, and in *Alexandria* with *Ptolemaeus*: who all of them had been solicited by sundry embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they perished him and felt in their professed fealty, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of Rome would command them. Also that they went to the confederate states, whom they found true and loyal enough, excepting the Rhodians only, whom they perceived to be flogging & wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the council of *Perseus*.

Now were the Rhodian Embassadors come to answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their City: howbeit the Senat was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entered into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had in charge, out of the old Quinquagèmes which were laid up in the docks and harbors, to repair as many as might serve at sea; to dig also and prepare a fleet of 50 sail. But if he could not come to make up the full number, then to write unto his colleague *C. Memmius* in *Sicily*, for to repair, calk and trim those ships which were in *Sicily*, that with all speed possible they might be sent to *Brundisium*. The said Pretor *C. Licinius* was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens (and those, *L. Peritines*, such as of bondmen born, had been enfranchised) for mariners and sailors, as many as might serve 25 ships; and *Cn. Licinius* had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships; also the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 8000 foot, and 400 horse. *A. Arilius Serranus*, who had been Pretor the year before, was cholet to receive these forces at *Brundisium*, and to conduct them over into *Macedony*: and *Cn. Scinius* the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readiness for to be transported. As for *C. Licinius* the Pretor, he by authority from the Senat, wrote to *C. Popilius* the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longest employed in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienced souldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at *Brundisium* upon the 15th of *February*. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiers, *Cn. Scinius* was commanded to keep *Macedony*, until one were appointed to succeed him; and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a year longer. All these directions of the Senat were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and forty Quinquagèmes were set afloat out of their docks: and *L. Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to *Brundisium*: the other 24 were sent out of *Sicily*. Three Embassadors were dispatched into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to wit, *Sex. Digittus*, *T. Iuventinus*, and *M. Caelius*, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army. Now when all things were provided and in readiness, *C. Scinius* the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at *Brundisium*. About the end of the year, *C. Popilius* the Consul returned to Rome, some what later then the Senat had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withal speed to create new magistrates, considering that so great a war approached to neer. And therefore when the Consuls discoursed in the people of *Bellum* as touching his exploits in *Liguria*, the LL of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him by in stead thereof, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father? The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of *March* according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Crassus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Cassius Dives*, *C. Luccretius Gallus*, *C. Cicerinus Rebusius*, and *L. Villius Annalis*. To these Pretors the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL chief justices in Rome for civil jurisdiction: three other to have the government of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*: to as the fixt only should remain not allotted to any place, for to be employed wheresoever the Senat would think good and provide. The Consuls elect

to see again hereafter, I must (forsooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, H
 "perished by shipwreck: as also for the murder of *Antiarus*; and yet therein I am no deeper
 "charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile & were shadowed within my realm.
 "Now surely this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to undergo, in case
 "you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and facts, for which they
 "stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to *Rome* or into *Italy*; but in case
 "both you and all other nations will disavow that, I also will be one among the rest, And in good
 "faith, to speak uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one country, if he may
 "not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (so soon as ever I
 "found by advertisement from you that they were within *Macedony*) for my part, made diligent
 "search until I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea, and ex- I
 "pressly forbade them for ever setting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily
 "concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar, Now let
 "us argue and debate the rest, inforced and laid against me in quality of a King, namely, which
 "concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you, For if the words run in this sort
 "and are thus written in the foresaid covenants of accord, That I may not be suffered to defend
 "my self and my realm, no, nor if any enemy of mine levy war against me; then I must confess
 "indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my guard and defence by force of
 "arms against *Abruptus*, an affociat of the people of *Rome*, But if it were lawful for me to do
 "by warrant of the accord and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repel force; what
 "should I els say, what could I else have done I pray you? When *Abruptus* had laid waste the K
 "frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to *Amphipolis*, led into captivity many persons free-
 "born, carried away a mighty number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of
 "cattell; I should I have sitten still and suffered him until he had come armed to *Pella*, even unto
 "my royal palace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly in making head
 "and pursuing him by force of arms, may, vanquished he should not have been neither ought he
 "to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished, Why if I have endured the for-
 "tune thereof, provoked as I was to war, how can he justly complain of tasting the like, being him-
 "self the cause and first motive of all? I will not use the same manner of defence (O Romans) ex-
 "ting, that by force of arms I have repressed the Dolopians: for if I have not done by them accor-
 "ding to their demerits, yet I am sure I have dealt by the virtue of the right I have over them be- L
 "ing as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obedience, and made subjects to my father en-
 "joying as they are of mine own drawing. And yet, were I, to render a reason of my proceedings against
 "them, I say, unto you not unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any cruel com-
 "mand so much as over bondslaves; can I be thought to have exercised more rigor against them,
 "than equity and reason would bear? For *Euphrator*, whom I deputed governor over them, they
 "killed in such sort, that death is too good for them, and the least punishment of all others that
 "they have deserved, And as I marched forward in my progress from thence to visit the Cities of
 "the *Larissae*, *Antro*, & *Pylaeon*, I ascended up to *Delphi*, there for to sacrifice, to the end that I might
 "discharge my conscience & pay those vows which I had of long time owed, Now, to aggravate M
 "matter in this also against me it is said moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended
 "(no doubt) for to seize Cities into my hands, and put garrisons into fortresses; for which at this
 "present I complain of you, Call the States and Cities of *Greece* together to a general assembly,
 "through which I passed, Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the least harm done
 "by any of my souldiers; then will I not refuse to be reputed for one who under pretence of di-
 "vine sacrifice, went about another thing. We sent indeed garriisons to the *Aetolians* and *Bizan-*
 "tins, yea, and with the *Becotians* we contracted amity, But these things, in what sort & for what
 "purpose they were done, my ambassadors have not only declared, but also executed offences
 "before your Senat: where I found some flimspies to hear and decide my cause, although not so
 "indifferent and favourable to me, ward, as your self are, O *Martius*, my fathers old friend and fa- N
 "miliar, For as yet *Enmenes* my accuser was not come to *Rome*, who by false suggestions, wresting
 "at his pleasure every thing to the worst, to make all suspicious and odious unto you, went about
 "to make you believe that *Greece* could not possibly be restored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit of
 "your gracions tence, so long as the kingdom of *Macedony* stood entire and upright, Well, the
 "world you shall see, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remonstrance
 "and prove, That to no purpose *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountains of
 "the *Taurus*; that *Enmenes* is become much more grievous and unsupportable to all *Asia* than *Ar-*
 "chius ever was: and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as he keepeth
 "his royal court in *Pergamus*, a Citadell (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neigh-
 "bour Cities bordering thereupon, Right well I know, O *Q. Martius*, and you *A. Attilius*, that
 "whatsoever either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation, is O
 "such as the ears and affections are of the hearers; neither what I have done, nor what mind and
 "intention I have carried in mine actions will be so much regarded, that willingly I have not
 "either done or intended, Mine own conscience beareth me witness, that willingly I have not
 "faulted; now if for want of knowledge and foresight I have been in some error, and somewhat
 "amiss it may be corrected and amended by this present chastisement, This I am sure, my trespass
 "is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you should deem worthy to be purified
 "by

A "by war & force of arms, And if ye do, then surely it is for nought, that there goeth this name a-
 "broad throughout all nations of your clemency and gravity both, if I say for so light occasions
 "which hardly are worth the complaint and the reasoning about, you be ready to enter into arms
 "and levy war upon your confederat Princes, *Martius* for that time accorded to his speech, and
 "moved him to address ambassadors to *Rome*, being of advice and opinion himself to try all means
 "to the very last point, and to let slip nothing whereof some hope of good might arise, It remained
 "only to be debated in council, how ambassadors might pass in safety. And to this purpose, where
 "it was necessary for the K to request a surcease of arms, albeit *Martius* himself was willing and de-
 "sireous thereof (for that his drift was to nothing else by all this conference and parley yet he seemed
 "to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, and to do a special favour and pleasure unto *Perseus* in
 "granting his petition, The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready nor thoroughly appointed at
 "this present for the war: they had neither army puissant enough, nor captains sufficient: where-
 "as *Perseus* (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things
 "prepared and in readines, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the best and most op-
 "portune season for himself, so the worst and unfittest of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abstinence of war assured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Com-
 "missioners were appointed and resolved to go into *Bacotia*, where there was begun already some
 "trouble and commotion, by reason that certain States of the *Bacotians* were departed from the
 "society of the common Council, ever since it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made
 "answer that it should appear and be seen, what Cities they were indeed which took no pleasure
 "to have any association with the King, And first, the ambassadors from *Chalcis* afterwards from
 "Thebes encountered them upon the way, who assured them that they were not present in that Di-
 "et and Council, where this association was concluded, To these embassages no answer for this
 "time was made, but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to *Chalcis*.

At Thebes great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another strife and debate, In
 "their solemn assembly for the election of the Prator of the *Bacotians* that part which had the Re-
 "public in revenge of that injury and disgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at *Thales*,
 "That the *Bacotians* should not be received within their Cities: ierish sort, as which I am sure
 "men they retired to *Thessum*: from whence (for received there they were incontinently without
 "any stay) being called again to Thebes upon better advice and change of mind, they made
 "an ordinance, That it to the number of twelve private persons held any conventicle or public
 "meeting together, they should be condemned to exile. After this, *Ismerius* the new Prator, a
 "noble personage and of great puissance, by virtue of a decree adjudged them in their absence, to
 "lose their lives. To *Chalcis* they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at *Larissa* they went:
 "where they declared that *Ismerius* was the cause of their association with King *Perseus*. Upon that
 "fore said difference, they grew to hot contention, yet ambassadors from both parts came to the
 "Romans, as well the banished persons and accusers of *Ismerius*, as also *Ismerius* himself. But so
 "soon as the Roman Legats were come to *Chalcis*, the States and heads of other Cities (joyce-
 "ry one by a special decree of their own had renounced association with King *Perseus*) joined
 "with the Romans; whereat they took exceeding great contentment and joy, *Ismerius* thought
 "it meet and reason that the *Bacotian* nation should be committed to the protection of the Ro-
 "mans, Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray, & but that he fled into the Tribunal of the Legats to
 "save himself, he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled persons, with the help
 "of their supports and favorites.

Also the City of Thebes, which is the capital place of State within *Bacotia*, was in great trouble
 "and uproar; & while some drew to the K, others inclined to the Romans, Besides there was a multi-
 "tude of *Coroneans* and *Haliartians* gathered together to maintain the ordinance and decree as
 "touching the association with the K. But such was the resolute persistence of the principal and
 "chief men, who shewed by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, how great the torments, and
 "how happy the fortune was of the Roman empire, that the same multitude reented, and being
 "overruled, passed a new decree, to reverse and cancel the former confederacy with the King; sent
 "those that were the motives and periwaders of contraiting that amity to *Ch. L* for to satiate
 "and content the Roman Legats; yea & to conclude were of advice to recommend the City to the
 "faithfull patronage of the said Commissioners, *Martius* & *Attilius* took great pleasure to hear the
 "Thebans sing this note they perswaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsell to send
 "ambassadors to *Rome* for the renewing of this amity: but before all things they took order for the
 "restoring of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacy contracted with the K,
 "they by their own decree condemned, Having thus by this means infringed and made inillat the
 "Diet of the *Bacotians* (the thing which above all they most desired) they took their journey to
 "*Poloponnesus*, together with *Ser. Cornelius*, whom they had sent for to *Chalcis*. For their takes a
 "Councill was holden at *Argos*, where they demanded nothing else of the *Achaean* nation but on-
 "ly to furnish them with 1000 souldiers. This garriison was sent to the defence of *Chalcis*, until
 "the Roman army were transported into *Greece*, *Martius* and *Attilius* having thus dispatched all
 "the affairs that they had to do in *Greece* in the beginning of winter returned to *Rome*.

Then was there sent from thence about the same time an honourable embassie to the Isles in
 "*Asia*, These Embassadors or Legats were three in number, to wit, *T. Claudius*, *P. Postumius*, and
 "*M. Junius*; They in their circuit and visitation exhorted all their allies to take arms against *Perseus*.

for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was, the more earnestly travelled they there: because the inferior States were like to frame and fort themselves suitable to the example and authority of the greater, and superior. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of most import and consequence every way, for that they were able not only to favor with their countenance, but also aid and maintain with their forces this war: and by the persuasion of *Hergesilus* they had got together a fleet of forty sail. "This *Hergesilus* their sovereign Magistrate (whom they call *Prytanis*) had by many reasons prevailed with the Rhodians to abandon the hope they had by entertaining their KK. (which they had found by often experience how vain it was) and to hold themselves to the society and alliance of the Romans, the surest hold of all others at that time in the world, as well for strength of forces as trusty assurance and fidelity. There is intended war by them (qd. he) against *Perseus*, and no doubt the Romans will require of us the same provision and furniture of ships and sea-forces, which they have seen in their war lately against *Antiochus*, and before that, against King *Philip*: and then you will be to seek, and forced in great haste to provide a fleet, when it were more time it should be let out and sent forth, unless ye begin betimes to repair and rig your ships, unless, I say, you let in hand to furnish the same with sailors and mariners. And with so much more endeavour ought ye thus to do, that by your deed and effectual employment, you may refuse and disprove the false imputations wherewith *Eumenes* hath charged you. By these remonstrances induced they were in much as at the arrival of the Roman Legats aforesaid, they were able to shew unto them an armada of 40 ships ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and see, they looked not for to be exhorted thereto. And this embassy was of great moment and importance also to gain the hearts of the States in *Asia*. Only *Decimius* returned to Rome without any effect of his errand and commission, nay, he ran into an ill name and obloquy, upon suspicion that he had received certain bribes of the Princes in *Illyrium*.

Perseus upon the conference and communication had with the Romans, retired into *Macedony* and sent his Embassadors to Rome, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Marius*: to other Embassadors also of his he gave his letters to carry to *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*: the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all: namely, That he had communed with the Roman Legats, but he had so placed and couched as well what he heard as what he spake, that it might seem he gave not one foot unto them, but gained the better hand in that dispute & debating with them. These Embassadors added moreover, and said unto the Rhodians, L That they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the motion and advice of *Marius* and *Attilius* were addressed in embassy to Rome. Now if the Romans, say they, against the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all the credit and power they have, to reunite the peace again; but if with all their prayer and entreaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and labour this one point, That the might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. And as this imported and concerned all the rest, so the Rhodians especially, who surrounded other States in dignity and wealth, both which should be obnoxious and enthrall'd, if there were regard and respect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the King and words of the Embassadors, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they took none to change their settled minds: for now the authority of the better part began also to carry the greater sway. But this answer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians wished peace with all their hearts: but if it should come to war, their King and Master was neither to expect, nor try to exact any thing at their hands, to disjoin the ancient amity which they held with the Romans, and which they had acquired by many and great deserts, as well in war as in peace. In their return from *Rhodes*, they went to the Cities of *Baotia*, and namely, to *Thebes*, *Coronea*, and *Haliartus*, from whom it seemed a thing extorted forcibly against their will, that they were discombed from the King & slave to the Romans. The Thebans stood firm and immovable, although they were somewhat discontented with the Romans, both for condemning their chief and principall Citizens, and also for restoring the banished persons. But the *Coroneans* and *Haliartians* upon an imbrued and fetted labour by kind unto the Kings, sent Embassadors into *Macedonia*, requesting a garrison for their defence against the excessive pride of the Thebans. To this embassy the King thus answered, That a garrison he might not send, by reason of the truce made with the Romans: howbeit, he advertised them to maintain and guard themselves against the injuries of the Thebans all that ever they could: but yet so, as they gave the Romans no cause to be their heavy friends, and so to proceed in rigour against them.

Marius and *Attilius* being come to Rome, made report of their embassy within the Capitoll, in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving the KK. by means of a cessation from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For so well appointed was he and furnished with all provision for war, and they contrariwise so unprovided every way, that he might easily have possessed himself of all places of opportunity and advantage, before that their army could pass over into *Greece*. But now having this respite and time of the truce, as the King would come nothing better provided, so the Romans might begin the war, more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they by their coming distracted and let a jar in the general Council of the *Baotians*, so as by no means any more hereafter they can be rejoyned to the *Macedonians* by consent and accord. The greater part of the Senat approved this service of theirs

A theirs as performed with singular discretion and dexterity: But the old Senators; and those that held in remembrance the ancient manner and custome of the Romans, said plainly, "That in all the course of that embassy, they could see no Roman practice and dealing at all, Out an efforts (say they) were wont to war not by wait-laying and secret ambushes, nor by skirmishes in the night-season, nor yet by false semblant of running away and sudden turning their face again at unawares upon their unprovided enemies; neither sought they to glorifie themselves by unskill flights more than by true vertue and valour: Their use and manner was, to intimate and publish wars before they made any: yea, and to denounce and proclaim the same; or otherwise also to assign and appoint the very place where they went to strike a battell. According to this plain and faithfull dealing, they detected and disclosed unto K. *Pyrrhus* the Physician that would by poison have taken away his life: by the same they delivered bound unto the *Faliskians* the villanous traitor that would have betrayed the children of their K. These are the Romanishions (say they) not to use the cunning calls and flie shifts of the *Carthaginians*, nor the crafty policies of *Grecians*, who ever reputed it more glorious and honourable by fraud to compass, than by force to surpass the enemy. Indeed otherwhiles for the present time, more good is done and greater matters are effected by guile and policy, than by valour and vertue: but to say a truth the courage of that enemy is for ever conquered, who is forced to confess, that he was vanquished not by cunning nor by venture, but in just and lawfull war by main strength and close fight at handy grips. Thus spake the ancients, who had no great liking to the new-found devices of these politicians. Howbeit, that side of the Senat which made more reckoning of profit than of honesty carried it away and imported so much, that not only the first embassy of *Marius* was approved, as well performed, but also himself was sent back again with certain *Quinquereemes*, with a mandate also & commission to deal in the rest according as he should think to stand with the good of the Common-weal. They dispatched likewise *Aul. Attilius* to seize *Larissa* in *Thessaly* for fear lest in the term of truce were expired, *Perseus* should send a garrison thither and hold in his hand the capitall City of *Thessaly*. The said *Attilius* had a warrant to receive 2000 footmen of *Ca. Scivinius* for to effectuate that enterprise. Also *P. Lentulus* lately returned out of *Achaia* was allowed the conduct of 300 soldiery of the Italian nation, to the end that at *T. Ardes* he should endeavour to bring all *Baotia* under the obedience of the Romans. When all things were set in this forwardness, albeit they were at a point and fully resolved to make war, yet thought good it was to give audience unto the embassadors of *Perseus* in the Senat; who rehearsed and related in manner the same reasons which were delivered by the King in the late conference and parley. Much also they made and laboured hard, to acquit the King of the imputation laid to his charge for seeking the death of *Eumenes*: but with small probability or none at all: for the thing was too too apparent. In the end they fell to prayer and intreaty: howbeit, no ear was given unto them, with any such mind and heart, as could be either instructed or inclined. Instead thereof, warned straightly they were to depart immediately forth of the liberties of Rome, and within thirty daies out of *Italy*. After this, *P. Licinius* the Col, who was charged with the Province of *Spain*, had commandment given him to assign unto the army the soonest day that he could, for to meet in one certain place, *C. Lucretius* the Prator who had the conduct of the fleet, took his leave of the City with forty *Quinquereemes*: for advised it was, that the rest of the ships which had been repaired, should be staid at home for to be employed otherwise about the City. And the Prator sent his brother *Lucretius* before with one *Galeace* or *Quinquereeme* & commission to receive of the allies that shipping which by covenant they were to find; and with them near the Island *Cephallenia*, to joyn with the rest of the armada to wit, from the Rhogens one trireme; a ly from the *Locrians* twain, from the *Urtis* 4. With which he coasted along *Italy*, and having doubled the utmost point of *Calabria* within the Ionian sea, he arrived at *Dyrbachium*. There he found 19 gallies or barks of the *Dyrbachians*, 2 of the *Issians*, and 54 belonging to K. *Genius*: which he took all with him along, making semblance that he supposed they were provided of purpose for the service of the Romans: with this fleet by the third day he fell with the *Isle Corfu*: and so forward he made sail, and arrived at *Cephallenia*. *C. Lucretius* the Prator, having looked to sea from *Neples*, crossed the Straights of *Sicily*, and on the fiftieth day cut over likewise to *Cephallenia*. Then the fleet took anchor, expecting as well the arrivall of the land-forces, as also that the hulks and vessels of carriage which were scattered upon the seas from the rest of their company, might overtake them. It hapned about this time, that *Pub. Licinius* the Col, having conceived and solemnly made his vows within the Capitoll, departed in his coat of arms from the City. A solemnity at all times very this is, done with much dignity and majesty: but especially with exceeding great pleasure and contentment of the beholders; when the Col, is accompanied with a stately train at his first setting forth, to encounter some great and famous enemy, renowned as well for vertue as quality and fortune: for at such a time men assemble and gather together, not only in regard of duty to acquit themselves of their devoir, but also upon a desire they have of the very view and sight presented unto their eyes; namely, to see their captain to whose conduct and counsell they have committed the managing and defence of the Common-weal. Moreover, they took occasion thereby to think of the hazard of war, how adventurous is the event, and how doubtful the issue of battell in the field. They call to mind the alternative course of good fortune and bad; and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadvised rashness of leaders, many foills and overthrowes have hapned; and contrariwise by polittick wisdom and hardy courage, great matters have been effected, and

happy victories achieved. And what mortal man is he that knoweth, of what mind and carriage he good or bad, how fortunate or unlucky the Col. is, whom they send forth to war: whether he be like soon to be seen again, in triumphant wife with his victorious army mounting up the Capitoll unto those gods, of whom now he taketh his leave: or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoice? As for *Perseus* the K. (against whom this expedition and journey is taken) a Prince he is, highly renowned both by the Macedonian nation (so famous for fears of arms,) and also by his father *Philip* (who among other fortunate achievements of his, was ennobled by his war against the Romans. Moreover, the very name of *Perseus* himself (since time that first the diadem was set upon his head) was in every mans mouth, and no talk continually but of him and the expectation of this war. With these and such like cogitations (I say) a mighty number of men of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Col. at his departure. With him I were sent two Colonels or knight-masters above the rest, who had been Col. namely, *C. Claudius* and *Q. Muring*: also three brave and lusty young gallants, to wit, *P. Lentulus* and the two *Manlius*, both surnamed *Acidini*, the one son to *M. Manlius*, and the other to *L. Manlius*. The Col. thus accompanied, first went to *Brundisium* to the army, and from thence passed the seas to *Nymphæum* and so encamped in the territory of *Apollonia*.

*This *M. Manlius* seemeth to be plebeian gentile: for that there passed an act long before, That no *Manlius* Patrius might be named *Acidinus*: and that there were *Manlius* surnamed *gentile*, *Fulvius* *Priscus* that learned Antiquary hath well collected out of Cicero in *L. Philip*.

Perseus some few daies before, upon the return of his ambassadors from *Rome*, who had clean put him out of all hope of peace, held a council: wherein for a good while the matter was debated with great variety of sundry opinions. Some were of mind, that in case the Romans enjoyed them either to yield a tribute, or to forgo some of their lands: yea, if they imposed upon them some fine by way of amends and satisfaction: in brief, whatsoever else they set down and it ordained, to do and suffer all for to redeem their peace, and not to refuse any condition were it never so hard but to take heed and provide in any wise, that *Perseus* put not himself nor the realm upon the dangerous hazard of so great a jeopardy. For if he held still the main point and continued in quiet possession of his kingdom, in time and space much good might happen: by means whereof he should be able not only to lick himself whole and recover his losses, but also become hereafter dread and terrible even unto those of whom now he standeth in fear. But the far greater part carried with them a more courageous spirit and gave advice accordingly. For they affirmed, That if *Perseus* parted with ought and yielded never so little, he must make account withall to quit the free-hold of his whole kingdom soon after. For it is neither money nor land (say they) that the Romans want: but this they would full well, That as all things else in the world, so especially great monarchies and empires are subject to many accidents and casualties: right well they know also, how they have quelled and bruised the puissance of the Carthaginians, and for to yoke their necks and hold them down, have set up a mighty King to be their neighbour and to command them: yea, and that *Antiochus* and all his race is removed and chased beyond the mountain *Taurus*. There remaineth only now the realm of *Macedony*, which is both feared in a near region and also (if the fortune of the people of *Rome* should hap to fail) seemeth able to give heart and courage to her Kings at this day, answerable to that of their noble progenitors in former times. And therefore while the State standeth entire and unfeigned, *Perseus* ought not to resolve, whether he had rather by forgoing one thing after another, strip himself in the end of all his goods and lands, & so turned clean out of his kingdom, be driven to request at the Romans M hand either *Samothracia* or some other such petty Isle, where, in quality of a private person he may survive his royall estate, and live to old age in base contempt and needy poverty: or else, to take arms in the defence and maintenance of his royall place and dignity, like a Prince of valour and courage; and either abide all hazards whatsoever the fortune of the field shall plunge him into: or after victory achieved deliver the whole world from the dominion and imperious signory of the Romans. And no greater wonder and miracle is it to hunt the Romans out of *Greece*, than it was to chase *Annibal* out of *Italy*: neither see we in good faith (if they) how by any reason it can well stand, that he who resisted with all his might and main his own brothers, that he would have made himself K. against all right and law, should now to strangers and aliens render the possession thereof, which he came so well and truly by, and wherein he is so right fully invested? Finally, in war and peace howsoever men make questions, disputing and arguing to and fro, yet this conclusion they all grant and agree upon, That as there is nothing more shamefull and dishonest, than to abandon and lose a kingdom without battell, so there is nothing more glorious and honourable than for the maintenance of Princely dignity and regal majesty to hazard all fortune whatsoever. This Council was holden at *Pella*, the ancient Palace wherein the Macedonian K. kept their royall court. Whereupon he sent his letters in are of that mind and resolution, let us take arms & to the field: whereupon he sent his letters in to all parts to his gallants and captains, and assembled & drew all his forces to *Citium*, a town of *Macedony*. Himself in person after he had performed a magnificent sacrifice (like a K. for 100 head of beasts to the honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Alcida*, he departed accompanied with a number of his courtiers, pensioners, and yeomen of the guard to *Citium*. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliary strangers. He pitched his camp before the town and embattled all his armed men in the plain. He was in all forty thousand strong: whereof of one half well-near consisted of those whom they call Phalangites, and those were commanded by one *Hippias* of *Berthea*. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the power of age and strength of body) selected out of the whole number of targettiers, called *Cerrari*. This regiment

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A themselves called by the name of The legion: and the same was under the conduct of *Leontaris* and *Thraupis* both *Euboeians*. The rest of the targettiers to the number of three thousand or very near, were led by *Antiphilus* of *Edessa*. The Pæonians, those also of *Pasoria* and *P. Armonia* (places subject to the Thracians) and the Agrians, together with some inhabitants of *Thracia* intermingled among them, amounted also to the number of three thousand. *Didas* of *Pæonia* had levied and armed them, even the man that murdered young *Demetrius*. There were besides two thousand Frenchmen in arms under the leading of captain *Alepidorus*, from *Heraclea* likewise out of the Sinitian country, there were three thousand Thracians, free-men born, under a leader of their own. The like number well-near of Cretensians followed their Commanders, *Sofus* of *Phalaris*, and *Syllus* of *Gnosus*: also *Leontides* the Lacedæmonian, had the charge of five hundred out of *Greece*, but a mixt company they were of divers nations. This *Leontides* was said to have been of the blood royall, a banished person, condemned in a frequent assembly and Council of the Achæans, for certain letters which he sent to *Perseus*, and were intercepted. The Ætolians and Boeotians, who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by *Lycon* an Achæan. These auxiliaries or aid-fouldiers of so many states and nations mixt and blended together, grew tall upon the number of 12000 armed men. As for the Cavalry, he had levied out of all *Macedony* 3000 horie or thereabout. *Corys* King of the Odryians, the son of *Senther*, was thither come with 1000 chosen men of arms, and almost as many footmen. In sum, the whole army arose to the number of 30000 foot, and 4000 horie men. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raised by any King of *Macedony*, unless it were that again, with which *Alexander* the Great C passed over into *Asia*. I twenty years now and fix were come and gone, since time that peace was granted unto *Philip* at his own suit and request: during which space between, *Macedony* being in rest and quietness, had brought forth a goodly fry of fresh youth: a great part whereof was of sufficient age to bear arms: and by the continual skirmishes which they maintained with the Thracians their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakened, and more enured than wearied; and, in one word, lived ever in practice of martiall feats: whereby it came to pass, that all things were prest and in readines for the war, which *Philip* first, and *Perseus* afterwards projected to wage against the Romans.

This army stirred and advanced a little, not in manner of a full march as to a present battell; but only for this that they would not be seen to have stood still in their arms: and thus armed as the fouldiers were, *Perseus* called them to an audience, intending to make an Oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunal, he stood there with his two sons about him, one of either hand, whereof the elder (named *Philip*) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother; but the younger (whom they called *Alexander*) was his own naturall son. Then and there he exhorted his fouldiers to fight manfully, and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of *Rome* had done both to his father and also to himself. As for my father (quod he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into arms and begin war again; but in the very preparation thereof, he was suddenly surprisid and stricken with death. To my self at one time were ambassadors from them sent to treat of peace, and armed fouldiers also for to seize upon the Cities of *Greece*. Afterwards by a deceitful shew of a parley under colour of reconciliation and peace making, we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter, to the end that they might gain time to prepare for war. And now is the Col. coming with two Roman legions, having either of them some 3000 horie besides, and with a proportionable number (and that is the most) of allies as well foot as horie. And say that the K. both *Enmenes* & *Malanissus* joyn with their aid-forces, yet can they not amount above the number of 7000. Now that ye have heard what the strength is of the enemies, regard and compare your own army, namely, how far both in number as also in goodness and quality of fouldiers, you surpass them: being your selves from your childhood and infancy warriors trained in practice of arms and warfare, wrought, framed, and hardened in so many battels: where as they be new & raw fouldiers taken up in haste, and enrolled now the first time against this present service. As for the auxiliaries of the Romans, F what are they but Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians? but we to set against them, have to aid us Thracians and Gauls the most courageous nations under heaven. For harness and weapons, they have no other than such as every poor fouldier is able to provide for himself: but the Macedonians are furnished out of the Kings royall armory and arsenal with such armors of proof, as my father in many years could be made with great care, & to his no small expence. The Romans be far from their provisions, and the same exposed to all the casualties of the sea: but we besides the revenues and issues out of the mines of metal, have laid by both coin and corn sufficient to serve for ten years. The Macedonians have store and plenty in great abundance of all things necessary, & be provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the careful diligence of a K. It remaineth now that ye carry that mind and courage with you, which your noble progenitors bare before you, those I say, who after they had conquered & subdued all *Europ*, passed into *Asia*, and by force of arms made way & discovered that part of the world that was never heard of before, and gave not over to win ground fill and make more conquests, untill they were barred by the red sea, & could find no more land to conquer. But now beleave me, fortune hath denounc'd a trial by war, not for the purchase of the utmost bounds & marches of *India*, but for out-ree hold and possession for our inheritance even of *Macedony*. These Romans, when they waited against my father, pretended a goodly title & made a glorious shew to the world, as though they

*Or, Elymæus, according to Turchin, Adreia, i.e.

Perseus to his fouldiers,

"would

"hand assail their camp, which we might have forced and won this day, but that they took them H
 "to their heels and fled. But if they will come to a field and try the quarrel by the sword's point,
 "look ye for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with
 "horsemen. These words, both the horsemen (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of
 "their enemies lying slain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleasure and content-
 "ment, as measuring the hope of the future speed by the fortune passed: and also the footmen en-
 "flamed now with the glory of others (and namely those that were of the Macedonian Phalans)
 "withed with all their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not
 "only show their valiant service before the K, but also win semblable glory of their enemies. Thus
 "only these valiant service before the K, but also win semblable glory of their enemies. Thus
 "the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon
 "as K, *Perseus* during these daies, (at in Council what course to take as touching the main conduct
 "of his affairs, when his courage was now well abated and not so lusty for his late victory, some of
 "his friends were so hardy as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and
 "compassing of some honourable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and
 "engage himself and his whole state into some hazard & jeopardy, out of which he should not be
 "able to recover and retire into safety. For to keep a mean and moderation in prosperity, and not
 "over-confidently to truit upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (say they) of a wise man in-
 "deed and truly happy. And therefore the best course is, to send certain men of purpose unto the K
 "Cof, for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father *Philip* had accep-
 "ted peace heretofore of *T. Quintus* the conqueror. For neither (say they) can the war be taken
 "up with greater honour and reputation, than after so memorable a battle: nor ever will there be
 "presented more firm and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion,
 "which will work and mollifie the Romans as a man would have them, to come on and assent to
 "any accord, considering they are well tamed with the infortunity of this battell. But in case the
 "Romans upon an inbred peevishness and engrafted pertinacity of theirs, should not hear reason
 "but refuse an indifferent end, then both God and man shall be witnesses, as well of the moderation
 "of *Perseus*, as of their pride & insolent forwardness. The K, was willing enough to give ear to this,
 "and indeed never misliked such discourses; and therefore the advice was approved by the assent I
 "of the most part: whereupon ambassadors were sent to the Cof, & in a frequent Council assem-
 "bled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded and promised that *Perseus* should pay unto
 "the Romans as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for: and likewise quit the same Cities,
 "coasts, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and surrendered. To this effect spake the embas-
 "sadors: who being retired aside, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end, Roman constan-
 "tly imported and had the upper hand: for in those daies the manner and use was, in time of ad-
 "versity to hear all out and set a good countenance, but in prosperity to hold an even hand and to
 "use governance. So agreed it was to return this answer, That peace might be granted with this
 "condition. That K, *Perseus* should permit full and free power to the Senat of *Rome*, for to dispose
 "both of his person and the kingdom of *Macedony* at their good pleasure. When the Embas-
 "sadors had made relation hereof, this constant resolution and invincible persistence of the Romans made
 "them to wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of
 "them forbore to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romans would be glad short-
 "ly to seek for that of their own accord, which now at this present they loathed & rejected when
 "it was offered. But *Perseus* mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the
 "confidence they had in their own forces: inasmuch as he gave not over so, but assailed to tempt
 "the Cof, if haply by augmenting the sum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning
 "whatsoever. But seeing him nothing to come down nor to alter one jot from the first answer; in
 "despair now of all peace, he returned to *Sycium* from whence he came, putting off once again to
 "try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavalry was flown over all *Greece*, N
 "and discovered the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Ma-
 "cedonians rejoiced to hear this news, but also very many of them who were obliged and be-
 "holden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands, and some likewise who
 "had tasted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all,
 "but only upon a foolish and perverse affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordi-
 "narily is carried away in the beholding of disports and triall of malletries, even to favour ever-
 "more the weaker and him that taketh the foil.

At the same time *Lucretius* the Pretor had with most forcible means assaulted the City of *Ha-*
livius in *Baotia*: and albeit the besieged defendants within were relieved by no forraign aid, but
 only the youth of the *Coronians* (who at the beginning of the siege entred the City) nor hoped O
 for any to come: yet they stood out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with
 strength of hand: for they lasted forth many times, and killed upon the fabricks and engines of the
 enemy, yea & when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall thereupon a mighty weight
 and counterpoise of lead and so depressed and drave it down to the ground. And it haply the ene-
 mies who ran with the ram against the wall, avoided the device of theirs laid battery, and shook
 it in some other place: the townsmen within, raised presently with great speed another more,
 piling

A piling up hastily the stones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruins of the
 breaches. The Consul seeing this manner of service by way of ordinance and battery, to become
 flow and tedious, commanded to divide ladders amongst every company, and purposed to invest
 the City round about with the *Eicadalo*: supposing that the number which he had would be suf-
 ficient to exploit this enterprise, because on that side whereas the Town is enclosed with a marsh,
 it was bootless (or rather unpensible) to assault it. Himself in person presented 2000 elect foot-
 soldiers before that part, whereas two turrets, and all the wall between was beaten down and over-
 thrown to the end that in the very instant, whilst he assailed to enter at the breach, the town-
 men should run all thither to repulse him, and in the mean while the walls void of defendants
 might in some part or other be scaled and won. But they within belittled themselves easily to
 B give him the repulse. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of faggots
 made of dric vine cuttings and such small brush, they stood ready with flaming firebrands and
 burning links threatening ever and anon to kindle the lame and ter all on fire, to the end that be-
 ing defended from the enemy by the means of fire between they might have time to oppose an in-
 ner countermure against them. But by mistake this device and enterprise of theirs was un-
 peached. For there poured down on a sudden such a mighty shower of rain that the eyes would
 not easily take fire, and look what was set for a burning, it soon was quenched again by which means
 not only the passage was made open between the smoking faggots drawn apart one from another
 here and there, but whilst they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were
 taken at one instant by ladders reared up against many andundry parts thereof. In the first heat
 C upon the winning of the City, old and young such as chanced to come in their way, without any
 respect at all of age were put to the sword, the armed footmen fled into the Castle, and the next
 day being past hope to make good the place, they yielded and were all sold under the gulf and in
 portulac, to them that would bid most, to the number of 2500 men or very near. The ornaments
 and beauties of the City as statues, images painted tables and pictures, and whatsoever was found
 in the pillage to bear a better price, was carried to shipboard, and the Town itself raised from the
 very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to *Th.ber*:
 which being won without any resistance he put into the hands of the bailed persons and those
 that took part and sided with the Romans: but those of the contrary faction, such as favoured the
 King and the Macedonians, he sold by whole families in open market to the best chapmen, having
 D performed these exploits in *Baotia*, he retired himself to the Sea side to his ships.

Whiles these affairs passed thus in *Baotia*, *Perseus* lodged for certain daies in a camp at *Sycium*,
 Where being advertised, that the Romans made great haste to him the certain news repeated down,
 and to carry it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguers, and that every town before his tent
 cut and fired off the ears as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thrash and drive
 out the cleaver corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw through all parts
 of the campe, he supposed it was an easy matter to set all their tents and pavilions on fire. Where-
 upon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow bedewed with pitch and
 tar: thus provided and furnished he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might
 put this device in execution without being deflected before. But all came to nothing, for the for-
 E most corps de guard although they were surprised with this sudden coming, by their trouble and
 affright awakened and raised all the rest, and immediately the alarm was given: so as at one instant
 the soldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and prest for
 to defend the camp. *Perseus* likewise incontinently turned about with his engines, putting his tar-
 cage and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after: himself with the ca-
 valry and light-armors staid behind to fortify and guard the rearward, supposing (as it fell out in-
 deed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the main bar. His light armed
 soldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorne hope and loose advance couriers,
 but the horse and footmen both retired without any impeachment into the camp. Thus when all
 the corn was cut down about those quarters, the Romans dislodged and removed into the ter-
 F ritory of *Crannon*, which as yet was not undamaged. Whiles they lay encamped in safety and
 mitrilling nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the war between *Sy-*
crannon and *Crannon* was so difficult for want of water;) behold all on a sudden early in the
 morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed footmen shewed themselves upon the
 hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were
 from *Sycium* at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind, about the break of day
 upon the plain next thereto. For a while he stood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans
 might be trained forth to an horse-fight. But perceiving them not to stir at all, he sent one on
 horseback to command the footmen to retire again to *Sycium*, and himself in person followed
 freight after. The Roman horsemen made after a pretty distance off. If haply they could spie any
 G vantage in one place or other to charge upon them, disband and straggle amider. But when
 they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together following their guidons and keeping their
 ranks, they also returned into the camp. After this the King weary of making so long journeys dis-
 lodged and removed to *Alopium*. The Romans for their part likewise having moved down all
 the corn of *Crannon* passed into the territory of *Phalaenum*. The King having intelligence by a
 renegade revolt that the Romans were scattered all over the fields and reaping the standing corn
 without any guard of armed men, made a rode with 1000 horse & 2000 Candiors & Thracians

who marching with as great hast as possibly they could, set upon the Romans at unawares all unprovided; where he took a thousand carts or thereabouts, together with their teams, most of them laden, and upon 600 men besides. The guard and convoy of this booty into the campe he committed to the charge of 300 Cretensians. Himself having rallied his cavalry dispersed here and there busy in execution, and reunited withal the rest of the footmen led them to the next *corps de guard* or garrison of the enemies, supposing that with little ado they might be surpris'd and vanquish'd. *L. Pompeius* a Colonel had the command of them, who seeing his souldiers affrighted with this suddain coming of the enemies, retired with them to an hill neer at hand, for to defend himself by the vantage and strength of the place, considering that otherwise in number and forces he was too weak. Where after he had call his men into a ring, for to ward against the shot of arrows and darts by a roof and fence of targets couched close together over their heads: *Perseus* having environed the hill round about with armed men, commanded some to mount up and assaye to win the place on all parts, if possibly they could; and then to fight close hand to hand: others he charged to lance their darts and shoot their shafts thick at them a for off. The Romans were beset with a double fear; for neither could they maintain skirmish and fight close together because of those who laboured to climb the hill: and say they had broke any ranks with excursions and outrodes upon them, yet were they exposed and lay open to the shot of arrows and darts. Most hurt they had by certain weapons called *Cestrophendones* (sliding darts.) A new kind of dart this was and lately devised in the time of this very war. It had a sharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the same fast in a steel which was half a cubit long, and about the thickness of a mans finger: for to flie direct and straight, three leathers it had about it in man of a shaft: the sling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal size: now when as the sling swung it about, as it lay even poised in the greater capacity of the leather thong, out flew the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the souldiers being very sore wounded as well with this weapon as all other sorts of shot, so as now for weariness they were scarce able to bear their own armour: the King was earnestly in hand with them to yeeld and submit, assuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea and otherwhiles promised them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whose heart enclined once thereto. Now as they stood thus stiff and resolute to die there shone upon them a little comfort and some hope of evasion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the foragers and corn purveyors, who hapned to flie for refuge unto the camp brought word unto the Consul, that the *corps de guard* aforesaid was besieged round: whereupon being moved with the jeopardy wherein so many citizens stood (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of *Rome*) he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed souldiers, and unto them joyned certain new succours of the Numidians as well horse as foot, together with the Elephants: and gave commandment to the martial Colonels, that the ensignes of the legions should follow after. Himself in person marched before toward the hill aforesaid, taking with him a certain number of skirmishers, for to strengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Magesene* also the King of the Numidians, flanked the Col, on either side. When as the besieged Romans had a sight once of the foremost ensignes of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former extrem despair. *Perseus*, who had purposed in the first place not to spend any long time in laying siege to this *corps de guard* but to content himself with the fortunate success which at a venture hapned, in that he had taken and slain some of the foragers: secondly (when he was in some sort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no strength, to speak of, about him: yet puffed up and carried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both staid in person to attend the enemies coming, and also sent out in all hast, for the Macedonian Phalanx. Which coming later than the present necessity required (albeit in great hast they hurried) it fell out so, that they were to encounter (troubled and disordered as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the Col, who had prevented them presently welcomed them with battail. At the first, the Macedonians made resistance: but afterwards being in no respect equal unto the enemies, after they had lost three hundred footmen with four and twenty of the most forward and bravest horsemen out of that cornet which they call *Sacra* (amongst whom *Antimachus* also their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to pass, was more troublesome to speak of, than the skirmish and battail it self. The Phalanx being sent unto by a messenger in hast, and conducted as hastily, encountered first in a certain freight a troop of prisoners, and likewise the waggons charged with corn. Who being led at to give way, thereupon arose a great trouble as well of the one part as the other: whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed souldiers cast down and overthrow the heaps of lardage and baggage, for otherwise there could no way be made: and the draught-beasts being pricked and provoked forward, raged and made some work in the press and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they disengaged and rid of this confused and disordered company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horsemen discomfited. In which place, the noise which they made crying unto the Phalanx. Back again Back again made a fright among them as if there had been something ready to fall upon their heads: in such sort as if their enemies durst have entred into the freight and pursued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Consul contenting himself with a mean good hand, in that he had rescued and recovered his *corps de guard* from off

A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Some write that there was a great battail fought that day, and how 8000 enemies were slain, and among them *Sopater* and *Antipater* two of the Kings Captains. Also that there were taken prisoners about 2400: and military ensignes 27 carried away. Neither was the victory easily gotten but cost blood, for not so few as 4500 were slain of the Consul his army, and five guidons of the left wing lost. This journey recomfited the Romans, but danted and quailed *Perseus* in such sort, as after he had staid a few daies at *Mopsilum*, especially about entering the bodies of his dead souldiers, and left a sufficient garrison at *Gonos*, he retired his army into *Macedony*, leaving also at *Phbia* one of his own Captains named *Timotheus*, with some small forces, whom he commanded to assaye the Magnesians and the borderers adjoining. When he was come to *Pella*, he dismissed his army out of the field, and sent them to their

B winning harbors, but himself together with King *Corys* went to *Theffalonia*. Thither news came, that *Atlebius* a petty King of the Thracians, and *Corynus* a Captain under King *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Corys*, and were masters of the country which they call *Marene*. And therefore supposing that he must needs discharge *Corys* to look to the defence of his own realm, he bestowed rich presents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for six months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purposed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Consul after he heard that *Perseus* was gone, approached with his army neer to *Gonos*, and there lodged: if haply he might force and gain that also. Situat it was over against *Tempe*, at the very mouth and gullet of the heights, and is the very frontier Town, yeelding both a most assured C defence and strength to all *Macedony*, and also a commodious passage for the Macedonians to enter into *Theffaly*. And being a place impregnable, as well for the natural site thereof, as the strong garrison therein planted, he gave over the enterprise. So turning and bending his way into *Perthabia*, after he had forced *Mallas* at the first assault and put it to the rantaek: and received *Triphile* with the rest of *Perthabia*, yeelded by composition, he returned to *Larissa*. And then having sent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home into their own country, and bestowed *Magesene* and the Numidians in divers Cities of *Theffaly* neer at hand to remain there for the winter time, and distributed part of his forces throughout all *Theffaly*, in such sort, that not only they had all commodious wintering, but also served in stead of garrisons to the Cities. *Q. Mutius* his Lieutenant he sent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard *Ambracia* and keep it in obedience. All the considerers of the D Greek Cities, save only the Achaeans he licensed to depart. With one part of his army he went into *Theffaly* in *Phbia*, where he raled down to the ground *Pittema* abandoned of the inhabitants. But *Antrona* he won with the good will of the Townsmen. Then afterward he approached before *Larissa* with his forces. The City was left desolate, for all the people were retired into the fortrels, the which he began to assault: and first the Kings garrison of Macedonians quit the place: of whom the Townsmen being forsaken and left to themselves, submitted incontinently. Then he stood in doubt whether he should assail *Demetrias* first, or have an eye and look into the troubles and state of *Boeotia*. For the men of *Thebes* being grievously molested and annoyed by thole of *Coronae*, had sent for him into *Boeotia*: at whose prayers, thither he conducted his army; and besides, *Boeotia* was a country more commodious to winter in than *Magnesia*.

The three and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and fortieth Book.

F Divers Pretors were judicially condemned, for demeaning themselves with cruelty and avarice: in the administration of their Provinces. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Pro-consul was by force many Cities in Greece, and cruelly rifled them. For which rigour of his, the captives whom he had sold under the garland in open market, were by an order directed out of the Senat, restored forward to their former estate. The Admirals of the Roman fleets committed many outrages and enormities against their allies. Besides, there are comprised in this book, the prosperous affairs of King *Perseus* in Thracia, after he had vanquished the Dardanians and subdued Illyricum, whereof *Centius* was King. The trouble which began in Spain by means of *Olonicus*, were appeased by his death. *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, was by the Consors created president of the Senat.

The three and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

T He same summer, wherein the Romans won the victory with horse-fight in *Theffaly*, the Lieutenant being sent into *Illyricum* from the Consul, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld: unto which nevertheless he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitants of

this answer. That as touching the outrages for which they shewed themselves grieved, the Senat neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the same, since they were committed. But against all right and equity it were to condemn unheard in his own defence, and absent, such a personage as he is, namely, a man who had been Consul; considering also that his employment about the C.W. is the occasion of his absence. When *C. Celsus* is once returned out of *Macedony*, then if they would shew themselves and accuse him face to face, the Senat would hear the cause and take knowledge accordingly, yea, and endeavour that they should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was, that these nations should not be dispatched only with this bare answer, but that Embassadors also should be sent: two unto the foresaid King beyond the *Alps*; and other three to the people above named, for to acquaint them with the resolution of the Lords of the Senat. And they gave order besides to send presents to each of the Embassadors to the value of two thousand Asles over and above, to the two Princes that were brethren: these gifts following, to wit, two chains of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold: also five peeces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twenty pound: two hard hories with their riders and lackies: likewise horsemens armour and their cassocks: and liveries likewise for all those of their train, as well bond as free. These were the things sent unto them. But at their own request granted it was besides, that they might for their money buy each of them ten hories, and be allowed to transport them out of *Italy*. The Embassadors lent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were *C. Lelius* and *M. Emilius Lepidus*: to the other nations *C. Sticinius*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, and *T. Memmius*.

Moreover, these met together in *Rome* at once, the Embassadors of many States both of *Greece* and *Asia*. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senat, who related, That they had sent unto the Consul *P. Licinius* and the Pretor *C. Lucretius*, what shipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make: but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levy of a hundred thousand Modii of corn. Which, albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very husbandmen themselves lived of forraim corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to do accordingly, because they would not seem to be wanting in any dutiful service: and willing they were yet, and prest to perform whatsoever they would require. The Milesians for their part said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offered themselves to be ready to accomplish all that the Senat should command them toward this war. The Alabandians shewed, That they had built a * Temple to the City of *Rome*, and ordained besides, that in the honour of that goddess there should be a solemnity of games and plaies exhibited every year. Also, that they had brought with them for a present, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to set it up in the Capitol as a gift and offering to *Jup. Opt. Max.* and withal, three hundred horsemens shields, which they were minded to bestow upon those, unto whom it pleased them to appoint and command. Their petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their present in the Capitol, and there to sacrifice. The men of *Lampiscus* came with a golden crown weighing four score pound, protesting, That they had quit and abandoned *Perseus*, so soon as ever the Roman army was arrived in *Macedony*, notwithstanding they owed allegiance unto *Perseus* and were homagers to his father *Philip* before him. In which consideration as also for that they had performed their devoir to their full power to the Roman Generals, they requested no other favour to be gratified withal, but to be received into the amity of the people of *Rome*: and in case there should be peace concluded with *Perseus*, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The rest of the Embassadors had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for the *Lampiscans*, order was given to *Q. Manius* the Pretor, to enter and enrol them in the number of allies. Every one of these Embassadors were rewarded with a present worth two thousand Asles. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into *Macedony* their shields aforesaid, and to deliver them unto *A. Hostilius* the Consul. Over and besides, the Carthaginian Embassadors out of *Africa*, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had on shipboard at the sea-side ready to carry the same wherefoever the Senat would appoint. This benevolence of theirs they accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that this gift and recognizance of their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to do the part of thankful, faithful, and truly allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both States. In like sort the Embassadors of *Malassia* promised the same proportion of corn, with 1200 hories and twelve Elephants, assuring them in his name, to do whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be thought needful, and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the King, requested they were to transport over into *Macedony* to the Consul *A. Hostilius*, those things which they had promised. To the Embassadors were sent by way of presents, two thousand Asles apiece. The Cretensian Embassadors, related how they had sent into *Macedony* such a number of Archers, as the Consul *P. Licinius* had imposed upon them: and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there served more Archers of theirs under *Perseus* than with the Romans, this answer was made unto them, That if the Cretensians would well and truly and in good earnest transfer the friendship of the people of *Rome* before that of King *Perseus*, the Senat of *Rome* likewise would give them answer as certain and assured allies: in the mean while; they should

stand,

A stand, that it was the will and pleasure of the Senat, that the Cretensians should with all speed possible call home all those souldiers whom they had in any garrison of King *Perseus*. The Candians being dismissed with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very first sight of them, it soon appeared upon what terms of necessity they were driven to lend an embassage: when *Alcicion* the chief man among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his leet, was brought into the Senat in a litter, in which extremity diseased as he was there was no pleading of any excuse by his infirmity, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had all done. He began by way of preface and preamble, saying, "He had nothing left alive but his tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and shewed what contumelies and good turns the State wherein he lived had performed to the Captains B General and armies of the Romans, both of old and also of late in the war against *Perseus*. After this, he declared what parts of pride, covetousness and cruelty, firstly, *Lucretius* a Roman Pretor had exercised upon his country-men, and afterwards what *L. Hortensius* practised, at that time above all others: also how the Chalcidians were resolved to endure all calamities, were they more grievous than those which they presently suffered rather than they would yield to *Perseus*. And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for their safety to have shut their gates against them than to receive them into their City. For such as had excluded them forth, as namely they of *Enabasis*, *Amphipolis*, *Laracea* and *Eum*, remain still entire and in good estate: but with us (ay they) the Temples have been robbed of all their beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoiled by these sacrilegious, *C. Lucretius* hath carried all away by water over to *Antium*, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the persons here born, so as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of *Rome*, both have been and daily are pillaged & rifled. For according to the use & fashion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortensius* likewise houleth his mariners as well in summer as winter, and our houses are full of a rabble of these sailors and sea-men, in such sort as our wives and children be forced to converse among such grooms as make no account at all what either they say or do. Heretofore thought good it was, to send for *Lucretius* into the Senat, that he might see his accuser, answer face to face, and purge himself of these challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in presence than had been spoken against him in his absence. Over and besides, these shewed themselves and joined together against him, two other more stout adversaries and bitter accusers, to wit, *M. Lucretius Tullus* and *D. Cn. Aspidius*. And these two not only coured him before the Senat, but also having drawn him perforce into the general assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproaches, took our process also and arrested him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day before the people. Then *Q. Manius* the Pretor, by order from the Senat, answered the Chalcidians in this manner: Whereas ye allege and say, That ye have well delivered of the people of *Rome* both heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, and accepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances and complaints for the lewd parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortensius* still practiseth (both Pretors of *Rome*) the same neither have been nor are committed and done by the will and allowance of the people of *Rome*. For who would not judge so of it, that knoweth how E they leveyed war upon King *Perseus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchise *Greece* and set it at liberty: and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be intreated by their Magistrats and Governors sent from hence? Write therefore they would unto *L. Hortensius* the Pretor, to let him understand, that the Senate is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the Chalcidians complain of. Also if any free-born persons were become thrall and bound, that with all convenient speed he should take order to seek them up and restore them again to their former freedom. Last of all, that they deemed it meet and reason, that no sailor or mariner, but only the masters of ships should be lodged and entertained in your houses. And these were the contents of the letters written unto *Hortensius*, by commandment from the Senat. Unto the Embassadors were gifts sent, to every one as much as came to 2000 Asles. As for *Alcicion*, he was allowed his F carriage in chariots at the charges of the City, and order given that he should with all ease ride in them to *Brundisium*. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns commended an action against him before the people, to be a fined at a million of Asles. And in a general assembly and Session holden for this purpose, cast he was and condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes, even thirty five and no fewer.

In *Liguria* no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entered into arms, nor the Consul led his legions into their country: and when he was assured of peace for that year, he discharged the souldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 days after his first coming into the Province. As for the army of the Latine allies he brought it early into the Cities of *Luna* and *Pisa* there to winter: and then himself with the cavalry visited most of the Cities in the Province of *Gaul*.

In no place was there any war but in *Macedony*: howbeit they had in suspicion *Gentius* and the King of the *Illyrians*. Therefore the Senat ordained to send from *Brundisium* eight ships ready rigged and fully furnished, unto the Lieutenant *C. Furius* at * *Issa*, who was Governor of the Iland with the guard and strength of two Iffean Vessels: in which were put aboard and shipped 2000 souldiers, which *Q. Manius* the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senat, enrolled in that quarter of *Italy* which lieth opposite to *Illyrienn*. In like manner the Consul *Hostilius* sent

Appius

Appius Claudius into *Ithyrium* with four thousand footmen, for to defend the people in those parts: who not content with those forces of his own which he had brought with him thither, demanded here and there aids and succours of the allies, until he had put in arms eight thousand men of diverse and sundry nations. And after he had made his progress through all that region, he set him down and rested at *Lichnidum* a City of the *Dissartians*. Not far from thence there stood a frontier Town called *Ulcana*, and for the most part ranged under the obedience of *Perseus*. There were within it one thousand citizens, and a small garrison of *Cretanians* for their better safeguard and defence. From thence there came to *Claudius* secret courriers, advertising him, that if he would approach nearer with his army, there would be some ready at hand to betray the Town into his hands: and worth the adventure it was (say they) and would quit for all the pains: for able it was with pillage to enrich not himself and his friends only, but also all his soldiers. The I hope of this cheat, fitting so well his covetous humour, so blinded his spirit and understanding, that he had not the sense to keep with him any one of those courriers that came unto him, nor the wisdom to demand hostages for assurance of his enterprise which was to be accomplished by stealth and fraud, nor yet the foresight to send out scouts and spies, or so much reason and mother-wit as to require their oath and bond of faithful promise. Only at the day appointed he departed from *Lichnidum*, and within twelve miles of that City toward which he went, he encountered. Then by night at the relief of the fourth watch, he removed and set forward, leaving behind him a regiment of a thousand, for the guard of the camp. At length to the City they came, disordered in a long train, marching nothing close, but far alunder tooley one from another and scattered, by reason that in the night season they went many of them out of the way. This negligence of theirs was the more, when they saw no man appearing upon the walls: but so soon as they were approached within a darts cast, the inhabitants issued forth at once out of 2 gates and together with the shout of them that sallied forth, a mighty noise and outcry besides arose from the walls, of women howling, yelling, and ringing brazen basons and bells on every hand: besides, the confused multitude of the base people and bond-slaves together, set up most hideous and dissonant cries. These manifold terrors presented from all parts, were the cause that the Romans could not abide and stand out the first tempest and violent storm, as it were, of their fury and charge. Down they went therefore and were slain more in flight than fight; and scarce 2000 men with the Lieutenant himself, escaped and recovered the camp: for the longer way they had thither, the more means and opportunity had the enemies, to chase and overtake a great number of them, wearied upon the way. *Appius* stayed not so long in the camp, until he had rallied those that were dispersed in the rout, (which had been the only way to have saved those that were straggled in the fields) but immediately retired with the broken reliques of his army after this overthrow, to *Lichnidum*. This infelicity and such other like misfortunes happening in *Macedony*, were made known at *Rome*, by occasion of *Sen. Dignus* a Colonel, who was returned home for to celebrate a solemn sacrifice. In regard whereof, the LL. of the Senat fearing to receive some greater ignominy and dishonour, addressed Embassadors into *Macedony*. At *Fulvius Flaccus* and *M. Caelius Rufus*, to make a true report upon their knowledge how the world went there. Also that *A. Hostilius* the Consul should publish the assembly general for the election of Consuls, so as it might be holden in the month of *January* and then repair himself with all convenient speed to the City. In the mean time, *M. Rutilius* the Pretor had in charge, by virtue of an edict, to call home into the City all Senators from every quarter of *Italy*, unless such as were absent about the affairs of the state: also to give straight warning to them who now were at *Rome*, not to absent themselves farther than a mile from the City. These things were done according to the advice of the Senat. So the grand assembly for the election of the Consuls, was holden the 28 day of *August*: wherein there were created Consuls, *Q. Martius Philippus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius Cyprius*. Three days after, the Pretors also were chosen, namely, *Caius Decimus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Sulpicius Gallus*, *C. Marius Figulus*, *Sex. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Pomponius Cyprius*. Unto these Pretors elect, besides the two charges within the City of civil jurisdiction, these four provinces and governments were assigned, to wit, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and the admiralty of the navy.

At the very end of *February*, the Embassadors aforesaid returned out of *Macedony*: who recounted the ads atchieved fortunately by *Perseus* the summer past, and in how great fear the allies of the people of *Rome* stood, after so many Cities reduced under the obedience of the King. Moreover, that the Consul his army was diminished of men, by reason that so many of them made friends to be discharged, and so for favour had their passage: and they were dismissed: the fault here in, the Consul laid upon the military Tribuns or Colonels: and they again upon him. The LL. of the Senat perceived well that they made but light of the shameful foil received by the inconsiderate rashness of *Claudius*, in saying, That there were but very few soldiers lost of the Italian nation, and those for the most part taken up in haist and enrolled on a sudden. The Consuls elect so soon as they entered into their magistracy, were commanded to propound unto the Senat concerning the Province of *Macedony*, and to them were assigned the governments of *Italy* and *Macedony*. This year was leap-year, and the third day after the least *Terminatus*, was the day inferred between, which happened upon the calends [of *March*]. Within the compass of that year certain Priests, to wit, *L. Flaminius*, and two Pontiffs or Bishops, *L. Furius Philus*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, departed this life. The college of these Pontiffs, elected *T. Manlius Torquatus* in stead of *Furius*, and *Marcus Servilius* in the room of *Livius*.

* Ad quintum calendis Septembris. I doubt, that for (Septembris) it should be *Februarius*. And then is it the 28 of *January*: which considering the precedent mistake and the following circumstances, suiteth better to the story.

* To the God of bounds, *Terminus*. Solemnized it was toward the end of *February* the last month of the year, as appeareth by *Ovid. Fasti*. Quisquis annis veteris fuit istius anni: tunc quoque Terminus, Terminis habet eam.

A In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Cons. *Q. Martius* and *Q. Servilius* had moved in the Senat as touching their provinces, advised it was, That with all speed possible they should either agree between themselves, or else call lots for the governments in *Italy* and *Macedony*. And before that the lots determined this matter (so doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards should be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and sufficient number of soldiers for the supplement of the armies in both Provinces: namely, for *Macedony* 6000 footmen of the supplement of the armies in both Provinces: namely, for *Macedony* 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Latine allies: 250 horsemen Romans, and 300 allies: also to call the old soldiers, so as in every Roman legion there should not be above 6000 foot and 300 horse. As for the other Consul, he was not gaged with any certain limit of Roman citizens, to be levied for the full accomplishment of his legions.

B Only this was determinately set down, That he should enrol two legions, and either of them to contain 5200 foot and 200 horse: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague; namely, 10000 foot and 600 horse. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occasionsoever should fall out. The Marshal-Colonels of the army the Consuls might not be permitted to elect, but created they were by the people. The allies of the Latine nation were enjoined to let out sixteen thousand foot and a thousand horse. And this power was only to be in acreadiness at an hours warning, for to be led forth as occasion should be offered. Their principal care was about *Macedony*. Ordained also it was, That for the service at Sea, there should be enrolled to serve the navy, of the Roman citizens (such as were libertines and newly enfranchised) out of all parts of *Macedony* ten thousand, and as many out of *Sicily*. And unto whether of the Consuls the Province of *Italy* fell, he should give order for their transporting thither, to the armada wherefore appointed to make up the decayed bands. There also, a certain number was set down, for every legion, was to govern in *Spain*, had commision to levy of the allies four thousand footmen, and three hundred horse.

I am not ignorant, that from the same prophane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now adies are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-signify nothing to come by signs and tokens: it proceedeth also, That no prodigies which happen, should any more either be published and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of these acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not how, but me thinks I carry a mind, that is become (as it were) antique also; yea, and some scrupulous devotion ariseth in my spirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my histories, which those sage fathers and most prudent personages in old time thought meet to be considered of by the State, yea, and to require publick expiation. Well to proceed, from *August* were two fearful sights reported that year, namely, That aburning and blazing flame was seen in the sky and a cow known to speak, kept and nourished at the publick charges. At *Monte* also much about those daies, the welkin seemed to be on a light fire. At *Rome* there fell a shower that rained flowers. In the fortels at *Comes* the image of *Apollo* wept three daies and three nights continuantly. In the City of *Rome*, two sextons or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of chappel of *Fortuna Primigenia*, which standeth upon the Capitol hill, there happened two divers and different prodigious signs, namely, That in the Chappel-yard there sprung up a palm-tree: and all one day it rained blood. Two other strange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made: the first, because it chanced in a privat place; for *T. Martius* *Postumus* reported, That there grew up a palm or date-tree in his court-yard: the second, because it happened in a certain place: for spoken it was, That at *Frugella* in the house of *M. Atreus*, a lance or spear which he had bought for his son a soldier, burned in the day time for two hours space and more, yea so, as fire consumed nothing thereof. In regard of those publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourse to the books of *Sibylla*: who out of them declared, That the Consuls should sacrifice twelve head of greater beasts, and they shewed also to what Gods. They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick procession, and that all the Magistrats at every shrine and upon every altar of the Gods should sacrifice greater beasts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers. All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs suggested and directed.

After this, the assembly was published for the choosing of Centors. In election there were for this dignity of Centorship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the City, *C. Valerius Leuvinus*, *L. Posthumus Albinus*, *P. Mutius Scaevola*, *C. Junius Brutus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. These two last rehearsed the people of *Rome* those for Centors. When as by occasion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of soldiers, than at other times before, the Consuls found much fault with the common people and complained unto the Senat, that the young and able men for service being called would not answer to their names. But *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Claudius* two Tribuns of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalf of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Consuls to levy soldiers: many, for corrupt affection and popular Consuls it was not to cally a thing, and namely, such as would be sure to enrol no soldiers against their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to be a truth, they should see the Pretors (if the Senate were

* Once printed, *postum* from *post* when the *post* good to the *post* full born *Postum*.

to content, and thought well thereof) whose power of command, and authority of government **H** was * less than the Consuls, to go through with the multitudes without emperment: So that charge was committed to the Pretors with the great assent of the Senators, but not without some backbiting and detraction of the Consuls. And the Consuls forth to shift and forward that affair, made it known, and protested in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish an act, as touching the review and estimate of every mans demeanour and hability, that besides the ordinary oath of all citizens, they should swear to these points in this form following: Art thou under six and forty years of age? then by virtue of the edict made by the Censors *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and shew thy self at the multitudes so often as there shall be any levy taken: and what Censors soever shall happen to be in place, thou shalt appear and be enrolled, in case thou wert not a prest souldier before. Moreover, because the voice went, that many souldiers I of the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large passports without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the souldiers enrolled for *Macedony*, when *P. Eltus* and *C. Popilius* were Consul, or any time after. That as many of them as remained within *Italy*, after they were enrolled, and registered first under their hands, should within thirty daies repair again to their colours into the province: and whosoever of them were at the disposition of father or grandire, their names should be preferred and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full time. By law required, they would command them to be enrolled souldiers again. By virtue of this edict of the Censors as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporat Towns and places of resort for market and men: handie, there assembled together and came to *Rome* such a multitude of lusty, young, and able men, that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumbersome to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be sent and employed in supply of the old armies, four legions more were enrolled by *C. Sulpinius* the Pretor, and within eleven daies the multitudes were accomplished and ended.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the toober, by reason of the civil causes which required their jurisdictions. The one over the citizens was fall to *C. Sulpinius*, the other over forrainers to *C. Decimius M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of *Spain*, *Serg. Cornelius Lentulus* of *Sicily*, *P. Fontius L. Capito* ruled *Sardinia*, *G. Martius Vignulus* had the conduct of the navy. And then, I say, to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of *Italy*, and to *Q. Martius* the other of *Macedony*. This *Martius* so soon as the Latine seals were solemnized, departed toward his province immediately. After this, upon the motion of *Capito* to the LL., ordained, That the Pretors *C. Sulpinius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consul, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Consul was thus subjected to the will of the Pretors: yet after the Senat was risen, he stood waiting at the Tribunal of the Pretors, and required them according to the order set down by the Senat to assign him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choice thereof to the Col. himself. This done, the Censors took a review **M** of the Senat and of the new Senators: and *M. Amylius Lapidus* was elected president of the Senat: and these were the third Senators that made choice of him consequently one after another. Seven were displaced and deposed from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the people, and in assigning them, they compelled to return into *Macedony* those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this assignment, they soon knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from souldry: and whose licences they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason: those they forced to take the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censors, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine hearts, into the province of *Macedony*: and this shalt thou do to thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horseback, their sentence was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole estate of Knigts and Gentlemen of *Rome*, they blew the coals and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, That none of them who in time that *Q. Fulvius* and *An. Posthumus* the Censors had taken to farm the renewers, fruits and profits of the City, or undertaken at a price the publick works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their spear set up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no, nor to be partners, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicans and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senat: but when they could obtain no comfort from them: to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Censors, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them was offended and bare a grudge against the Censors. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull down a wall standing in the street *Sacra* over against a publick edifice: pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called unto the

A the Tribuns for their lawfull help and favour: but when as none of them all but only this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Censors sent to straiten and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the body of the people intended an action against him, and let a grievous fine upon the head of that party aforesaid. By means I say of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans be took themselves for in court to this Tribune, presently there was a bill preferred and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form, That what publick renewers and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* had to farm let for a rent, or what publick works and provisions they had put out to be made and purveyed at a price, the same leases and bargains should not stand for good but be cancelled, and new demises drawn and made. Also that it might be lawful for all men indifferently either to be farmers or undertakers of the premises. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a general assembly and session, to have this bill to be cait by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Censors advanced and put themselves forward to disswade and plead against the bill. So long as *Gracchus* spoke, he was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius*, when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept a muttering, so as he was forced by an outcry made by the strict to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that flag out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day he kept a great coil and made a foolish tir: first, he interdicted the goods of *Tib. Gracchus* as condemned and accursed, for that in setting a fine, and straining gages of him, who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: nay, he protested that he would indite both the Censors of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required of *Sulpinius* Pretor for the citizens, a day of assizes for their judiciall tryal. The Censors refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this heinous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was assigned the * daies immediately before the eight and twentieth calends of *October*. Upon this, the Censors incontinently ascended up into the Porch of *Liberty*: where after they had made sure and sealed the publick Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices of the Chancery, and discharged for the time the publick Clerks and proto-Notaries attending upon that Court, they protested that they would not go in hand with any publick affairs of state, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his own cause and spoke for himself: and when of twelve centuries that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Censorship and cast him, yea, and many other centuries of the first *Classis*. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to be good unto the Censors. But that which most of all either flattered or reversed the definitive doom against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himself the other Censor: for that when the commons cried from a parts, that there was no danger growing toward *Gracchus*, he swore by express words, That if his colleague were condemned, he would (without attending the judgment of the people as touching himself) accompany him into banishment. Howbeit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this need point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and molest *Gracchus*.

This year at the earnest suit of the Aquileian Embassadors unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies encreased: a thousand and five hundred families (by virtue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to *Aquileia*, were sent as Triumvirs or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annii Lufus*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same year *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Octavius* Embassadors, who have been sent into *Greece*, having first read and published at *Thebes* the act and ordinance of the Senat, carried it afterwards throughout all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the wars, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrates, more than that which the Senat had set down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time that they should be eased of those charges and expenses; by which they were impoverished and wasted, whiles every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achaean general council holden at *Argos*, they had audience given them and were heard in gracious sort: from whence leaving this most loyal and faithful nation in singular good hope of happy estate for the time to come, they passed into *Boetia*. There was as yet no sedition broken out there: but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of natural accusations: in regard of which jars and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* granted unto these Embassadors a Diet to be holden at *Tyrreum*: where some debate was between the partakers of divers factions. Some principal men of the States, required that there should be gentlemen received into their Cities, to bridle the wilfulness of those that inclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainsaid this course, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and

confederat Cities should be put to receive that disgrace and dishonour, which usually falleth upon known enemies and those that are conquered by force of arms. And this request was reputed just. Then the Embassadors returned to *Larissa* unto *Habibulus* the Pro-consul, for from him they were employed in embassy. *Othavins* he retained still with him: but *Popilius* together with a 1000 soldiers or very near, he sent to *Ambraclia*, thence to lodge for the winter time.

Perseus in the beginning of winter durst not go forth of the frontiers of *Macedony*, for fear lest the Romans would invade with violence his realm in some place or others, if they found it void and disturbed. But toward the mids of *December* about mid-winter, when by reason of the deep snow the mountains are unpassable and unsufferable from out of *Thessaly*, thinking he had then a fit season and opportunity to cut off the hopes and break the hearts of the neighboring powers, that when he should be averted another way and buied in the Roman war, he might be feared of danger from them: considering that from the parts of *Thracia* he had peace with *Cotyis* and likewise with *Epirus* side (by the means of *Cephalus*, who suddenly of late was revolted from the Romans;) moreover having newly vanquished the Dardanian in war; and seeing only that quarter to infect and annoy *Macedony*, which regardeth and affronteth *Illyricum*; and that those *Illyrians* also were not quiet and at peace, but ready to give entrance unto the Romans; but if he had subdued and tamed those *Illyrians* which were next unto him, then King *Gentius* also, who a long time hung between in doubtful terms, might be induced & drawn wholly into society with him: he resolved at length, and with ten thousand footmen heavily armed, whereof part were *Phalangites*; and other two thousand lightly appointed; and five hundred horse, he made a rode and presented his forces before *Stuberæ*: from whence after he had provided himself of corn to serve for many daies, and given order that the ordinance and engines of battery should follow after: at the third daies end he lodged near *Uscana*, the head City of all that Land *Poenstia*. But before that he offered any assault, he sent certain of purpose to sound and solicit the affections, one while of the Captains of the garrison, and another while of the Townsmen. Now there lay within the City, together with the manhood and youth of the *Illyrians*, a garrison also of the Romans. And when he saw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he began to bend his forces against them, and assaid to invell them round about, and so to force the City. And albeit both night and day without any rest and intermission, they pressed upon the inhabitants, and evermore one succeeded another: whiles some reared ladders against the walls, others threw balls of fire against the gates, yet the defendants of the City held out and endured that tedious and violent tempest: because they hoped that neither the Macedonians lying abroad were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter; nor the King on the other side could have so much releafe and relaxation from the Roman war, as to stay there and make his abode. But after they perceived once the mantlers approach, and the frames of turrets and fabricks erected, their pertinence was over-matched & they began to relent. For besides that in plain force they were the weaker and not able to resist, distressed also they were for want of corn, neither had they store of any other provision, as being taken on a sudden, and looking for nothing less than siege at such a time of the year. Therefore when they were pail all hope to be able any longer to resist, *C. Cavilius Spolentinus* and *C. Afranius* were sent from the Roman garrison, to crave of *Perseus* first that he would permit them to depart in their arms, and to carry with them their bag and baggage; secondly, if they might not obtain so much, that he would but give them assurance of life and liberty. The King was more free and liberal to promise, than fast and faithful to perform. For after he had commanded them to go forth and carry with them a l that was their own: the first thing that he did was to disarm them and take away their weapons.

They were not so soon departed out of the Town, but both the company of the *Illyrians*, to the number of 500 men, and also the inhabitants of *Uscana* rendered themselves and their City. *Perseus* when he had put a garrison in *Uscana*, led away the whole multitude of the yielded Townsmen (and those were well-neer as many in number as his own army) and transported them to *Stuberæ* where, after he had sent the Romans (all besides their Captains) who were 4000 fighting men into sundry cities to be kept in ward, and sold the *Ulcianians* and *Illyrians*; he led his army back into *Poenstia*, intending to be master of *Oenone*, a Town seated otherwise commodiously, and withal is the very key and highway that openeth passage into the country of the *Labæats*, within the realm of King *Gentius*, and where he kept his royal state. As he passed by a strong borough Town well inhabited, named *Dracum*, one about him that was well acquainted with the coasts of that country put into his head, that bootless it was and to no purpose to win *Oenone*, unless he had *Dracum* also in his hands, as being a Town situate more commodiously in all respects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and so soon as ever he presented his army before it, immediately all the inhabitants submitted and yielded. Being much animated and encouraged with this successe, of theirs, which they made far sooner than he hoped or looked for: after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled army of his was, all the way as he marched he brought under his subjection eleven other Castles and strong holds, upon the like fear that they were put into. Violence he used against very few of them: the rest yielded willingly: wherein were taken a 500 Roman soldiers, placed there in several garrisons. In great stead and to very good use served *Cavilius Spolentinus* in all their parties, who evermore gave it out that there had been no cruelty nor rigor exercised upon him and his fellows. At length the King came before *Oenone*, which could not possibly be won without a set and full siege. For the Town had far more youth and able men

A men within it then the rest, was fortified with a strong wall about it, and defended of the one side with the river called *Arcturus*, and of the other with an exceeding high hill, and the same of hard and difficult access. All these things considered, the townsmen were in good hope to be able for to make resistance. *Perseus*, having entrenched the town and cast a rampier round about it, began likewise to raise a terrace & mount from the upper part thereof, to that height as might surmount and over-top the walls. But during the time that this peece of work was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were consumed by divers and sundry adventures, whiles they skirmished off and sallied forth, endeavouring both to defend their own walls, and also to encompass the fabricks and devices of their enemies. And those that remained alive, with tollsome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were pail all service and good for nothing. So soon as the terrace and mount store laid was raised close unto the wall, both the Kings cohort (whom they call *Nicatoris*) mounted up into it, and also with ladders the assault was given unto the City in many places at once. All that were above fourteen years old he put to the sword: their wives and small children he cast into prison. The rest of the booty and pillage fell to the soldiers share. As he returned from thence with victory to *Stuberæ*, he sent as Embassadors unto *Gentius*, *Pleuraus* the *Illyrian* (a banished person who sojourned with him) and *Amicus* a Macedonian of *Berbera*. Them he gave in charge to declare unto *Gentius*, what he had achieved against the Romans and Dardanian the summer past, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withall to persuade the King, for to be knit in amity with him and the Macedonians. These Embassadors having transmounted the top of the hill *Scordus* and traversed the wilds and woods of *Illyricum*, which the Macedonians of purpose had laid waste and desert, to the end, that the Dardanian might have no easie passage either into *Illyricum* or *Macedony* after much pain and travail they arrived in the end at *Scodra*. Now was *K. Gentius* at *Lissus*, and thither were the Embassadors sent for, where they delighted their messenger with gracious audience: but they went away with an answer to no effect; namely, that he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to war upon the Romans; but his soldiers were empty, and he lacked money especially, to go in hand and enterprise that which he desired. This answer they related unto King *Perseus* at *Stuberæ*, at what time as he was most busie in selling of his captives taken in *Illyricum*. Then forthwith were the same Embassadors adressed again unto him, accompanied with *Glauca* one of the Kings guard and liquires of his body, without any mention made of money, and that was the only means to induce the bare and needy barbarous Prince to levy war. After this, *Perseus* vanquished the City *Amyra*, and once again reduced his army into *Poenstia* country, and having strengthened the garrisons in *Vescana*, and in all the forte and peeces about it, he returned into *Macedony*.

L. Calpurnius Roman lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of *Illyricum*, who durst not stir so long as King *Perseus* was in those quarters; but in the end after his departure, he endeavoured to recover *Vescana* in the *Poenstia* country, but was repelled from thence by the garrison of the Macedonians there, and carried away nothing but many adry knock and bloody wound. He retired with his forecote *Lychnidum* from whence, some few daies after he sent *M. Trebennius* *Fregellanus* into the *Poenstia* country, with a strong power, for to receive hostages of those Cities who faithfully had persisted in amity & friendship. He commanded him also to go in ward to the Partins (for they likewise had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both these nations, the said hostages might be gotten without any stir and trouble. The hostages of the *Poenstia* were sent to *Apollonia*, but those of the Partins to *Dyrrachium*, which in those daies was more usually called by the Greeks *Epidamnus*.

App. Candianus, desirous to raise out the blemish and make amends for the dishonour received in *Illyricum*, set in hand to assault *Phanotis* a fort of *Epirus*, having brought thither with him the *Athamans* and *Theprotians* (over and above the Roman army) to the number of 6000 men; but he got nothing there but travail for his pains, by reason that the place was valiantly defended by *Cleodas*, left there with a strong garrison by *K. Perseus*. *Perseus* likewise made an expedition to *Elymea*, and after he had taken a solemn survey of his army about it, he conducted his power to *Stratus* at the request of the *Epirots*. This *Stratus* then, was the strongest City of *Illeotolia*, situate it is upon the gulf of *Ambraclia*, near the river *Achelous*. he advanced thither with 10000 foot: not above 300 horse of them took the fewer with him in number, by reason of the eight steep passages and rugged waies. Being come at the third daies end so far as to the mount *Chirus*, where he had with much difficulty passed over it, the snow lay so deep, that hardly and with much ado could he find a convenient place to encamp in. From thence he removed, more for that he could not there abide and remain, then for any intolerable way and weather he met: withal in his dimarch and journey forward: so with passing great travail and trouble, of his beasts especially, the second day he arrived at the temple of *Jupiter* called *Nicæus*, and there lodged. Then after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river *Arachisus*, being thither by reason of the deep water: during which time, he made a bridge over and transported his forces; and when he was gone a daies journey onward, he encountered on the way *Archidamus*, a principal person of the *Ætolians*, by whose means the City of *Stratus* was to be delivered up unto him. And that day he lodged upon the frontiers of *Ætolia*: from whence next morrow he journeyed as far as to *Stratus*, where having encamped near the river *Achelous*, he looked that the *Ætolians* would run out unto him by heaps at all their gates, to yield themselves to his protection: but in

head thereof he found their gates shut & garison of the Romans received into the City that very night when he came, together with the lieutenant C. Popilius. For the chief of the City (who induced and enforced by the authority of Archidamus while he was present in place, had sent for the K.) became more slack and negligent, by occasion that Archidamus was gone forth to meet with him, and thereby gave advantage and opportunity to the adverse faction, to send for Popilius with a 1000 footmen from *Ambracia*. In very fit time and to right good purpose came *Dinarchus* also a captain of the *Ætolian* Cavalry, accompanied with 600 foot and a 100 horse. Known it was for certain, that he marched toward *Syracus*, as intending to land and take part with *Perseus*; but changing his mind together with the turning of fortune, he joynted with the Romans, and banded against him for whom he set out at the first. Neither was Popilius, among these waverings and inconstant spirits, more secured than he should be; and therefore incontinently gat the keys of the gates into his hands, and possessed himself of the guard of the walls. And for *Dinarchus* and the *Ætolians*, together with the youth and able men of *Syracus*, he bestowed them all in the torresse, under a colour of guarding the same. *Perseus*, having assaied to parly with them from the hills which commanded the higher part of the City, finding them perverse and obdurate, and seeing them ready to set him farther off with shot of their darts, encamped five miles off from the City, beyond the river *Pennarus*. There, he called a counsell; in which, Archidamus together with the revolts and renegats of the Epirots, exhorted him there to sojourn and continue; but the captains of the Macedonians contrariwise were of advice that there was no striving with that troublesome and dangerous season of the year, considering their provisions were not ready; and the assailants were like looner to feel the scarcity and want thereof, than the defendants; in regard whereof, and especially for the enemies wintered not far from thence, he dislodged and removed to *Aperantia*. The *Aperantians* by reason of great credit of Archidamus among them, received him with a general content. And the same Archidamus was made captain there over a garison of 800 souldiers. And so the King returned into Macedonia, with lesse trouble both of his men and beasts, then he came thither. Howbeit the bruit blown abroad, that *Perseus* led his forces against *Syracus*, caused *Appius* to levy his siege from before *Phanotis*. And *Cleues* with a brave regiment of lusty men well appointed, followed hard after him, and at the foot of the hills which were almost unpassable, he flew well near a 1000 of them as they marched heavily onward, and took prisoners above 200. But after that *Appius* was passed through streights & come into the plain called *Eleus*, he lay encamped there some few daies: mean while *Cleues*, accompanied with *Philoftratus*, the chief commander of the Epirots, passed over into the territory of *Antigenes*. The Macedonians went about to rob and spoil: but *Philoftratus* with his cohort set him down in a wait, under a covert and hidden place for the purpose. And when as those of *Antigenes* issued forth in arms & charged upon the foragers as they ranged over the fields, and dispersed in straggling-wise, pursuing them too eagerly in their flight, they chanced to engage themselves over far within the valley where the enemies lay in ambush: and there to the number of a 1000 of them lost their lives, and almost a 100 were taken prisoners. And so the enemies having pld well in all their enterprises, removed their camp close to that of *Appius*, to the end that the Roman army might do no violence and outrage upon their friends and allies. Thus *Appius* (pending the time in these parts to no purpose, and doing no good, after he had discharged the companies of the Chæonians, & as many of the Epirots as were with him, returned in *Ilyricum* with his Italian souldiers: and when he had distributed them among the confederat Cities of the Partynians, there to winter, returned himself to Rome by occasion of a certain solemn sacrifice. *Perseus* sent to *Cassandrea* for to lie in garison there, a 1000 foot and 200 horse, whom he had caused to come again out of the country of the Penestins. And they that returned from *Gentius* related kill the same long from him, yet never rested he nor gave over to tempt and importune him, sending Embassadors after Embassadors unto him, knowing right well, that in him rested great importance; yet could not by any means possible bring the man to expend ought and to be at any charge, in a matter every way of great consequence.

The four and fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and fortieth Book.

Quintus Martius Philippus passing through wilds and woods, entered into Macedonia and surprised many Cities. The Rhodians sent Embassadors to Rome, threatening to aid *Perseus*, unless the people of Rome would conclude peace and contrail amity with him: whereat was taken great scorn and disdain. Now when the charge of this war was committed to L. Æmilius Paulus the Consul now the second time for the year following, Paulus before the public assembly of the people praised unto the gods, that all infelicity and cursed fortune coming towards the people of Rome, might be

Averted from thence, and light upon his own house. And so having taken a voyage into Macedonia, vanquished *Perseus* and subdued all Macedonia. A little before he should strike a battell, C. Sulpicius Gallus a Martial Colonel, forewarned the army that they should not wonder, or be troubled in mind at the eclipse of the moon which was to happen the next night following. In like sort *Gentius* the King, having submitted himself to him, was with his wife, children and kindred, sent to Rome. From *Alexandria* there arrived the Embassadors of *Cleopatra* and *Ptolomeus* King and Queen of Egypt, complaining of *Antiochus* King of Syria for that he warred upon them. *Perseus* having solicited *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, and *Gentius* King of the *Thyrians* to aid him, was abandoned, for that he made not true payment of money according to his promise.

The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of that spring which immediately followed the winter wherein these events hapned, Q. Martius Philippus the Consul came to *Brundisium* with five thousand men, whom he intended to transport over the seas for the supply of his legions. And M. *Popilius* (one who had been Consul) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as himself, followed after the Consul to be martial Tribunes in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time C. *Marius* *Fignus* the Pretor, and Admirall of the navy, repaired to *Brundisium*. Who weighing anchor, looked to sea from Italy together, and arrived the next day at *Colophon*; but the morrow after that, they put within *Ægium*, an haven of *Ascania*. From thence the Consul set sail for *Ambracia*, where he disbarked and travelled by land to *Thessaly*. But the Pretor having doubled the point of *Lencæ*, entered the gulf of *Corinth*; leaving his vessels at *Gruissa* journeyed likewise by land to *Chalcis* unto the naval forces, making such expedition that he crossed through the strait of *Besitia* in one day. At the same time A. *Hofilius* lay encamped in *Thessaly*, near to *Palepharsalus*. Who albeit he had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his souldiers from all licentious looseness, wherewith they were corrupted, and ranged them in within good order of discipline. Also by his faithful courage in government, he had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong and injury. Now when he was advertised of the rivall of his successor, he stood with all diligence his forces both men and horse, & gathered together all armor, as well ordered as discipline. And so with a brave army right well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consul upon the way. At their first encounter and meeting was honorable, and heiting as well their own reputation as expedient to the Consul *Philip*. For the consul turning to his own army, exhorted the souldiers. Some few daies after, the Consul made an oration in a solemn audience of all his souldiers: Wherein in first he began with the pericude of *Perseus*, committed upon the person of his own father, and devilish means whereby he attained to the crown, also his practices of poisoning, his own murders, the injuries offered to the people of Rome, and lacking of assent Cities against the conventions of accord. All which dealings of his he should find on that day (quod necesse erat) the covetous affairs, how odious and cruel they are in the sight also of the immortal gods. He also of his evermore favourable and gracious to piety and fidelity, the only means whereby the people of Rome is mounted to that pitch and height of felicity. Then he commended the gods for that State which already compassed the round world, with the strength of Macedonia, he let it rise to arms, making remonstrances how far greater was the puissance of *Philip* and *Antiochus* before, and yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power then the Romans now were able to these. Having thus enkindled and enflamed the courages of his souldiers by this manner of exhortation, he began to debate in council as touching the principal and main point of the whole war. And thither repaired unto him from *Chalcis*, the Pretor C. *Marius*, after he had taken the charge of the there to lose time; but presently to dislodge and remove directly into Macedonia; that the Pretor should endeavour and call, how at one and the self same time, the Consul commanded his souldiers to bring every man with him provision for a month: and both tenth daies after he had received the conduct of the army, he removed the camp and set forward. When he had gone a daies journey, he called together the guides, and after he had commanded them every one to decalcate them to go aside; and then debated it was in council, which course to take above all others. Some were of opinion to lead by the way of *Pythium*; others invited to passe over the *Cambanian* mountains, like as the year before *Hofilius* the Consul conducted his army; and there were who gave advice to go near to the moor of *Ascania*. Now there remained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent still and common to all these places; and therefore there consultation of this point was put over to the time when they should encamp near to the parting and division of the said waies. So from thence he led the army to *Perronia*, and let him down between *Ascania* and *Dolbea*, for to consult once again all, which way to take.

The phylax here directing the way by the city of Ascania, as the year before between these battles [.]

The same time *Perseus* knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beset all passages with strong guards. Whereupon he sent ten thousand young and lusty men lightly armed, to the pitch of the Cambanian hills (which the inhabitants themselves call *Peloponnesus*) under the conduct of captain *Asclepiodorus*. But he commanded *Hippus* with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to seize the heights of a certain fort situated upon the marsh *Aficus*, and is called *Lepanthi*. Him self in person accompanied with the rest of the forces, lodged first near to *Dium*; but afterwards seeming as if he were unprovided of counsel and void of sense and understanding, he with his light horsemen made roads and comes along the strand one while toward *Heraclea*, and otherwhiles to *Phila*; and so backward again the same way to *Dium*. In this mean time the Consul resolved fully to lead his army by that path where we said before that the army of King *Philip* encompassed sometimes near a place called *Otholophus*. Howbeit he thought good to send out before four thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be possessed first of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by *M. Clandius* and *Q. Marcius*, the Consuls son; and inconsequently all the forces in general followed after. But the way was so steep and difficult, rough, uneven and rugged, that in two daies space, they which were first before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of any thing, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower *Eudreu*. From whence the morrow after they journeyed seven miles forward and seized a hill not far from the enemies camp: where they dispatched a courier back to the Consul to give intelligence, that they were come near to the enemy, and seated in a place of safety, commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him for to make all possible speed after, for to overtake them and join together. This messenger encountered the Consul at the Meer *Aficus*, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was to enter himself, as also in regard of the danger of them whom in so few number he had sent before, even through the midst of the enemies *corps de guard*. Whereupon he took a better heart to himself; and having united all his forces, encompassed upon the foresaid hill which his men already held, on that side which (considering the nature of the ground) was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eye, not only the enemies camp distant from thence a little above a mile, but also the whole countrey as far as to *Dium* and *Philas* yes, and all the sea-coast by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountain yielded a prospect far and neer round about. And this was it that set on fire the fouldiers hearts, when they beheld the whole wealth of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies countrey so neer unto them. In which spirit of cheerfulness when they were earnest with the Consul, and exhorted him to advance directly against the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to rest after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Consul leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the rest against the enemy. Now had *Hippus* been lately sent from the King to keep and guard the passage, who since the time that first he espied the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battel, and so encountered the army of the Consul and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimble appointed; and the enemies likewise were lightly armed, and by reason thereof most fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmish. So soon as they affronted and encountered one another, presently they fell to lancing of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their rash charging at random, and few of both sides were slain. Thus were their stomacks whetted and edged against the morrow; and then had they skirmishes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have served them to have displayed their battalions at large: but the top of the mountain was straight and arose to a sharp crest in form of a con or wedge; and hardly afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men so front; and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the light armour of one part, they would run forth at the broken crags of the hill, and ever from the sides join battel with the like of the other part; yea, and find means to charge their enemies, where the place even or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that more that day. He who was wounded then killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Roman General was to seek and wilt not what to do; for neither could he stay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things; and retire back from thence it was not possible, without dishonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might press upon him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other means to mind that which was the audaciously enterprised, with as resolute and hardy persistence in executing a thing that otherwhiles proveth well in the end, as if it proceeded from wile and deliberate counsel. And verily to this hard passage and difficult terms they were come, that if the Consul had been to deal with an enemy like to any of the Macedonian Kings in old time, he might then have received a great foil and overthrow. But *K. Perseus* as he was cooled and ranged with his cavalry upon the strand near *Dium* (albeit for the space of 12 miles well neer, he heard the cries and shouts of them that were in fight); neither reinforced the companies by sending fresh fouldiers in place of the wearied, nor shewing himself in person at the battel (which had been a thing of laboury of no small importance) whereas the Roman General being above 60 years of age, corpulent besides, and unweildy, performed himself right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior, perishing in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun a bold enterprised to boldly

and

A and having left *Popilius* for to guard the hill top, passed over places that had no tracks at all to direct them, by sending out before, certain men of purpose to scour and prepare to make a passage. As for *Asclapius* and *Misagamus*, he commanded them both, with the auxiliary fouldiers of their own nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then he putting before him in the march the horsemen with baggage, came behind with the legionary footmen in the rearward. No tongue is able to expresse what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the lampre bories with their backs & carriages tumbled to down one with another: in so much as when they had scarcely gone four miles forward, they winced in their hearts nothing more, then to return the way they came, if it had been possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in manner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way, down they cast their riders and governors, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible baying that they made, affrighted their hories especially, until such time as a device was found for their passage. They began first to make the head or entrance of the bridge at the very bow and edge of a steep downsfall: this done, in the lower ground beneath, they fell at in the earth great strong and long polls of wood, two by two distant one from the other, traveling while little more then the largeness of one of their beasts. Upon which rested fall joined [with ten on & more] certain rafters like wall plats 30 foot in length, and those being couched with planks cross over in form of a bridge, had earth and mould cast thereon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridge was made; and so a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the craggy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephant from the firm ground entered upon the first bridge aforesaid; but before he was gone as far as to the foot and end thereof, the polls above named were cut in two underneath; to the end that the bridge might fall, and in the case reeling thereof the beast also gently slide, as it were, and he carried therewith as far as the head of the second bridge. Thus some of them slid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others tumbled upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and level floor of another inch like bridge, by the fall of it in manner aforesaid they were driven unto a third bridge beneath it, until such time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could rid little more then seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went they upright on their feet but were fain most what to tumble and roll over: no over with the armor and trappings about them; and thus they got forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in such sort that he who induced them to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a full power, coming against them) might utterly have been defeated. By night they arrived at a pretty plain; but the place being enclosed on all sides, they had no space and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him: who also were exceedingly fore vexed and plagued with the roughness of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day, after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a pass, which the inhabitants call *Celipence*. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more means to direct them, then the other before; but by use and experience there were grown more skillfull: and better hope they had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached neer to the sea. When they were come once down into the plains between *Haracenus* and *Leberthus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hills) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horsemen should quarter. As the King was bethinking himself, it is said that word came. How the enemies were neer at hand: at which news he was so scared, that he leapt out of his bathing vessel, and in haste gat him out of the same, crying aloud, That he was vanquished with our drawing sword and stroke given: neither wilt he be for fear which way to turn him, taking sundry counsels one of another, and commanding he knew not what, sometimes runs and sometimes. In this perplexity he sent for *Asclepiodorus* (one of his two especial friends) out of the place where he lay in garrison, to go to *Pella* where all his money and treasure lay; and by this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Him self, after he had had in great halt betwixt and piled up in his ships, all the gilded images at *Dium*, to the end that the enemy should make no prize of them, caused with all speed possible to trundle up and to remove to *Pythia*; & hereby gave occasion, that the enterprize of the Consul which might have seemed rashness (in that he had engaged himself so far, that he could not possibly to retire again without leave of the enemy) proved in the end no inconsiderate and unadvised deligment. For now the Romans had the choice of few passages through which they might escape away, the one, by *Tempe* into *Thessaly*, the other into *Macedonia*, by the way neer *Dium* both which before were held by the Kings guards. So as if a resolute and fearless captain could have held out and endured but one ten daies the first appearance and the view of terror that approached the Romans, could never have returned into *Thessaly* by *Tempe*, nor found way for conveyance of provision & victuals to the place where they were. For *Tempe* is of itself a difficult passage, even without any force of arms to make it dangerous. And why besides the straight gullet five miles in length, yielding a very narrow way for one beast to go charged with burden; the rocks of either hands are so steep and upright, that hardly a man is able to look down from them, but his eyes will dazzle, his brain turn, and his head be giddy withall. Moreover, the sound and noise, yea, and the depth of the river *Peneus* running di-

really through the midst of the valley, encreased the fear so much the more. This place so perilous of its own nature, had been holden and guarded with the King's garrisons in four several & distant places. The one kept at the very first entrance, near to *Comus*, the second at *Candulos*, a fort impregnable; the third about *Lapathus*, which also they call *Choras*; and the fourth was placed even upon the very avenue it self about the midst of the valley, where it is at the straightest, and which may easily be defended with ten men, if there were no more. In this manner (I say) the passage being stopped up by *Tempe*, as well for portage of provisions thither as for return from thence, the Romans must perforce have retired again up to the same mountains from whence they were defended. But as they come down and were not discovered, so being now desired, they could not possibly have gained them again in open view, considering that the enemies had possessed the tops of the mountains; and no doubt the difficulty thereof besides, which they had tried already, would have cut off all hope of that adventure: so as, being waded thus far into this rash enterprise, there remaineth no means else for them, but to have passed through the midst of the enemies, at *Dinn*, for to elcape and passe into *Macedony*, an adventure no doubt, (if the gods had not bereft the King of his right wits) most difficult and dangerous unto them. For it being so, that from the foot of the mountain *Olympus* unto the sea, there is little above a mile space between: the one half whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river *Baphyrus*, which in this place (spreadeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain, either the temple of *Jupiter* or the town it self occupieth: the rest besides, being but a very small place, might have been enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier: besides such low there was of stone reared at hand, and of timber out of the forest, that they might either have raised a K. mure, or framed turrets and such like fabricks in their way. But the K. (whole spirit and understanding was blinded with invidious fear) foreseeing none of all these things, but dismurthering every fort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, and fled himself to *Pydna*. The Consul perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the lolly and negligence of his enemy, dispatched a courier back toward *Larissa* unto *Sp. Lucretius*, willing him to seize those forts into his hands about *Tempe*, which were abandoned by the enemy: and after he had sent *Popilius* before in spiall to discover all the passages about *Dinn*, and perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, he marched forward: himself, and the second journey came to *Dinn*, where commanded to encamp under the very temple; to the end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himself in proper person entered into the City, which as it was not great, so it was garnished with fair public buildings, beautified with a number of goodly images, and pasing well fortified besides: in so much as he could not well believe, that things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that there was some secret deceit and treachery lurking underneath. After he had laid there one full day, to espie and see that all coasts were clear, he dislodged and marched on; & supposing verily that he should be provided of sufficient store of grain, he advanced forward that very day to the river named *Agia*. The morrow after, he took possession of the City *Agia*, which the inhabitants willingly rendered unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians, (contenting himself only with hostages) he promised to leave their City clear without a garrison, and to permit them to live under their own laws without payment of any tribute. Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, he pitched down his tents last upon the river *Ajordan*: but feeling and finding still (the farther he went from *Thessaly*, more and more want of all things, he retired back to *Dinn*; and then all men saw plainly & made no doubt, to what streights he should be driven, in case he had been clean shut out from *Thessaly*, considering that it was not late for him to remove far from thence: where he was *Perseus* having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captains into one place, checked and railed up the captains of the garrisons and guards aforesaid over the passages; but above all he rebuked *Alepidodorus* & *Hippias* most, saying that those two had betrayed unto the Romans the portage to *Macedony*; whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed, for that than his own self.

The Consul after he had discovered a far off from sea a fleet of Roman ships, conceived good hope that vessels were coming charged with provision of victuals (for now in his camp the dearth N was great, and brought they were already to extrem want and scarcity.) But he was advertised by them who were entred within the harbor, that the hulks and ships of burden were left behind at *Magnesia*. Whereupon, being in great doubt what to do (so hard went all things with him for the present, that he had work enough to wrestle with that only difficulty, without being farther encumbered with any empachment from the enemy) behold, in happy time, letters were brought unto him from *Sp. Lucretius*, importing thus much, That he was master of all the forts and holds neaped upon *Tempe* and round about *Phila*, where he had found great plenty of corn and other necessaries. The Consul right joyous for these good tidings, set his army on foot from *Dinn* to *Phila*, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deal corn among his soldiers; which would have required a long time ere it could have been brought over to them at *Dinn*.

That departure & journey of his was nothing well spoken of: for some gave out that the General retired from the enemy for very fear, because that if he had staid there till, he should have been forced to a battle: others said, that he had no skill in war, neither in those occurrences, which fortunes wheele turning about altered every day, offering one new thing or other; who when occasions and opportunities were presented unto him, let the same slip out of his hands, which soon after might not possibly be recovered again. And verily he had not so soon quit the possession of

A of *Dinn*, but he started and wakened the enemy, and put in his head now at length to regain those matters, which had been lost before through his own default. For bearing that the Consul was departed, he returned immediately to *Dinn*: where he repaired whatsoever had been demolished and ruin'd by the Romans: the battlements of the wals which were cast down he let up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this side *Empirus*, intending that the river it self (which is very hard to be passed over, should serve in stead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountain *Olympus*, and in summer season is small and shallow, but in winter it riseth high and spreadeth broad by reason of rain: running also with a forcible current and stream, it furieth with great rocks, and among those stony crags and shelves maketh many whirlpits; by occasion likewise, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the sea, store of earth, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reason that it hath eaten a hollow channel in the mids, the banks of each side are very high and steep upright. *Perseus*, supposing that by the means of this river, the enemies were debarr'd from all passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive out the rest of the summer in that fort.

But the Consul in the mean while sent *Popilius* from *Phila* into *Heraclea* with 2000 armed fighting men. This *Heraclea* standeth about five miles from *Phila*, situate in the mid-way between *Dinn* and *Tempe*, upon a rock that commandeth this river, *Popilius*, before that he caused his men to approach the wals, sent certain persons of purpose to perswade the magistrats and chief of the City, to make proof of their faithful protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*, rather then to trie their rigor and violence. But this motive and advice availed not, because they might discern the fires out of the kings camp near to *Empirus*, whereupon both from the land and sea-side (for the fleet also being arrived anchored near the shore) as well by force of arms as by fabricks and engines of battery, they began to assail the town. Moreover, certain yong and lusty Roman soldiers (making use now in war of exercise, which they had practised in the games *Circenses*) gat over the wals where it was lowest. The manner was in those daies (before this walt prodigally came up of filling the whole cirque or show-place with beasts fet out of all countries) to devise and seek sundry sorts of publick fights & spectacles to behold, & not running one course with the chariot, and another on horseback, and so on end, to employ at both races the space of one full hour. Among other feats of activity exhibited, the matters and wardens of those exercises and games brought into the race commonly 60 (and otherwhiles more) lusty yong men in arms well appointed. There training in parc represented a show and appearance of two armies encountering and charging one another, in part also the use and practice of a more gentle and elegant exercise then military profession, and coming neerer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of sword-fencers. These yong gallants, after they had performed other ordinary running courses, put themselves into a four-square Squadron, with the bucklers or targets close couched and joined together over their heads, in this manner: they that were foremost in the front stood bolt upright; the second rank stooped somewhat lower under the other; the third course more then they; and so the fourth until the hindmost knecled on their knees: and by this means they resembled a pavoiade rising up higher & higher, like the pent-house or roof of adifices.

This done, two men well armed, fetching their ran fifty foot or thereabout backward from thence, and seeming to desie and challenge one another, mounted the foresaid pavoiade, ran from the nether end up to the top upon those targets so jointly united and fet close and thick together: and one while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, otherwhiles in the mids they seemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and steady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavoiade framed and brought close to that part of the wall; and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that stood upon the very ridge thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the walls who being once beaten back and turned down, two ensigns of souldiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavoiade and the other above described was this, that they only who stood in the front before and in the flanks, bare not their targets aloft above their own heads, because their sides and bodies should not be naked and exposed to hurt, but carried them before after the usual manner of fighting men in a battall. By which means, neither the arrows and darts discharged from the wall hurt them afront, nor the shot that light upon their targetence took any hold, but glanced and slid down-ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that shooteth from the ridge of an house, and runneth down the eves. The Consul likewise, now that *Heraclea* was won, advanced forwards with his army thither, pretending as though he marched toward *Dinn*, and as if after he had chased and driven the King from thence, he minded to passed forward also into *Pyria*. But preparing now against winter, he commanded to make the waies fit and handsome, for the carriage of provision out of *Thessaly*, and to chuse out commodious places for garners: also to build certain bulwarks, wherein they might taken heart again and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazed his spirits, wished then with all his heart, that his commandments had not been obeyed, at what time as a fearful fit he gave expresse charge to call the treasure into the sea at *Phila*, and to set on fire, the arsenal at *Thessalonica*. *Andronicus* being sent for to the same purpose to *Thessalonica* made no hast to execute his will, but staid until the time for the concele, leaving the King

3 wild beasts out of Africa, with 40 bears, & elephants, were baited to make sport to the people.

When *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *P. Licinius* entered their Consulship upon the fifteenth of March, which was the beginning of the year following, the L.L. of the Senat were great expectancy, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the Macedonian war, which was his proper province. But *Pandrus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to council, seeing that the Delegates aforesaid were not returned. And at *Brundisium* (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voyage upon the sea been driven back by tempest and cast upon *Dyrbachium*. But so soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledge of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within very few daies. Now to the end that nothing may stay and hinder his journey, he told them, that the even before the Ides of April, was appointed for the solemnity of the Latine festival holidays. And after sacrifice duly performed [upon the Albane hill] the Senat should no sooner ordein, but he and *Cn. Octavius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his colleague, his charge should be in his absence to provide and send all things requisite and needfull for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embassies of forraign nations may have audience given, So when he had sacrificed as the manner was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of *Alexandria*, from King *Ptolemy* and queen *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entered into the Senat, and fell groveling and prostrat upon the floor. Their habit and apparrell was not so simple and mournful, their look and countenance not so heavy and sorrowfull, but their speech was more piteous and lamentable. *Antiochus* now King of Syria, and who had sometime been hostage at Rome under a colourable pretence of honesty and equity to restore *Ptolemy* the elder to his Kingdom, made hot war upon his younger brother, who then held *Alexandria*; and after a victory obtained in sea-fight near *Palestina* he made a bridge of batty work upon the river *Nilus*, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to *Alexandria*: so as by all likelihood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthy Kingdom. In which regard, these Embassadors made pitifull moan and grievous complaint, beseeching withall the Senat, of their aid and succour to that realm and those Kings, who were such friends to their seignory and dominion. For perfwaded they were that the people of Rome had done too much for *Antiochus* in particular, & were of that account & authority with all other Kings and nations, that if they would but send their Embassadors to intimate thus much, that the Senat was not well pleased with waging war upon confederat Kings, he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the walls of *Alexandria*, and withdraw his army clean away into Syria. But if they protracted the time long and delayed thus to do, then should *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come to Rome with some shameful spot of dishonour to the people of Rome, in that they had not left their helping hands in that extreme danger of all their fortunes. The L.L. of the Senat moved with compassion at the prayers of these Alexandrians, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius* as Embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had first to go unto *Ptolemy*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unless they surceased and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So these three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three daies & departed. Then the forsaide Delegates returned from out of Macedonia, the last day of the festival games to *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, and not before they were welcome; for so looked for they were, had it not been evenside when they came, the Consuls would immediately have called the Senat together. But the morrow after the Senat sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, that with more danger then profit ensuing, the army entered into Macedonia over those passes and streights, where was no way nor pass, & at all. Item, that the King kept the country of *Pieria*, into which the Roman army was now advanced, and were to neer encompassed one to the other, that nothing but the river *Enipeus* between kept them asunder; that neither the K. made offer of battel nor the Rom. were of sufficient strength to challenge & force him to fight; moreover, that the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the soldiers were muzzled and nourished in idleness, not withstanding they had victuals to serve no longer then fix daies; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that *Ap. Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, he might be able to trouble him, are themselves in extrem jeopardy, unless with speed either a complete army be sent thither, or else they draw from thence where they are, into Macedonia. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of tickles, others, and namely, those of *Sicily* above the rest were gone home again to their own houses, inasmuch as there were not men enow to serve the ships; & those that remained, had neither their wages paid & money to put in their purse, nor liveries & apparel to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenis* & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other end or cause else) were come and gone again, and it seemed the mind of that K. was not well settled and resolved. But as they reported all of *Eumenis* suspiciously & in doubtful terms, to they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of *Antius*

A his brother. When these Legats had spoke, then said *L. Aemilius*, let us debate now in council what is to be done as concerning the said war. So the Senat ordeined, that for eight legions, the Consuls and the people should elect an equal number of martiall Tribunes or Colonels, the one as many as the other; and that none should be created and advanced to that place for that year, but such as had born some honourable dignity; then, out of all those Tribunes thus elected, that he would himselfe also, that after the solemnity of the Latine feast performed, *L. Aemilius* the A. child was joyed in commission with them, to wit, *L. Anicius* the Prator and L. chief Justice for strangers. And ordeined it was, that he should pais into *Illyricum* about *Lychnidum*, for to succed mandment to enroll eleven thousand foot, Citizens of Rome, and two hundred horsemen, and to send letters unto *Cn. Servilius*, who governed the Province of *Gaul*, to enroll six hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to send with all convenient speed to his Colleague into Macedonia, so as in that Province there should not be above two legions, and the same full and well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they should be disposed and bestowed in sundry garrisons. And all such as were unmeet for service, were to be casted and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put to set out and find 16000 foot and 800 horse. And those were to serve in garrison under *Anicius* of 5000 foot, and 300 horsemen either of them. Also for the navy were enrolled 5000 mariners and rowers, *Licinius* the Col. was appointed to defend and keep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take besides of allies ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the Senat were accomplished, *L. Aemilius* the Col. went forth of the Senat house into the common place before the assembly of the people; where he made a speech unto them in this wise following: "Me thinks I perceive and see, my good friends and Citizens of Rome, that ye have shewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my translation that the Province of Macedonia is faine to my lot; than either at the time that I was declared and elected Col. or that day whereupon I first entered into government: & for no other reason in this world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath so long continued, may be brought by my means to such an end as befecmeth the great & sad and majesty of the people of Rome. And for mine own self I have good hope, that as the gods in favour have directed this sortilege, so they will be present and propitious unto me in performing the service. In these matters, I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope, but this one thing I am assured of, yea and I dare affirm and promise on my own head, that I will endeavour myself and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be in vain conceived. As for all things necessary and requisite to this war, both the Senat hath ordeined & also, for that they have thought good I should depart immediately (for which my self am well pleased and contented, neither in me there shall be any delay) my Colleague *C. Licinius*, he hath the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, see that whatsoever I shall write either to the Senat, or to you, ye believe for true: as for running rumours which have no certain author, give no ear and belief thereto; neither feed them with your foolish credulity. For now adades verily, (a thing that I have observed to fall out ordinarily in this war) there is no man set to the sword by the common bruits that are blazed abroad, but his spirit and courage may be thereby quailed and danted. In all meetings now, yea, and at every board (I would not eleye) shall have them, that in their table talk will lead your armies into Macedonia; that know where they are to lodge and encamp; what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garrisons; at what time and through which pass the enemy must be made into Macedonia; where the garners and storehouses for corn should be built and set; which way by land and sea both, the provisions of victuals ought to be brought, when the time serveth to encounter and fight with the enemy, and when to sit still and rest. Neither are they content to set down and pronounce, what is to be done for the better; but if ought hap to be managed otherwise than they have judged expedient, they are so bold as to controll the Col. yea, and ready to commence process against him judicially. These are throwd hindrances, I may tell you, to warriors & men of action. For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancy to neglect the speech and talk of men, as sometimes *Fabius* had, who chose rather to have his authority & command diminished and impaired by the folly and vanity of few low people, than with their favourable applause and good opinion to manage his affairs but untowardly. Yet take me not so, as if I were a man that would have my captains to be admonished and advised by others; nay contrariwise, of this judgment I am, that he who worketh all by himselfe-wit & followeth only his own head is self-willed and proud, and nothing sage & wise. What is then to be done? First, in mine opinion, Generals and Commanders of armies, are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men; by such as are skilful in profession in feats of arms and military science: by those also that by long practice are thoroughly experienced: nay, more than that, they are to be taught and counselled by them, that are usually present and conversant in the execution of affairs, who daily see the advantage of

The Orator;
of *L. Aemilius*
to the people
& Rome.

"places, mark the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of times: thbse (I say) H
 "who as passengers in one ship, are partakers of the same danger. If there be any man therefore,
 "who is verily perswaded of himself, that he is able to direct me and give me any counsel (in the
 "conduct of this war which I have in charge) for the good of the Common-weal, let him come
 "forth, and not deny his helping hand to the weal publike, and go along with me into Macedonia.
 "Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with tent-room, with conduct-money, and all things
 "necessary for his voyage. If any be loath so to do, and had rather sit warm at home, preferring the
 "ease and repose of the City before the travel and pain of warfare, let him not here on the land
 "take upon him to play the pilot and steersman at sea. Matter he shall find enough within the Ci-
 "ty to talk of, and seek no farther; let him hold him there & keep his babble and prattle to him-
 "self: know he (whoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own council about us I
 "in the camp. And this oration ended, and the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the 'ca-
 "lends of March, together with the sacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount: the Cof, and
 "the Prator Cn. Octavius departed incontinently into Macedonia. It is recorded in the Chroni-
 "cles that the Cof, was honoured with a greater frequency that accompanied him than usually has
 "been known: and that men prelaged in manner assuredly, the end of the Macedonian war: how
 "the Cof should have a speedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

• The last of
February.

During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus who (because he was to be at the charges of disburfing
 money) never thought of it, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to ad-
 joyne unto him Gentius King of the Illyrians: so soon as he perceived that the Romans were en-
 tered the Straights, and the war come now to this extremity of hazard: thought good now to make
 that sure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted & promised by his Em-
 bassador Hippas three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages
 should be put in of both parties interchangeably: he sent Pr. Pantuncus one of his most trusty friends
 to dispatch, and make an end of this affair. This Pantuncus met the Illyrian King at Medon in the
 Country of Labentia: where he both took an oath of the King, and also received his hostages.
 Gentius likewise sent his embassador, named Olympia, to demand the semblable oath of Perseus, and
 require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent of purpose to receive the money,
 who also by the advice of the said Pantuncus were to go in embassage with the Macedonians to
 Rhodes: and the men hereto appointed were Parmenio and Moretus. But they had in charge and
 commission after the oath taken, after hostages & money received, to go to Rhodes: & not before. E
 Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be solicited and induced to take arms a-
 gainst the Romans by using the name of these two KK, at once: and this account they made, that
 in this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for sea-service, would once
 combine and band with them, they should leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or sea.
 When these Illyrians arrived, Perseus departed with all his Cavalry from before the river Enipeus
 where he was encamped, and encountered them near Dinna: there were all the complements per-
 formed according to the covenants, in the light and midst of the Cavalry, whom the K. of purpose
 would needs have to be present at this accord of association made between him and K. Gentius,
 supposing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hostages were taken and ta-
 ken in the presence of them all. They also, who were to receive the money were sent to Pella M
 where the K. his treasure lay: and those that should go to Rhodes with the Illyrian embassadors
 had commandment to embark at Thessalonica. Now was Metrodorus there, lately come from Rhodes:
 who assured them by the means of Dion & Polyarchus, two principal personages of that City, that
 the Rhodians were prest and ready to war. Whereupon the said Metrodorus was appointed the
 chief in this embassage of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the same time likewise was ad-
 dressed and imparted both unto Eumenes & also unto Antiochus, such advice and counsel in com-
 mon, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minister & afford argument: name-
 ly: "That a free City and a K. were twofold by nature, enemies that possibly could not fort together:
 "That the people of Rome went in band with them severally one after another, & that which was
 "a greater indignity & unsupported, used the force of KK to overthrow the state of KK. For so, N
 "by the aid of Antiochus they had brought his father Philip to ruin by the help likewise of Eumenes,
 "and partly also of his father Philip. Antiochus was defeated; & even now against himself both Eu-
 "menes and Prusias were put in arms. If the kingdom of Macedonia were once subverted, have at
 "Africa next: which the Romans have in some part seized already for their own use, & colour
 "of enfranchizing Cities, & letting them free: & then they will not leave us till they have Syria
 "too. For now is Prusias preferred in honour before Eumenes: & Antiochus for all his conquest is
 "chased & debared out of Egypt, which ought to have been the recompence of the war by him
 "undertaken & achieved. In these regards Perseus adverted each of them to consider & provide
 "therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him, or else to hold them for the com-
 "mon enemies of all KK, in case they persisted still in so unjust a war. The commission that the Em-
 "bassadors had to Antiochus was apt & open: but unto Eumenes, his embassador was sent under a
 "pretence of ransomfing certain captives; but practised there were under hand more secret complots;
 "which caused Eumenes even then, to be suspected & odious unto the Romans, yea & charged after-
 "ward with more grievous matters, although unwarily. For he was reputed little better than a traitor
 "to a professed enemy to their state, whereas indeed both he & Perseus strove who could compass
 "surprize, & overtake one another better in fraud & avise. Now there was one Cydus a Cretensi-
 an,

A an inward & most secret friend to Eumenes: this man had continued first at Amphipolis with
 one Chimerus a contrivance of his, who served under Perseus in the wars: and afterwards at De-
 metrias conferred with another named Macton: also with a certain chief person, called Antio-
 chus who at this time was sent, had beforetime been employed in two several embassies to the
 same Eumenes. These secret communications and embassages were badly spoken of: but no man
 knew what was concluded between the two KK. However, thus the case stood: Eumenes as he had
 have the victory of the Romans: not so much for the old enmity which had been between both
 their fathers, as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themselves. For this concurrence, & emu-
 lation there was between these two Princes, that Eumenes could never abide to see Perseus for to
 purchase so great wealth, & so much honour, as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Ro-
 mans the same moreover, that Perseus from the first beginning of this war fought by all means possi-
 ble for peace, & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than other;
 because the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains: as the
 and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties, he declined & fa-
 weaker in fear: & therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & pur-
 chase to aid the Romans either by land or sea; another whilst to be a means for peace and to treat
 C with the Romans thereabout, and not to meddle at all in the war, but to sit still: he capitulated (I
 say) for 1500 talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the
 other ready he was not only to swear, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages. Perseus was
 the willingest man in the world to set in hand with this, as being driven thereto by the exigent of
 fear: and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be re-
 ceived: and in fine concluded it was, that they should upon their delivery and receipt be sent into
 Crete. But when they came onco to talk of the money aforesaid, he hasted and flunk at that: and
 to lay a truth, either of these two sums (between Princes of so great name and honour) was but a
 D bable and dishonest consideration: a thing much unfitting (I wis) the giver, and more the receiver.
 Perseus verily for his part, in hope to purchase peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be
 at the expence of so much money: yea, he said that he would make payment thereof when the
 temple of Samothracia, Eumenes again, considering that the said Island was an appurtenance to the
 dominion of Perseus, could not see but that it was all one for it to lie there and in Pelus, and there-
 fore was earnest to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying
 infamy and discredit? As for Perseus, he not only let fall this design and lost this opportunity; and
 but by his nigardice only when by the means of Eumenes he might have had either his money
 E (sure enough, or peace for it, (which indeed he should have bought, if it had cost him the one half of
 his kingdom, and being once received into grace & favour of the people of Rome) he might have
 a piece of money for a bribe, and so justly have set the Romans upon his top: but also the associa-
 tion with King Gentius which now was at the point of a contract, was neglected; yea, and a might-
 ful army of Gauls spread at that time all over Illyricum and presented unto him, was even then re-
 servative ten thousand horsemen, and as many foot, and those so well practised and so good of foot-
 F (Illyas) when the riders were unhorsed and slain, could vault & mount on the empty horse backs
 ready to fight in their turns. These had bargained to have to pay every horseman ten Philo-
 pates [of gold] paid down aforehand and a footman five and their Captains a thousand. Perseus
 departed from his laager lying near the river Enipeus, and with the one half of his own force
 met these coming upon the way, and caused proclamation to be made in all towns and villages
 near the high ways, To made ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that
 there were plenty of corn, of wine, and cattle. Himself brought with him horses and trappings,
 and fine souldiers caskets to bestow as presents upon the chief of them, with some little sprink-
 ling of gold to deal among a few of them, supposing that all the rest besides of common souldiers,
 might be drawn on, and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the City of Amman, and
 G Desudabab the country of Madon, and rested there expecting the payment of the money afore-
 said, according to covenant. But Perseus sent unto them Antigonus one of his gallants and coun-
 sellors, to call in the multitude of the army to dislodge and remove to Byzantium, a place
 score and fifteen miles from the river Axius and the Kings camp. And when Antigonus had de-
 livered unto them this mandat as he had in charge, and added besides, with what care and dili-
 gence the King had laid his provisions by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

Philippus
nummus was
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or 3 denars.

M m m m

with what gifts of apparell, silver, and horses, he purposed to receive and entertain their Captains at their first coming unto him: as for that (say they) we shall take knowledge thereof when we are in presence personally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether ye have brought with you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the souldiers, as well horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereto, but was set *scowling*: then the said *Clondius* their Prince, Go your waies then (qd, he) and tell your King and Matter, that the Gauls, whels they may receive the gold, and hostages besides for their security, will not stir one foot forward. Relation being made hereof unto the K, he called his Council: and when it was soon seen what they all would advise him to do himself, who could skill better to keep his money together, than hold the royall estate of his kingdom, began to enter into a discourse of a disloyalty and savage nature of these Gauls: making remonstancie, how he had experience by the calamities and losses of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them within *Macedony*, for fear the Gauls would be found worse neighbors than the Romans were enemies; Five thousand horsemen are sufficient (qd, he) and so many well we may have good use of in wars, and need not be afraid of them, for their number. But every man saw well enough, that it was the wagging of such a number that he feared and nothing else: but when no man durst give him counsel, albeit he seemed to ask their advice, *Antigonus* was sent again with a message unto the Gauls, That the King stood in need of five thousand horsemen and no more, as for all the rest, he weighed them not. When these Barbarians heard that, all the rest began to mutter and grumble, yea, and to take great scorn and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native country for nothing; but *Clondius* redemanded, Whether he would make present pay to those five thousand according to covenant, yea or nay? but seeing that he was to seek, and made shifts to avoid a direct answer, he let this deceitful messenger go his waies, and did no harm unto his person (a thing that *Antigonus* himself would scarcely have thought could possibly have been): And so after they had given the walle unto those parts of *Thracia* which lay near to their way, they returned back again to the river *Ister*, Which power of men it it had passed the Straights of *Peribabia* into *Thessaly* against the Romans (although *Perseus* had not stirred at all), but siten still at *E-nipheus* might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and encompassed the Romans for expecting any victuals there, but also destroyed the towns utterly, whiles *Perseus* held the Romans play at *Empire* that they could not relieve and succour the Cities of their allies and confederates. Nay, the very Romans should have enough to do to look unto themselves, considering, that there was no tarrying for them, after that *Thessaly* was lost, which nourished and maintained their army: and pass forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian camp to affront them. But *Perseus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, so he quailed not a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectancy of their aid. By the same miserable pinching of his, he estranged also the heart of *K. Gentius* from him. For when as at *Pella* he had paid 300 talents unto those that were sent of purpose from *Gentius* to receive the same, well content he was that they should lea up that money. Afterwards he sent unto *Pantander* ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the same to the K, in person: as for the rest he signed up with the lea of the Illyrians, he commanded his own men who had the convey thereof, in going with it to take small journeys, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of *Macedony*, there to rest and attend the messengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received as earnest that small portion of the whole sum aforesaid, being called upon continually by *Pantander* and set on to provoke the Romans by some hostility or other, made no more ado, but committed to prison *M. Perperna* and *L. Petilius*, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embassage. Which when *Perseus* once heard, he had enough, and thought verily that *Gentius* had done that, whereby of necessity he must be forced to wage war with the Romans: and thereupon sent out presently to call those back who had the carriage of the foresaid talents: as if he had studied and sought for nothing more, than to reserve as great a booty as possibly he could, for the Romans to enjoy, after that they had vanquished and subdued him. *Eropan* returned likewise from *Eumenes*, and wit not what had been contrived secretly between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, they themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise *Eumenes* advertised the Consul so much, for avoiding of all suspicion.

Perseus after the return of *Eropan* from *Eumenes* was much dismayed and cast down. Whereupon, he sent *Antenor* & *Callippus* (admirals of his navy) to *Tenedos* with forty pinnaces, unto which number five Gallions were adjoynd: who from that coast dispersing themselves all about the Islands *Cyclades*, might wait and guard the lighters and hoies charged with corn, as they sailed to *Macedony*. These ships were put to sea at *Cassandria*, and first they fell with the havens that lie under the foot of the mountain *Atbos*, and from thence passed to *Tenedos* with pleasure in calm sea: where finding certain Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spake contemptuously to *Eudamus* their Admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards upon knowledge, that fifty hulks of theirs on another side were shut up and pent in by the war-ships of *K. Eumenes*, (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by *Damius*) he turned about in all haste, & dispersed the enemies ships with a sudden terror that he put them in, & sent the said hulks & vessels of burden into *Macedony*, with a convoy of ten brigantines to wait them over, with this charge, That after they had conducted them past all danger into place of safety, they should return again to *Tenedos*. After nine daies they retired toward the fleet anchoring then

in the rode of *Sigeum*. From whence they crossed over to *Sabota*, an Island lying between *Elyx* and *Athor*. It fortuned, that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at *Sabota*, five and thirty ships which they call *Hippogages* (serving for the transporting of horses) which came from *Elyx*, having aboard certain horsemen of *Gaul* and their horses, made head toward *Phoenicia* cape or promontory of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into *Macedony*. And they were sent from *Eumenes* to *Antenor*, *Antenor* being advertised by a signal given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, looled from *Sabota*: and between the cape of *Erythraea* and *Chios*, where the sea is most narrow, he encountered them. The admirals of *K. Eumenes* thought nothing less, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagine! one while they were Romans, otherwhies, that it was *Attalus* or some sent back from *Attalus*. B. who from out of the Roman camp were sailing toward *Periponni*. But as they approached nearer, they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaces, who they approached nearer, rowing also and making head full against them they were out of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then were they mightily afraid, as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unwieldy and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brook the very sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were nearer to the firm land saved themselves by swimming to *Erythraea*; others set up their sails, and being call upon the Island *Chios*, forsook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the barks discharged their armed souldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them; some in the way as they fled others before the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred Gallages, or very near, lost their lives and were hewn in peeces, and 200 taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians hanged and cut the strings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best and fairest horses, together with the prisoners, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which he had sent before, should transport to *Thessalonica*, and return again with all speed to the fleet for aide, but afterwards were forward to *Phoenicia*. The fleet staid about three daies under the City, sooner than they looked for, they let up sail in the Aegean sea for *Delos*.

D. In this while the Roman Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, & *C. Decimus*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from *Chalcis*, and arrived with three Quinquere me gallees at *Delos*, where they found forty Macedonian pinnaces, and five royall Quinquere me gallees of *K. Eumenes*. The holiness of the Temple and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romans as Macedonians, and besides, the sailors and mariners of *K. Eumenes* conversed together, intermingled one with another in the Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them true and luxurle of hospitality.

Antenor the admiral of *K. Perseus*, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinel, that certain ships of burden were seen a far off in the sea, set sail & made after them himself with part of his pinnaces, and part of them he bestowed in wait among the *Cyclades*, and saving those that E directed their course toward *Macedony*, he either drowned or spoiled them all. *Popilius* did the best he could, and *Eumenes* with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who sailed by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, decreased and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Illyrian Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, who carried the greater authority and credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the coming of their brigantines, which sailed to and fro ranging over the Aegean sea, and among the *Cyclades*, but also by the conjunction and allocation of the two *K. Perseus* and *Gentius*, together with a rumor that ran of the Gauls, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both *Dion* and *Polyarchus*, who took part with *Perseus*, took more courage, and heart unto them: by whose means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also pronounced F ed openly it was, that by their authority they would make an end of the war: in regard whereof, the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were arrived into their Provinces: *C. Aemilius* the Consul into *Macedony*; *Othavins* to the navy at *Orontus*; and *Ancinus* into *Illyria*, whose commission was to levy war against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the son of *Pleuraeus* K, blood by father and mother both, and *Caridamius* only by the mothers side. This half brother he less suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father: but as for *Plator* he murdered, together with two especial friends of his *Etrius* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end that he might reign in more safety and security. The voice goeth that he carried ambitious eye to that brother of his, for that he had espoused *Eriata* the daughter of *Homonus* the Prince of the Dardanian nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it, after he married the damoelle, indeed, When he had made away *Plator*, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother, he began to molest and oppress his own natural subjects: and as he was by nature given to violence, so that indisposition of his he set on fire with untemperate drinking of wine. But as we said before, being moved and incited to war against the Romans, he assembled all his forces together.

More than
Gauls, Ga-
rians, and
Greeks be
all one, in
this
book; al-
though Livy
shows them
as
Gallies.

unto *Lissus*, to the number of 15000 armed men, and sent his brother from thence with 1000 foot and 50 horse against the *Cavians*, for to subdue that nation either by force or fear, while himself led his army five miles against the City *Bassania* from *Lissus*. Now were the *Bassanians* confederate allies of the Romans; and therefore when they were first solicited by messengers to yield they resolved rather to endure a siege than do so. As for *Cervanius* he was peaceably and friendly received at his first coming into *Durium*, a town of the *Cavians*. But *Cervanius* another City made the gates fast against him; and as he gave the walls to the territory about it, some of his soldiers stragling here and there, were by the peasants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own army, the auxiliaries of the *Bullians*, *Apollonians*, and *Dyrhachians*, dislodged out of the place, where he had wintered, and encamped near the river *Gennusus*. For hearing of the alliance made between *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and incensed besides with the outrage committed upon the Roman ambassadors whom *Gentius* put in prison, he resolved certainly to war upon him. *Anicius* the Praetor being at that time at *Apollonia*, and advertised in what terms the affairs stood in *Illyricum*, dispatched letters beforehand to *Appius*, willing him to attend at *Gennusus* for his coming; and so within three daies after came himself to the camp there; and to those aids which he had of his own he took with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, drawn out of the youth and flower of the *Partians*. Of the Infantry *Epicadus* had the conduct, and *Agathus* commanded the Cavalry. With this power he prepared to go into *Illyricum*, principally for to levy the siege before *Bassania*; but this design projected by him, was emperched by a bruit that was blown of certain pinnaces which waited and spoiled the sea-coasts. A fleet they were together of eighty sail, sent from *Gentius* by the instigation of *Pantacrus*, to forrage the territories of *Apollonia* and *Durhachium*. Then the fleet

which being surrendered, they submitted also, and yielded themselves. And so consequently other Cities of that country one after another did the semblance; and the inclination & disposition of mens minds that way, was much set forward by the clemency and justice of the Roman Praetor which he used towards all. Then they marched to *Scodra*, the capital place and seat-town of the war; not only for that *Gentius* had seized upon it for his own self, as the chief strength and fortrefs of all his realm, but also because it was the strongest piece of all the *Labeates* nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: to wit, *Clanfa*, which runneth along the East side of the City, and *Barbana* on the West, arising out of the marsh *Labeatus*. These two rivers joyn in one and are discharged together into the great river *Orindus*: which springing from the mountain *Scodrus*, and increased still with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, fall at length into the Adriatick sea. This *Scodrus* is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarters: on the east it hath *Dardania*, under it, on the South *Macedony*, and *Illyricum* on the West. Albeit, this town was strongly fortified, by the natural site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the *Illyrians* and the King himself in person; yet the Roman Praetor (encouraged with the good success he had at the first, and supposing the fortune of the total war would be answerable to so happy beginnings, and that a sudden terror also would serve him in much stead and prevaile) approached the walls of the town with his army ready embattelled, and displayed his banners against it. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and turrets over the gates, with armed guards belowed accordingly surely they had repulled the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their enterprise: Clean but they issued forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with more animosity and courage than they maintained it with persistance. For being discomfited and driven back, and in the chase huddled by heaps together as they fled, after 200 & above were slain in the very straight entrance of the gate, they put the rest within in such a fright, that *Gentius* incontinently sent unto the Praetor as Orators, *T. nicus* and *Belus* the principal persons of that nation to treat and intreat for a luse of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in council and be advised as touching the main estate of his affairs. And when for this purpose he had obtained a grant for three daies, and the Romans lay encamped from the City half a mile; *Gentius* took a bridle, and falling along the river *Barbana*, called into the lake or mear of the *Labeates*, as if he had sought some secret place to consult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was moved upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Cervanius* his coming, who was said to be near at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent. But when this rumour was over-blown & vanished to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to *Scodra*, and sent couriers before him to the Praetor, requiring leave to parley & commune with him: which being granted, he entered into the camp. First, he began his speech with accusing and condemning his own folly: in the end his last refuge was to pour out prayers and shed tears: and so humbling himself at the Praetor his feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Praetor at the first had him take a good heart unto him and be of good cheer, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his own people into the City, where he was honorably feasted that day by the Praetor. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Cassius*, a martiall Colonel: and thus received he of *K. Perseus* only ten talents (a mean reward and hardly sufficient to content a simple word-pier) to engage himself into a world of danger; and being a K, as he was, to fall into this extrem calamity and misery. *Anicius* having entered upon *Scodra*, first before all other things, took order that

that the two Embassadors aforesaid, *Pantacrus* and *Perseus* should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their pitting estate and reputation, he sent *Perseus* presently to apprehend the friends and kinsfolk of the King: who took his way directly to *Medra*, a City of the *Labeates*, and brought with him into the camp at *Scodra* *Elleus* the Kings wife, with her two sons *Scodrus* and *Pleuratus* together with *Cardantius* the K. his brother. Thus *Anicius* having ended the *Illyrian* war within the compass of thirty daies, sent *Perseus* to Rome with tidings of this victory: and within few daies *Gentius* himself after him together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother, and other LL of the *Illyrians*. This was the only war achieved, and brought to an end, before they heard at Rome that it was begun.

During the management of these affairs, *Perseus* also was in great fear and affright, by reason of the coming of *L. Emilius* a new Consul (who as the voice went, marched against him with great menaces) together with *Octavius* the Praetor. Neither was he less terrified with the Roman navy and the danger of the sea-coasts. *Eumenes* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and command of *Thessalonica* with a small garrison of two thousand targetteers. Thither he sent Captain *Andreas* also, with commandment to encamp close to the very harbor where the ships lay in rode, unto the end that in what part soever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinently advance to the succour of the peasants and country people. Five thousand *Macedonians* were likewise sent to lie in garrison at *Pythium* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Thibius*, *Theraps* and *Midon*. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river *Emilia*: because it was passable over the very channell on dry foot, and to the end that all the multitude should be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoining, to bring victuals into the camp. The soldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by

Finally, the water-bearers in leather bags or bottles, were commanded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they flood to dig about him in one place, and some in another, a pretty distance under. The exceeding high hills all in open view (that they intended within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intermingled with the sea-water. They had scarcely sunk through the uppermost course of sand above when they might see small fountains to boil up, at the first troubled, but afterwards they began to yield thier and clear water in great abundance; by a speciall gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrence also increased the name and reputation of the Captain with the martiall Tribunes and the principall most ranks, marched to recognize and view the passages, and to see where the armed men might defend with ease, and where they might with least trouble mount up the bank on the farther side. When he had taken a sufficient survey hereof, he forecalt & gave direction aforehand for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble and tumultuous noise, even at the very beck and commandment of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to all at once it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing; and so receiving an uncertain signall and commandment, some put more of their own head to that which was commanded, and others do less again for it: and so there arise from all parts dissonant cries, and by this means the enemies know sooner whereabouts they go, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he ordained that every martiall Colonel should give a secret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion, and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and so forth every one should deliver unto each Centurion what was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the rearward behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and custome, forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets to their sentinels: for that the watchmen went not out to fight, whereby he needed any armour, but to keep watch; that when he desired the enemies coming, he might retire himself and raise others to take arms. Item, he ordained that the helmetters or morioners should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: and when they were weary, take a nap and sleep: to the end that their glittering armour might be discovered at of by the enemy, whereas himself could not see far before him. The manner also of warding in the day time armed, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled; it tell out so that in summer daies when ordinarily the sun is extrem and scorching hot, both horse and man became weary and languished upon being abiding so many hours in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being fresh, although they were but few in number set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. Hereupon he commanded that the morning guard should break up at noon, and others increased in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this means the enemy fresh and in heart could never take them weary and so charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publick assembly gathered together that his will was, that these orders should be observed accordingly, he delivered unto them a speech, much resembling the former Oration which he used before to the people within the City of Rome. Namely, "That the General of an army ought only to foresee and provide for all that is meet to be done, sometime by himself, otherwhiles with those whom he hath joyned

* He prescribeth
at L. Pa. 1.
nyles.

affiliates unto him: as for such as are not called to be of his council, they ought neither in public like nor in privat to shooke their bolgs and give their advice. Three things indeed the fondler was to care and provide for: namely, to have a body most strong and nimble; withall his armor and weapons decent and fit; and thirdly, a spirit prompt and ready at all allies to execute any commandment on a sudden. For all things else he ought to know, that the gods immortal and his Generall will take care: forasmuch, as in that army wherein the soldiers, the Consul, and his chief commander, suffer themselves to be carried away with rumours and bruits of the common sort; it is not possible for any thing to go well forward & come to good effect. For his own part (according to the duty and devotion of a captain Generall) he would endeavour and provide to give them the occasion and opportunity of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire after any future thing, but to looke as the signal is given, then every man to perform the service of a doubty soldier and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dismissed the assembly: and the old soldiers themselves confessed, in many plain terms, that they had taken forth a lesson that day as young and raw novices; yea, and learned in military profession that, which they never knew before: neither thewed they only by these and such like words, with what content and general liking they heard the Col's speech, but also testified the same by present deed and visible effect. For immediately, you should not have seen over all the camp one matidle and doing nothing: some fell to whet and sharpen their swords; others their cuiraces and corselets: some fitted and buckled their harness to their bodies, and tried how they could better their limbs and rule their joynts under it: some shooke their pikes and couched their javelins; others brandished their swords and lookt that they were wharp at point: So as a man might easily perceive by them, that upon this first occasion presented of encounter with the enemy, they would every way conflict, either to achieve a brave victory; or to die an honourable death.

enter into conflict, either to achieve a brave victory, or to die in honourable death. *Perseus* also on the other side, perceiving that upon the arrival of the Consul, and the beginning of the spring together, the Roman camp resounded and rung again with their firing and rattling of armour, as if there had been some new war towards: that they were dislodged from *Phyllis* of armour, and encamped upon the bank just over against him: and that now their leader and commander rode up and down to view and behold his fortifications and works, to (spie (doubt) some way This encouraged the Ro- or other for passage mans hearts, and danted not a little the Macedonians and their King. At the first, *Perseus* endeavoured to suppress secretly and (top the bruit and fame thereof, by sending out orders of purpose to *Pausanias* (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the camp. But by this time were certain children fere brought by their own parents among the Illyrian hostages: and look how much more careful order was taken to conceal all, to much the sooner was every thing let abroad and blured out by the prattle and babble of the Kings servants attending about his person.

his person. About the same time the Rhodian Embassadors came into the Rhodian camp, with the very same charge and commission as touching peace, which at *Rome* had let the L.L. of the Senat in exceeding heat & cholery; but far worse audience had they in the councill of the camp, & with greater discontentment. And therefore when some advised, that they should be thrust out by head and shoulders without any answer at all; the Coſ. pronounced, That he would shape them an answer alter fifteen daies, and not before. Mean while (that it might appear what aयोग reckoning was made of these Rhodian peace-makers who came about the manner of making war. Some were of opinion to debate in Councill as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion (and principally the elders and ancients) to give the assaile, and for the munitions and defence, planted upon the bank of the river *Empgus*; for that the Macedonians were never able to resist, if they came upon them lustily and charged them by thick troops: for why? no longer ago (say they) than the year before, diseized they had been of so many holds both higher and better fortified and the same holden with strong garriſons. Others were of mind, that *Oſtavius* the Admiral should with the fleet sail to *Thysſalonica* & by laying wait the maritime coasts, to cut off & weaken the kings forces; to the end, that upon another war shew'd from behind at their backs the K. might be withdrawn & rained about to defend the heart of his realm. and thereby forced in some sort to open & lay naked the passage over the river *Empgus*. And *Oſtavius* himself was in this judgment, that the bank as well by the naturall site thereof, as for the scones made upon it by mans hand was inteperable and not to be gained: & besides the engines planned every where thereupon, he heard say, that the enemies had the sight and skill to discharge all kind of shot far better and shoot more dead sure: but the intention of the General *Antius* was wholly bent another way: and after he had dissolved the assembly of his council, he called upon him the Merchants of the *Perhæbians* namely *Sclanius* and *Memphilius* (men of approved fidelity and wisdom) and of them in greater secret enquired, What kind of passages there were over into *Perhæbia*: when they answered, That the waies were nothing difficult and dangerous, but only that they were kept and beset by the Kings guards: he conceived some hope that if he assailed them by night with a valiant company, and took them suddenly at unawares before they looked for him, he might chase those garriſons from their holds: for darts, arrows, and all other shot, served to little or no purpose in the dark, when a man cannot see his mark ar off before him; but close sword-fight, hand to hand pell mell, was it that must do the deed: wherein the Roman souldier had no fellow. Minding therefore

A therefore to use those two as guides, he sent for *Othavius* the Pretor: and when he had declared unto him the effect of his designment, he commanded him to sail with his fleet to *Heraclea*: and to have with him victuals baked and dressed to serve a thousand soldiers ten days, himself sent out *P. Scipio Nafica* and *Q. Fadius Maximus* his own son, with five thousand select soldiers to *Heraclea* as if they were to be embarked (for to waite the maritime coast of *Macedonia* lying to the westward within the country, according as it had been before debated in Councill: & secretly under-hand, they were given to wit, that there were viands and victuals in the fleet prepared for them, to the end that nothing should stay their expedition. Then the journey, who were to conduct them in their way, had commandment, so to cast their gifts and goodies, that by three of the clock in the morning the third day, they might alight *Pythium*. Himself in his own person the next morning, with intent to amule the King and keep him from all regard of other enterprises, early by the break of day began to skirmish with the enemies guards in the very midst of the channell and place of the current. The light armour and forlorne hopes as well of the one side as the other, maintained the fight: for it was not possible for soldiers heavily armed at all peeces, to skirmish in the channell so uneven as it was. The defence from the banks off either hand to the forelaid channell contained somewhat less than three hundred paces, or little better than a quarter of a mile: the middle place of the stream between hollowed and eaten with the current. In some place more, in others less took up little above a mile. In this middle plot was the skirmish, maintained within the view and eye of the King, of one side, who looked upon them from the rampier of the camp; and on the other of the Consul, who beheld them standing with his legions. The Kings auxiliaries lightly armed, fought better off as by the means of their darts and other shot. The Romans were more firm and steady, yea, and better defended with their round bucklers or Ligurian shields. About noontide the Consul commanded to found the retreat unto his men: and so for that day the fray warred, not without much bloodshed on both sides. The next morrow by sun-rising they fell to it again, and fought more eagerly by reason that their blood was up, and their stomaks sharpened the day before: but the Romans received hurt not only by them with whom they entered into fight, but much more also from a number of those who stood in turres and petty towers erected here and there: who discharged at them all kind of darts and shot. But hurtled flumes especially. And when they approached once near to the bank where the enemies were, their ballers levelled out of engines, commanded and retched even them that were outmost, and farther off.

D. The Consul having lost that day more men by many than before, caused them to retire to somewhat later than the former day. The third day he forbore to fight, but turned aside toward the nearer quarter of the camp, as if he minded to assay passage by an arm of the river that bended to the sea. *Perseus* having before his eyes

Now was the season of the year past / fun stead in summer, & near unto the hour of noon stead in the day so they journeyed in a way full of dust, when the sun was ex. ceding hot; and even now they began to feel thirst and weariness already; but it seemed evidently, that when high noon was come indeed, they would be more troubled with the one and the other. Whereupon *Amelius* resolved not to prevent his men thus tormented and afflicted, unto the enemies all refresh and in heart: howbeit, so that per they were on both sides and to eager upon fight that the Confuld. *B* as much need by some cunning call or other to deceive and beguile his men as the Confuld. *C* enemies. Before they were all embattell'd and put in array: he was earnest with the martiall *C* bunes, and called upon them to make haste and put them in order: himselfe rode about from rank to rank, and by his comfortable words encouraged, and in ended the hearts of his souldiers to fight. At the first they were all very lusty and called for the signal of battell; but afterwards as the heat of the weather increased, so their wittiges seemed les vigorous, and their voices more hea- *P* vy and dull: yea, some of them stood leaning on their targets, and rested themselves bearing up- *P* per their javelins. Then he made open shew of his meaning, and in plain terms commended the *P* formost companies in the vanguard, to measure out the forefront of the camp, and to lay down *P* their baggage: which when the souldiers perceived, some of them there were who joyed ex- *P* plicitly for that they had not forced them to fight, so weary as they were with travelling and during *P* that most scorching and burning heat. About the General rood his lieutenants with the captains *P* of strangers, and *Attalus* himselfe among the rest. All of them allowed and thought well of the *P* matter, all the while they thought no other but that the Confuld would verily fight: for he had *P* not so much as made them acquainted with this delay and lingering of his. But then seeing the ca- *P* suality and the purpose changed, all theret held their peace: only *Nasica* of them all was so ha- *P* dy and bold as to tell the Confuld his mind and admonish him to take heed, that he suffered not *P* the enemy by avoiding fight, to slip and escape out of their hands, like as he had mocked and be- *P* guiled other Generals before him: for he feared much, lest he would dislodge, and depart in *P* the inland middle parts of *Macedony*: so as the army should be put to wander and danger in *P* @ about through the blind lanes and over the narrow straits of the Macedonian mountains: *P* like as it hapned to other Captains before him. And therefore he counselld him in good foun- *P* deds, while he had the enemy within the open plain field, to charge upon him and not to lose *P* the opportunity of a goodly victory now presented. The Confuld, nothing at all offended with *P* this frank advertisement of so noble a young gentleman, said no more but thus unto him: "The *P* "daphath been (*Nasica*) when I carried that spirit with me which you do at this present; and the

"time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience
 "in many adventures and casualties in war, to know, when it is good time to fight, and when it is
 "better to forbear and sit still. For this present needeth it is and booteth (standing as we do now
 "arranged in order of battell) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to think it better
 "to be quiet and not to stir this day: another time demand the reasons thereof: and rest content-
 "ed I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
 "young man was blank and said not a word: persuaded he was doubteless, that the Col. law some
 "impediments to lay the battell, which to himself appeared not. *Paulus*, when he perceived that the
 "camp was tier and quartered out, & the carriages bestowed accordingly, drew first out of the reere-
 "guard the *Tribuni*; then afterwards the *Principes*, whiles the *Alafrati* or pikes kept their standing
 "still in the vanguard (if haply the enemies should offer battell): at the last he withdrew them al-
 "so, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the souldiers from every ensign one
 "after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the
 "horsemen together with the light armour opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
 "main battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavalry called back from their stations where-
 "in they were placed, untill the forefront of the rampier and trench was fully finished. The K. like-
 "wise, who without any refusal of battell had stood ready that day to fight, contenting himself with
 "this, that he knew the day thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
 "camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a martiall Colonel
 "of the second legion, who had been Praetor the year before by permission of the Councill called
 "the souldiers to a generall audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night
 "following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night untill
 "the fourth: and this he did, because no man should wonder thereat, as if it were a prodigious to-
 "ken. Also he made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
 "because it is a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature. For like as they
 "nothing marvelled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at set hours, nor to see the
 "moon sometimes shine bright out at the full, otherwhises in the waining light only with the
 "small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous matter of it,
 "that the should be dark, when as her body is hidden by the shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
 "was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, overmight before the *even* of the Nones of *Septe-
 "mber*: by occasion whereof, the Roman souldiers held *Gellius* for a deeply learned sage, and a di-
 "vine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the Macedonians were troubled with the sight thereof, as an
 "heavy prodigy, portending and prefiging the ruin of that realm and the utter destruction of the
 "whole nation. And surely the howling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while,
 "untill the moon recovered her full light again, was a very prognostication and prediction of no
 "less. The morrow after both the armies were so hot and greedy of fight, that both K. and Col.
 "were blamed by some of their own souldiers, for that they went out of the field the day before,
 "and struck not battell. As for the K. he had his excuse and defence ready, not only because the en-
 "emy refused the fight first, in open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his camp, but also
 "in that he had pitch and ranged his ensignes in such a place, unto which the Macedonian battell,
 "called *Phalanx*, could not advance, considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground,
 "there is no use at all thereof. The Col. for his part, as to have given the enemy advantage to depart in
 "the night-season (if he had to list) so now also he trifled out the time, making semblance of sacri-
 "fice, whereas the signal of battell at the point of day was put forth for the souldiers to enter into
 "the field. Well at the last, when the sacrifice was duly performed, about the third hour of the day,
 "he assembled his Councill about him: where, there were that thought he prolonged the
 "time on set purpose, with his discourses and unseasonable consultations, and spent that opportuni-
 "ty so, which should be employed better in fight and execution of some worthy exploit. Howbeit,
 "after some speeches passed, the Col. made an Oration unto his souldiers in this wise. *Pub. Nafica*
 "said, he a right valiant young gentleman, of all those that advised to give battell yesterday, was
 "the only man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsell: yet afterwards, even
 "he held his peace and kept silence, in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
 "my mind in the end. Some others there be that have taken a ferverall course by themselves, and
 "thought it better to carp at their General behind his back than to admonish him to his face. As
 "for me, I will not think much nor make it daime, to render a reason both to you. *O. P. Nafica*
 "said to me also who have thought the same that you did (although they carried it more secret-
 "ly) why I made such stay and deferred battell. For so far off am I of repenting for our yesterdays
 "repulse, that I am of this belief rather, how by that means and policy, alone I saved the whole ar-
 "my. And because none of you may think that I have taken such a pitch, and hold that opinion
 "of mine without just cause, let him consider & discourse together with me (if he think it good)
 "what advantages the enemies had, & how many things made against us. First and foremost, how
 "far they surpass us in pumber, assured I am that none of you, either was ignorant before, or
 "could chide but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how it was thrust and thronged
 "together. And of that small number which we are, the fourth part of our fighting men was left
 "behind to guard the carriage, & we yet wot, that we let not the most cowards to the keeping of
 "our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then? think we, pray you, that
 "we

September.

The Oration
of Pub. Nafica
unto his army

"we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have rested one whole night,
 "to go either this day or to morrow at the fatterest; with the leave and power of the gods into
 "the field, if you shall so think good? Skilleth it not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a souldier
 "take arms, whom neither the travel of this daies journey, nor toil of laborious work hath
 "tainted and wearied, but is at quiet, yea and fresh within his tent & so to bring him forth into
 "the field for a battell lusty and strong, full of bodily vigour of heart? or to offer and expose unto
 "the enemy who is hearty and fresh, who hath taken his rest and ease, & hath brought with him
 "to a fight, his strength entire and whole, not foiled or spent upon any occasion? to present, I say,
 "unto such an enemy, a souldier tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carry-
 "ing his burden, all molten to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat parched for thirst, his
 "face and eyes full of dust, and all his body roasted against the noon-sun? now tell me, by the
 "ye ow to the gods, what is he that being in this so good a plight, were he the veriest beast and
 "coward otherwise in a country, could not foil and beat out of the field the hardiest & most val-
 "iant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how materiall & important this also was that our
 "enemies had marshalled their battalions with great leisure after long time of rest: that they had
 "repaired and refreshed their own strength, & stood ranged every man orderly in his own rank;
 "whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattel and let our men in array, yea, and also
 "to fall to skirmish pell mell without all order? But may some men say, True it is, our battell in-
 "deed we should have had much out of square and shuffled in great confusion: yet our camp was
 "well fortified; we had forecalt and provided for good watering, the passage thereto was good
 "C & safe by reason of strong guards placed every way: & all coats were cleared about us by our
 "espials. Nay, I wis, but contrariwise, nothing (to lay truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain
 "field where we were to fight. Your ancestors in times past, esteemed a camp fortified with ram-
 "piers and trenches, as good as a port and harbor of safe refuge, for an army against all chances
 "and misfortunes whatsoever: from thence to issue forth, & thither to retire for safety, after they
 "had been tossed and beaten with the tempest of a battell. And therefore when it was empaled
 "round about with good defences, they had a care also to re-enforce & strengthen it with strong
 "guards; forasmuch as he that hath lost his camp & is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanqui-
 "shed, notwithstanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The head of a camp serveth
 "for a place of retreat to the conqueror: & offering to the conquered, how many armies could
 "D I reckon, which having sped but badly in the battell, were driven to take their leaguers: yet after-
 "wards seeing their time, and spying their vantage otherwise failed forth & in the turning of
 "an hand repulsed and discomfited the enemy for all his former victory? This feat and retreat of
 "souldiers in time of war, seemeth as a man would say, another native country of theirs: the
 "rampier serveth instead of walls, the tent and pavilion is to every souldier his house and home,
 "And should we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of manition wherunto we
 "might berake our selves after victory? But against these difficulties and emplacements of giving
 "battell, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say some) had gone his waies last night
 "between: what a foul deal of trouble & sorrow should we have endured again in pursuing him
 "as far as to the heart, nay, to the farthest frontiers of *Macedony*? But I for my part verily hold this
 "E for certain, that if he had ever meant to have (started from hence, he would never have (said thus
 "here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more easy was it
 "for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are ready to tread
 "upon his heels, and go over his back? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip, but we
 "should have been aware of his dislodging, either by day or night. But, say he had gone his waies,
 "what could we have wished more at the gods hands, than to set upon the back part of the en-
 "emies in the open plain ground, departing in dilatory disband one from another, as they aban-
 "doning their fort and strong hold, and whose camp situate most sure upon an exceeding high and
 "deep bank of a river fortified also with a rampier, and many a sconce and turret beside, we gave
 "the venture to assault? Lo, what the causes were, why the battell was put off from yesterday to
 "F this present. For I must tell you, I am as willing my self to try the fortune of a field as any other:
 "and to that end (because the adventures to the enemy over the river *Enepus* were stopped up a-
 "gainst us) I have found a new way through another pass and straight, by disceizing the guards of
 "the enemies there left: and never will I give over until I have defeated him quite, and brought
 "this war to an end. After this oration all kept silence, partly for that many of them were weary of
 "his opinion: and partly, because they feared to find fault to no purpose & so to give offence, when
 "a thing howsoever once past, cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither was there
 "battell fought, for any great desire that the Consul of King had thereto. The King wished it not;
 "because he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor trou-
 "bled about their embattelling in such sort & hardly at the last brought into order. The Consul a-
 "gain had no great stomach thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of fe-
 "well nor forage brought in and laid up already: and for the purveyance thereof, out of the villa-
 "ges and fields near at hand, many of the souldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus
 "when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chance and fortune (which is more po-
 "werfull than all the counsel and policy of man) made means and gave occasion of a battell. There
 "was a river not very great, near to the enemies camp, whereto both Romans and Macedonians
 "watered: and on either bank side certain guards kept their stations for the safety and security

as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were for the Romans of *Martucines* and *Pelignians*, footmen: two troops or cornets besides of *Sampit* horsemen: all commanded by *M. Sergius Sylva* a lieutenant. Over and besides, another standing *corps de guard* quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely, of *Firman*, *Vetinae*, and *Cremonian* footmen, together with two troops of *Placentine* and *Eslerian* horsemen, all conducted by lieutenant *Cluvius*. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no side provoked or challenged other: it fortuned that a jumper horie of the Romans about the fourth hour of the day brake from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of such, took the river and made toward the bank of the farther side: & when three souldiers followed after cros the water almost knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the jade from the midle of the river to their bank side: but after one of them was slain, the Romans recovered the beast again & retired to their own guard. Now when was a strong *corps de guard* of 800 Thracians upon the bank which the enemies kept, from whence some few at first, taking it to the heart that a countmain of theirs should thus be killed before their face, travelled over the river in pursuit of those that had slain him: afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard leadeth to the battel. Men were moved with a reverence of the majesty of his place, as he was *L. General*: also with respect of the honour and glory of the man otherwise, and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about threecore years old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greatest travell and danger. That void space which was between the light targettiers, called *Currati*, and the thick battalions named *Phalanges*, the legion took up clean, and broke within the battell of the enemies. Behind the *Currati* was this legion, and had affront them the *Pavosiers* called *Agilspides*, with replendent or shining shields, *L. Antius*, who had been Consul beforetime, was commanded to lead against the battallion of other *Pavosiers* called *Leucaspides* with white shields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Against the right flank, from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederat horsemen, and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men, so some shew in apparence of words when they are first spoken of; but come to practise and try them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any use and service at all. That violence of the Elephants (such as it was) the Latine allies seconded immediately, and forced the left flank to retire. Then the second legion was put forth, and in the midle entered upon the Phalanx and put it to flight: neither was there any caufe of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the first troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards discomfited it. True it is that to abide the force thereof it is impossible, so long as it keepeth close united together: & putteth forth their sharp pointed pikes bent thick couched together breast-high: but if a man by charging the same here and there, force them once to turn about those pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are unwieldy and hard to guide, they soon are intangled and catch one within another untowardly: but in case it fall out so, that there be any tumult made either a flank or behind, then there ensueth a generall trouble and confusion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down: like as it happened then, when as against the Romans, who assailed them by troops in sundry parts, they were driven to break their battallion into many pieces, as it were, and so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans espied where there was a breach made and lane left between, and there they would insinuat and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had run upon the front of the Phalanx close ranged altogether with their whole battallion, they had enwrapped and entangled themselves within their pikes: (which in the beginning of the conflict hapned to the *Pelignians*, as they unwisely dealt with the targettiers, called *Cyrati*, and had never been able to sustain that battallion united thick and couched together. But as there was a cruel slaughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place, save only those that slung away their weapons and fled: so the souldiers of the Cavalry departed in manner safe and sound out of the conflict. The *K. himself* was the first man that fled: & now by this time was escaped beyond *Pydna*, and with his cornets of horsemen which they call *Sacred* made haste to *Pella*. Another followed *Cossent*, and the Cavalry of the *Odyssians*: consequently other troops and companies of Macedonian horsemen departed and kept their arrayes broken: for that the Phalanx or battallion of the footmen between which kept the conquerours occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to pursue the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this Phalanx a flank & behind. In the end, they who escaped the hands of the enemies & fled without weapons to the sea: some, took the water, and stretching forth their hands to them that were aboard in the ships, most humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockboats making space on all hands toward them from the ships, they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yea, and some swimm'd forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boats slain in all hostile manner like enemies, as many as could, swam back again to land: where they met with a souldier much fiercer, and worse plagued than before: for the Elephants (driven by their governors to the shore) trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, that never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 20000 men were

A were there slain, and to the number of 6000 (who fled to *Pydna* out of the battail) came alive into the enemies hands: 5000 besides were taken prisoners, as they fled scattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by far of *Pelignians*; but a greater number somewhat, were hurt and wounded. And if the battail had begun sooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chase upon their enemies, all their forces had been utterly defeated and deavoured by the sword: but now the night coming upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romans not to be so hasty and forward in pursuit: considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the country. *Perseus* fled to the forest *Pieria* by the port road way with a great number of horsemen, and his royal train about him. So soon as he was entered the forest where the way divided into *Bundry* and divers parts, seeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaten way with very few of his most loyal and faithful friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and left destitute of their leader, slip some one way and some another home into their own Cities: certain of them (but very few) recovered *Pella* before *Perseus* himself, because they rode a direct and ready way. The *K.* was much troubled and vexed until midnight almost, what with fear and what with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to *Pella*, *Enthus* the Governor thereof, and the Kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him service: but contrary-wile, of all those friends who escaped fate out of the battail and chased by variable adventures to come into *Pella*, there would not one come at him notwithstanding they were oftentimes sent for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, *Evanor* of *Crisis*, *Nona* a *Breotian*, and *Archidamus* the *Ætolian*. Fearing therefore lest they who refused to come unto him, would soon after enterprife some greater matter against him: with those three he fled still toward the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 300 *Cretenians*. Toward *Amphipolis* he went; but he departed in the night from *Pella*, making all the haste he could to pass over the river *Axius* before day-light, supposing that the Romans would give over the chase there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous toord.

The Consul being returned into the camp with victory, (because he should not have the fruition of sincere and perfect joy) was greatly disquieted and troubled about his yonger son, and that was *P. Scipio*, surnamed also afterwards *Africanus*, because he raised the City of *Carthage*: the natural son he was of the Consul *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grand child of *Africanus*: he was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) while he followed in chase the enemies upon the spur, was carried by the press a contrary way, in such sort, as it was late ere he returned: and then the Consul having recovered him again safe and sound, felt the joy of so great a victory, and not before.

When the bruit and news of this battail was arrived at *Amphipolis*, and that the dames and wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Tauropolis*, to beseech and call for her aid, *Diadrom* the chief Governor of the City, fearing the Thracians (who were 2000 in garriſon) lest in that tumult and garboil they would spoil and rife the City: cratically surnamed a fellow on her purpose in guise and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in the mids of the market place: wherein it was written, That the Roman fleet was arrived in *Emathia*, and that the territories all about were pitifully wasted by them; and therefore the rulers and captains of *Emathia* requested him to send a garriſon to succour them against these foragers. When he had read these counterfeit letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into *Emathia* for to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering the Romans were loosely fragling and scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a foul havoc and slaughter of them, and besides raise and bring away with them a great booty: with all, he forgot not to elevate almight as he could, the fame of the forsaide unhappy field fought, saying, That if all had been true, there would have been messengers coming thick one after another upon their flight, to bring fresh tidings still thereof. Under this pretence he sent away the Thracians: and so soon as he saw they were passed over the river *Stymon*, incontinently he shut the gates. The third day after the battail fought, came *Perseus* to *Amphipolis*, and from thence he sent Orators to *Paulus* with an herald of peace. Mean-while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantareus* the Kings principal friends, went themselves to the Consul, and surrendered unto the Romans *Berzbe*, whither they had retired and fled immediately out of the field. Other Cities also stricken with fear one after another, prepared to do the like.

The Consul, after he had sent to *Rome* with tidings and letters of this victory, *Q. Fabius* his own son, together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the spoil of the enemies army thus lying dejected, unto his footmen: but the horsemen he allowed the booty of all the territory round about, with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then he removed nearer unto the sea and lodged about *Pydna*. *Pirri*, *Berzbe* (as is before said) yielded then. But the *Pydnians* who were next unto him, as yet were behind with sending their Embassadors: the reason was, for that the confused confluence thither of many nations, and the disordered multitude of those that fled out of the field, and were all met together, hindered the counsel and consent of the whole City: so as the gates were not only shut but also mured up. Now were *Midon* and *Pantareus* sent to parle under the walls with *Solon*, who lay there with a garriſon by whose means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was sent away, the City rendered up and the pillage given to the souldiers.

Perseus, whose only hope was in the aid of the Bithians whom he had assailed and solicited, and for which purpose he had sent his Embassadors (although in vain) held a publick assembly, and bringing his son *Philip* with him, came forth before the people; to the end that he might by some exhortation confirm and strengthen the hearts, as well of the Amphipolitans as the companies of foot and horse, who either at all times continually had followed him, or were retired thither by flight for refuge. But ever as he was about to make a speech unto the audience (which he oft began to do) he could not proceed for tears. Now for that himself was not able to speak, he came down from the pulpit, and imparted unto *Eucander* the Cretensian those points, which his will was to be delivered and propoged unto the congregation there assembled. The multitude, as they lamented and wept again to see the King so piteously shed tears; so they regarded not the speech of *Eucander*: nay, some of them were so bold as to cry out aloud from the midst of the assembly, Away, away, and get ye gone from hence that the final remnant of us here perish not for your sakes. The rest resolution of these men stopped *Eucander*'s mouth, that he could not say a word and reply again. The King by this time was gotten to his lodging, and having conveyed into certain bottoms upon the river *Strymon* all his money, gold, and silver, went also in person down to the water side. The Thracians durst not go aboard and commit to sea, but slunk every man away to his own home; and so did all the sort of soldiers besides. The Cretensians only (for greedy hope of gain) accompanied the King, who because in sharing & dealing money among them, he should incur more offence than win thanks, laid out fifty talents among them upon the river side to scramble for. When they had made quick riddance and a clean hand with it, they went aboard in a great hurry so as one barge overcharged with a multitude of passengers was cast away and sunk in the mouth of the river. That very day they arrived at *Galphes*, and the morrow after at *Samothrace*, the very place that they intended; and thither (by report) were conveyed 3000 talents. *Paulus* after he had sent presidents to govern every City surrendred, to the end that no injury should be offered in this new peace to the conquered, and detaining with him still the Kings heralds and Orators, not knowing any thing of the Kings flight and departure, sent *P. Nasica* to *Amphipolis* with a mean regiment of foot and horse, to ruinat and destroy at once *Sintica*, and also to inspect all the designments and enterprises of the Romans.

In this time *Melbaea* was forced and ransacked by *Cn. Octavius*; but at *Aeginium* (to the siege whereof *Cn. Anicius* the Lieutenant was sent) 300 men were lost by a sally made out of the town, for that the Aeginians heard not the news of the late defeat.

The Consul departed from *Padua* with his whole army, and the morrow after came before *Pella*. Where having encamped within a mile of the City, he made abode there for certain daies to view on all sides the situation of the City, which he perceived and marked full well, to have been chosen not without good cause, for the imperial seat of the Macedonian Kings. Situat it is upon an hill that lieth to the Southwest enclosed round with meers so deep as they cannot possibly be waded and passed though; and these marshes are bred and fed both winter and summer by waters overflowing out of certain lakes. Within the very marsh next unto the City side, there standeth a strong Tower, by it self, bearing up above the rest, as it were an Island raised upon a terrace made with exceeding labor of mans hand, which terrace both sustineth a wall, and is not hurt with the moisture of the marsh round about it, and a far off seemeth close joined to the City wall. Howbeit, divided it is by a river between it and the wall, and yet united to the City by a bridge over it: so as, whosoever assaileth the same without, can have no access any way to it neither, if the King be disposed to shut and enclose any man within, can he possibly make an escape and get forth but over the said bridge; which a few men may keep and guard with ease. In this place the Kings treasure used to lie, but at that time there was no more found but the 300 talents which were sent to *King Gentius* first, and afterward slaid and detained. During the time that the Consul remained about *Pella*, in his standing camp many embassages had audience given them who repaired thither out of *Theffaly*, especially to congratulate with him, testifying their own joy and wishing his. But the Consul after that he had intelligence that *Perseus* had crossed over to *Samothracia*, departed from *Pella*, and at the fourth gift and journey that he made, came to *Amphipolis*. The whole multitude went forth of the City in great numbers to meet him, which gave testimony to every man, that neither a good nor just King

The five and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and fortieth Book.

Perseus was taken prisoner by *Emilius Paulus* in *Samothracia*. When *Antiochus King of Syria* besieged *Ptolomæus* and *Cleopatra*, King and Queen of *Egypt*, Embassadors were sent from the Senat of Rome, willing *Antiochus* to give over, and beseege no more an associat King unto them: but when

A when he made answer to this their message delivered, that he would consider better what he had to do, *Popilius* one of the said Embassadors, with his rod that he had in his hand drew a circle about the King, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which understanding, and blunt behavior, he forced *Antiochus* to lay away arms and surcease war. Divers Embassadors of States and Kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senat. As for that of the Rhodians because the late war they stood out making part against the Romans, it was excluded. The morrow after when it was debated in counsel about making war upon the Rhodians, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their country in the Senat: So, they neither had a friendly dispatch had forward, as allied associates, nor yet were sent away as professed enemies. *Macedony* was now reduced into the form of a Province. *Emilius Paulus* triumphed, notwithstanding the contradiction of his own soldiers, discontented for that they were pinched & cut short in the pillage; & although *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* interposed himself & gain said it. He led before his chariot *Perseus* with him three sons. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, himself fully it was with the death of his two sons: the one died before, the other after the triumph of his father. The Consuls took a review of the City, in which were affected and enrolled in their subsidy books 312805 citizens. *Prusias King of Bithynia* repaired to Rome, to rejoice with the Senat in their behalf for the victory and conquest of *Macedony*, where her commended unto the Senat his son *Nicomedes*. This bewinded King, made all of flattery, named himself the enfranchised vassal of the people of Rome.

The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Quintus Fabius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, the messengers of the late victory, albeit they made all the hast that possibly they could, and came speedily to Rome, yet found the joy thereof to have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battail fought with the Kings, even as the playes and games were exhibited in the shew-place, there was heard suddenly at first, a confused humming noise, which spread over all the companies of the spectators. That a field was fought in *Macedony* and *Perseus* vanquished: afterwards arose a more clear and evident voice, which grew at length to an open shout and clapping of hands, as if certain news had been brought of the said victory. The magistrates wondered hereat, and made search after the author of this so sudden gladness, but none would be found: and then verily it passed away as the momentary joy of some vain and uncertain occurrence: howbeit a joyful preface of some good luck settled in mens hearts and remained behind. But after that this was confirmed by the true report and relation of *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, and *Metellus*, which they made at their coming, all men rejoiced as well at the fore-giving of their minds, as for the victory it self. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the shew-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no less probability and likelihood of truth, in this manner: Upon the * 22 of September (which was the second day of the solemnity of Romans games) as the Consul was going up to the lifts for to set out the running of the chariots, a post, by report, (who said he was come out of *Macedony*) presented letters unto him decked with laurel. The Consul then, so soon as he had set on foot the race, presently mounted up into his own chariot: and as he rode through the shew-place toward the common scaffolds, he shewed unto the people the said laureat letters: which being once seen, the people presently (forgetting all their sports and fights) ran out into the mids of the cirque & thither the Consul assembled the Senat: unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advice and allowance of the LL. even before the publick stages and scaffolds, he published the contents thereof to all the people in this manner, That *L. Emilius* his colleague had fought a set field with *K. Perseus*. That the army of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight. That the King himself was fled with some few of his train, and that all the Cities of *Macedony* were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of Rome. These tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, in so much as many men there, left the sight of these disports, and carried their joyful news home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battail given in *Macedony*. The morrow after the Senat assembled in *Curia* (H. Silius) and ordained it was that publick processions should be solemnized: an Act also passed, that the Consul *Emilius* should dismiss all those that had taken the military oath, excepting only the sea-fouldiers and mariners: and as for the discharging of those soldiers, agreed it was, that it should be moved in the Council-chamber, when the Lieutenants were arrived and come from *L. Emilius* the Consul, for they had dispatched a courier with letters before them. Now these messengers afore said entered the City the * 25th of September about the second hour of the day, and drew after them a mighty train of those who encountering them upon the way wherefoever they went, accompanied them to Rome, and so directly went to the market-place and tribunal seat. In returned that the Senators sat then in the ordinary Curia or Council-house, and thither the Consul brought the Embassadors. Where they were received and held so long only as they might declare these points. How great the Kings forces were, as well in foot as horse: how many thousand were slain, how many taken prisoners: what small loss of Roman soldiers that great defeat of enemies cost: how few they were in number that the King fled with: that it was supposed he would pass into *Samothracia*: that the fleet was in readiness to make way after them in chase; and that it was not possible for him to escape either by Land or Sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the general assembly of the people, where,

they made relation of the same. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by the Consul. That all the sacred temples and churches should be set open; and that every man should depart out of the assembly to render thanks unto the Gods in such sort, that all the temples of the Gods throughout the whole City were replenished with mighty multitudes and congregations nor of men only, but also of women. Then the Senat met again in the ordinary Curia: and ordained that publick processions and thanks should be made for five daies together in all Churches and Chappels and at every Altar for the happy and fortunat successe of *L. Emilius*, and that great head of beasts should be killed for sacrifice. Also that the ships which did ready rigged and well appointed in the river *Tyber* for to be sent into *Macedony* (in case it had so fallen out, that the King had been able to have resisted) should be retired and drawn to land, and so laid up drie in their docks and arsenals: also that the mariners should be cessed, after the receipt of a whole years pay, and together with all those who had sworn to serve the Consul, should have their conge and passport to be gone. Item, that all the souldiers in *Corepra*, *Brundisium*, about the Adriatick sea, or in the territory of the *Larinats* (for in all these there was an army let in readinesse, when *C. Licinius* if need required should have incurred his colleague) should have their discharge. Also processions were published in the full assembly of the people, to begin * from the tenth day of October, and so to hold on five daies after.

* as a.d. quide
119. O. 10. 10.

* in a quide
119. O. 10. 10.

Out of *Illyriam* also two Lieutenants or messengers, to wit, *L. Licinius Novus* and *P. Decius*, brought word that the army of the *Illyrians* was defeated: that King *Gentius* was taken prisoner, & that all *Illyriam* was reduced under the obedience of the people of *Rome*. For which exploits achieved by the leading and conduct of *L. Aemilius* the Pretor, the Senat decreed a solemn procession K to be holden for three daies, like as also the Latine feast & holy-daies were proclaimed by the Consul, for to be holden the * ninth, tenth, and eleventh daies of November. Some have recorded that the Rhodian Embassadors had not yet their dispatch, nor were sent away, but after the news of this victory, were called into the Senat in mockery and scorn of that fortif. insolence and pride of their own. And then *Aegolis* the principal person of them spake in this manner, * That the Rhodians had sent them in deed as Embassadors to treat about an accord & to make peace between the Romans and King *Perseus*, for that this war as it was grievous and prejudicial to all Greece, so it could not chuse but be chargeable and hurtful to the Romans themselves. But since out it is passing well through the goodness of fortune, that the war is ended otherwise: and hath given them to good an occasion and opportunity, to rejoyce and testify their joy in the behalf of the Romans, for the achievement of so brave and notable a victory. Thus much spake the Rhodian. And then the Senat made answer again, * That the Rhodians had sent that embassy notwithstanding the good and profit of Greece, nor yet for any care they had of the expenses defraied by the Romans, but only in love and favor of King *Perseus*. For if they had been respective unto them (as they would make semblance and have the world to think) they should have addressed their Embassadors when as *Perseus* invaded *Thessaly* with an army, & for two years space persecuted and plagued the cities of Greece, besieging some, & frightening others with menaces of warrey: all that while, not a word with the Rhodians as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the Romans were mounted over the streights and passed through into *Macedony*: that King *Perseus* an embassage for no other reason in the world, but to rid and deliver *Perseus* out of that imminent danger which threatened him so neer hand. With which answer the Embass. were sent away.

* as a.d. 119. O. 10. 10.

About the very same time *M. Marcellus* being departed out of his government in the province of *Spain*, after he had forced and won *Marcolica* a renowned and famous City in those parts, brought home with him and bestowed in the publick treasury ten pound weight of gold; and * a million of sesterces in silver coin.

Paulus Emilius the Consul lying encamped (as is aforesaid) neer *Syrus* in the *Odomantidian* territory, when he saw the letters from King *Perseus* brought unto him by three Embassadors of base condition, wept (by report) himself to consider the fatality of this world, and the fickleness of mans life: to wit (I say) that he who elsewhere could not rest content with the royalty of *Macedony*, but would needs was upon the *Dardaniams* and *Illyrians* and levy the aid of the *Bastarnians*. N now after the loss of his army, as one exiled out of his own Kingdom, driven into a small land, where, like a poor suppliant he remained in secrecy, not by means of his own forces, but through the religious protection of a sanctuary & privileged place. But when he read the inscription of the letter with this title, King *Perseus* to the Consul *Paulus*, greeting, he could no more pry him, for thinking of his blockish folly, in that he had no sense and feeling of the calamity and misery wherein he stood. And therefore albeit the contents of the letter otherwise were prayers to demits and abject as little favoured of a princely mind, yet was that embassage dismissed without answer and without letters. *Perseus* soon perceived what title it was that he must lay down and forget now that he was vanquished: whereupon he addressed other letters in quality of a privat person without any other addition at all: and by those as he craved, so obtained he likewise, that certain agents should be sent unto him, with whom he might parley and commune as touching the state and condition of his present fortune. So three delegat Embassadors were sent unto him, namely, *P. Lentulus*, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, and *A. Antonius*. But nothing was effected in this agency or embassage: whilst *Perseus* stuck hard and laboured all he could to hold still and keep the royal name of King, and *Paulus* endeavoured contrary-wisely, that he should submit himself and all that he had

to

A to the protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*. During their debates and affaires between them, the fleet of *Cn. Octavius* was arrived at *Samothracia*, who also presenting before their eyes fearful objects of error, went about to force him as well by threats and menaces, as to win him by hope of fair intreaty and good usage to yield and submit; and herein he found some help by means of an accident, either hapning by chance and meer adventure, or contrived by mans device of set purpose. *L. Attilius* a noble young Gentleman, perceiving that the people of the *Samothracians* were met in a general assembly, requested of the Magistrates that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then he began in this wise; * My masters and friends of *Samothracia*, I would gladly know, whether it be a false tale or a true tale which we have heard, That this is a sacred land, and the soil thereof holy and altogether inviolable? When they all accorded in one consent, that the land was as holy and sacred as it was reported: How is it then (qd. he) that a murderer hath violated and polluted it with the blood of King *Eumenes*? And considering that in all preambles and prelates of sacred and divine service, and innocent hands will you suffer to deede your most secret sanctuaries and devout tabernacles to be stained with the bloody body of a thief and felon? Now was it a ripe report and common bruit in every City of Greece, That *K. Eumenes* had like to have been murdered at *Delphos* by *Evander*, the *Samothracians*, besides that they saw their whole land and the said Temple to be in the power and puissance of the Romans, took their reproofs and reproaches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: whereupon they sent *Theonidas*, the sovereign magistrate (whom they call their King, unto King *Perseus*, giving him to understand, * That *Evander* the Cretensian (whom they call with murder: also that by custom and tradition from their ancestors, they had full power and authority to proceed by order of law, against all those that were presented and ended for entering within the liberties and sacred precincts of the Temple, with unclean and impure hands. Now if *Evander* stand upon his innocency, and knoweth himself cleer and unguilty of the capital crime laid to his charge, let him come to his answer and plead his cause for his own defence, and he shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the judicial trial of the issue, retire he and depart, that he pollute not the temple; let him shift for himself and escape away. *Perseus* called forth *Evander* unto him, willing him in no case to try the process of justice: neither would his cause justify him, nor any favour bear him out. He much feared withal, lest being cast and condemned, he would bewray *Perseus* himself and appeach him for the fether and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. *Evander* gained nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that he had rather dye by a cup of poison than upon the sword's point, fought so, yet meant to flee and be gone. The King upon advertisement hereof, fearing lest the *Samothracians* would discharge their anger upon him, as if he had wrought his evasion to avoid due punishment, commanded *Evander* to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without all advisement, he thought himself, & considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same spot of guilt that *Evander* was noted with: namely, that as *Eumenes* was by *Evander* wounded at *Delphos*, so *Evander* by him was murdered in *Samothracia*; and so the two most holy and religious temples in the world were stained and polluted with mans blood; and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foul fact of his, was by the corruption of *Theonidas* quite averred another way: and he for a sum of money bare the people in hand, that *Evander* was his own hangman. But *Perseus* by this lewd and deceitable act, committed upon the person of the only friend whom he had alive, (so well approved and tried by him in so many adventures, and now betrayed for his labour by him, unto whom he refused to be a traitor) estranged clean the hearts and affections of all men from him: so as now every man ranged with the Romans. Thus abandoned as he was and left to himself, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him *Orander* the Cretensian, a man that knew well the coasts of *Thrace* (because he had negotiated and traded in those parts;) and with him he dealt to embark him in some small foil, and so to conduct him into *Coty*. Now there was a certain bay under a promontory of *Thrace*, wherein in a pinnace stood in readinesse: thither, after sun-setting were all things brought for necessary uses and money withal, as much as closely could be conveyed. The King himself at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privy to this his flight) went out at a postern or back dore of the house, into a garden neer his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambered over a mud wall, passed to the water side. Now was *Orander* already loosed from the foresaid creek, for so soon as the money was once brought thither into the vessel, he lanced into the deep and let his course for *Candy*. *Perseus*, after that the bark was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandered a good while along the strand; and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardy as to adventure back again to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple cloie unto a blind corner and nook thereof. Among the *Macedonians* they called thole the Kings pages who were the Princes and noble mens sons, chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the King. That company yet followed after the King in his flight, and as hard as the world went, departed not from him, until such time as by the commandment of *Cn. Octavius*, the publick cryer pronounced with a loud voice, That the Kings pages and all other *Macedonians* besides in *Samothracia*, if they would turn to the Romans, should enjoy with safety of life their estate entire, their liberty free, and all that ever they either had about them, or was left in *Macedony*. At which proclamation

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once published, they all immediately revolted to the Romans, and entered their names with C. *Postumius*, a martial colonel. Likewise *Ion of Thessalonica*, delivered into the hands of *Ottavio* the young infants of the King, and not one of them was left with *Perseus*, but *Philip* his eldest son: and then he yielded both himself and that son into the hands of *Ottavio*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whose Temple they were, for that he received no aid and succour from them, notwithstanding he humbly craved and besought the same. Then commandment was given, that he should be embarked in the admirals ship: and thither also was brought aboard all the money that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to *Amphipolis*: from whence *Ottavio* sent the King to the camp unto the consul, but first he had dispatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was sure enough under his hand, and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. *Paulus*, replying this for a second victory, (as it was no less indeed to be esteemed) presently upon the receipt of the message, killed beasts for sacrifice: and when he had called his counsel about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he sent *Q. Aelius Tubero* to meet the King upon the way, and commanded the rest in good frequency to remain in his capital pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there seen before, so great a multitude to run out for to see any solemn fight or pageant. In their fathers daies King *Syrax* was taken prisoner and brought into the Roman camp: who besides that there was no comparison between him and *Perseus*, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then also but an accessory as it were to the Punick war, like as *Gentius* now to the Macedonian. *Perseus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandfather only (whom he neerly succeeded in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the resplendent glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the sovereign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perseus* entered the camp arrayed in a black cloak, without any one of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his misery, might cause more compassion to be had of him. The assistance of the people was so great who went out to see him, that for the very press he could not march forward, until such time as the consul sent his sergeants and his officers to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the consul his pavillion. The consul arose, and (giving commandment to the rest to sit still) advanced forward a little, and caught out his hand to the King as he entered into the pavillion: and when he bowed and debased himself to his very feet, he took him up again and would not suffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caused him to sit down right over-against those whom he called thither to counsel. The first question that he demanded of him was this: "What wrong he had sustained at the hands of the people of *Rome*, that he should be constrained to enterprise and begin the war against them with so malicious a mind as he did, and so to hazard himself his whole state and Kingdom, in such extremity of danger? And when every man attended what answer he would make, he staid a good while without utterance of one word: calling his eyes weilly upon the ground, and shedding tears withal. "Then spake the consul again: If you had been but a young (qd. he) when you came to the crown, I would verily for my part marvel the less, that you should be so ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of *Rome*: either for a friend or an enemy: but now, since you both had your hand in that war which your father waged against us and also could not chide but remember the peace afterwards made with him, and which we observed most faithfully. What policy was it for you to entertain war rather than peace, with them, whose force you had tried in war and whose fidelity you had found in peace? When as he would yet make no answer at all either to question or accusation, the consul went on and said: "Well, howsoever these things are thus fall out and come to pass, be it through the error and frailty of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal necessity of the destinies, be of good cheer yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*, well known and proved in the misfortune of many Princes and States, afford you not only hope, but certain assurance of safety. Thus much spake he to *Perseus* in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own assistants and company about him, he directed his speech to them in Latine as followeth. "A notable example and rare mirror you see (qd. he) of the changeable variety of this world: to you I speak especially, my masters here that are steele and youthful gallants in the heat of your young blood. And therefore let no man in time of his prosperity, carry himself proud and violent against another, nor yet confidently to trust upon the pretence of fate wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap once yet before midnight? But him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whose heart neither the gentle gale of this flattering and flattering world is able to lift aloft, nor yet the blustering blasts of frowning fortune can cast down or dash upon the rocks. After the consul was risen and departed, he committed the charge and custody of keeping the King to *Quintus Aelius*. But for that day *Perseus* was not only invited courteously to sup with the consul, but respected also in all kind of honor, as possibly might be done unto him in that state and condition of his.

After this the army was divided here and there into garrisons for the winter time. The greatest part thereof was received into *Amphipolis*, and the other cities near adjoining entertained the rest. This was the end of the war between *Perseus* and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the most flourishing Kingdom of the greatest part of *Europe* and of all *Asia*. *Perseus* was counted the twentieth King after *Careanus*, who was the first that reigned there. This *Perseus* began his reign that year wherein *Q. Fulvius* and

A and L. *Manlius* were Consuls. In the time of M. *Junius* and A. *Manlius* Consuls of *Rome*, the Senate entialed and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his reign continued. The name of these Macedonians was very obscure and base, until the daies of *Philip* the son of it was within the compass and precincts of *Europe*, comprehending all *Greece*, and part of *Thrace* and *Illyria*. Afterwards it spread into *Asia*, and in thirteen years space, during the reign of *Alexander*, it subdued and brought under subjection, first all those parts whereunto the empire of the Persians extended, which was an infinite dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to *Armenia* and *India*, even to the end of the earth, bounding and confining all about upon the red sea. At that time was the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greatest in the whole world, but upon the death of *Alexander*, distracted it was and divided into many and sundry Kingdoms. And disunited and rent the whole: & so from the highest top & pitch of prosperity, brought it down to a most base and low condition, after it had continued in good estate a hundred and fifty years. When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to *Athens*, *Antiochus* who C. *Popilius*, who was in *Delos* to guard and wait those ships which were bound for *Macedony* after of their rode, dismissed also for his part the Athenian ships, and the enemies vessels removed out of *Egypt*, to accomplish that embassy which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter *Antiochus*, before he approached the walls of *Alexandria*. As these Embassadors coasted along the river of *Asia*, and were arrived at *Laryssa* (a port somewhat more than twenty miles distant from *Rhodes*, and situate just over against the city) the principal States of *Rhodes*, met him the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victory flown so far) requesting him to set sail thither and there to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and had been done or was now in hand at *Rhodes*, and so to make report thereof at *Rome* upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refused a long time, but in the end they were so importuned, that content they were to sail a little farther, and spend some small time for to gratify and benefit a city associat unto them. When they were come to *Rhodes*, the same principal citizens afore said urged them instantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general assembly of the people. The arrival of those Embassadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For *Popilius* made rehearsal there in open audience, of all which had been done or spoken (sounding any way to hostility) either in particular or in general vated all that the spake, with his four visage and sharp language, like an accuser at the bar: insomuch as they might well conjecture and guess, how the whole body of the Senate stood affected unto their ill will and malice against the city. But the speech of *Decimius* was more temperate, who laid, that the blame of those imputations for the most part which were objected by *Popilius*, was not to those having their tongue at hire, and using to speak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to please the King, and sent such embassages, as the Rhodians at all times were decrees full of flattery to repent of. All which practices of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faulty in case the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great assent and applause: not more for elevating the fault and trespass of the common people, than for laying the weight upon those that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chief men among them made answer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuse and save in some sort as well as they could the articles objected by *Popilius*, were not so well taken, as their speech who accorded to *Decimius*, in delivering the guilty persons and offenders to be punished according to their demerits. Whereupon there passed presently a decree, That all those who might be convicted of any deed done or word spoken in favour of *Perseus* against the Romans, should be condemned and have sentence to lose their heads. Some of these persons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themselves. These Embassadors or delegates having so journeyed no longer than five daies at *Rhodes*, departed and made sail for *Alexandria*. And notwithstanding their absence, the execution of judicial proceeding was no less gentle carriage of *Decimius* was the very cause that they perished resolute, and gave not over until they had gone through with it, and dispatched all.

While these affairs were thus managed, *Antiochus* after he had assailed in vain to force the walls of *Alexandria*, was departed from before the city, & having possessed himself of all *Egypt* besides, reconquer the Kingdom, to the end that soon after the conquest obtained, he might let upon him likewise withdrew his army away into *Syria*. *Plotomachus* for his part was nothing ignorant of his designment and intention, making full account, that while he kept his younger brother affrighted with the fear of siege by the help of his sister he might be received into *Alexandria*: considering withal, that his brothers friends were not opposed against him, first he sent unto his sister, after-

"Fox Pelusium
is called *Clavus
Egypti*, as
Ortelius no-
teth out of
Suidas;

Pharmacia.

* *Bilbaxis*.
 " *Carebes*.

* Vale di
Munipone.

afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and send, before he had concluded and established a peace with them. The thing that made him to suspect *Antiochus* was this, for that when he had made over all the rest of *Egypt* unto him, he left yet a strong garison behind at *Pelusium*: and well he knew, that he held still the frontier Towns as the very keies of *Egypt*, to the end that he might with the issue of the civil and domestical war between brethren, that this he conceived of it, that this would be the issue of the civil and domestical war between brethren. That the victor wearied with war, should not be able to make head against *Antiochus*, these things wisely foresaie and seen by the elder brother, were received with assents of the younger and those that were assitant about him: and the sister between Rood in very good stead, not by her good advice and counsel only, but also by her effectual prayers. And therefore by a general accord of all, peace was concluded, and the elder *Ptolemæus* received into *Alexandria*, without any gain: I say, or resistance at all so much as of the very multitude: notwithstanding that during the war they were much decayed and weakened (not only by the siege, but also after it was raised and the army gone from *Alexandria*) for want of all things, by reason that no provisions were brought thither from out of *Egypt*. Now, where as *Antiochus* should have taken great contentment and rejoiced much from this, in case he had brought his forces into *Egypt* for to restore *Ptolemæus* into his own estate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable shew that he made to all the States of *Asia* and *Greece*, when he received their embassages, or sent forth his letters into all parts) so it fell out, that he was so highly offended and displeased hereat, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now against them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before against one alone. Presently he rigged and sent out his navy at sea to *Cyprus*: himself in person at the beginning of the spring minding to invade *Egypt*, marched forward with his army as far as into the beginning of the spring minding to invade *Egypt*, encountered him in his journey about * *Rhinocollura*, *Coelo-Syria*. The Embassadors of *Ptolemæus* met him in his journey about * *Rhinocollura*, and gave him thanks in behalf of their King, and offered, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requesting withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deal by sword in hand and force of arms, and not of a friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His answer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unless he quit unto his life as well the whole life of *Cyprus*, as the City * *Pelusium*, together with the territory about the mouth of *Nilus*, called * *Pelusiæcum Offium*. And therewith he set him down a day, before which he expected to receive his answer as touching the accomplishment of the said condition. After the day prefixed for the truce was past, as they failed in the mouth of *Nilus* near *Pelusium*, the states along the deserts of *Arabia* yielded. Then, being received of them that inhabit about *Memphis*, and the rest of the Egyptians, partly with favor and good will and partly for fear and constraint: by small journeys he descended toward *Alexandria*. When he was passed over the river at *Leusina* (a place about 4 miles distant from *Alexandria*) the Roman Embassadors met him upon the way. After greetings and salutations at their first coming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*; but he delivered unto him a scroll written, and willed him before he did any thing else to read that; ther hecried. After he had read the writing through, he answered that he would devote with his friends and consider what was best to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinary blunt manners of speech which he had by nature, made a circle about the King with the rod that he had in his hand, and withal, "Make me an answer (qd, he) I advise you such as I may report to the Senate, before you pass the compass of this circle. The King stood at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had said and paused a while: i will be content (qd, he) to do whatsoever the Senat shall ordain. Then and not before. *Popilius* gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of *Egypt* by the day prefixed, the said Embassadors having by their authority established concord also between the two brethren (who as yet were not thoroughly agreed) some of them failed to *Cyprus*, and from thence they sent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battail to the Egyptian ships. This was a noble embassage and much renowned among those nations, for that thereby *Egypt* was undoubtedly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as possessed thereof already, and the inheritance of the Kingdom restored again to the race of *Ptolemæi*.

Of the two Conflicts that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, fo the other was little or nothing spoken of, by reason he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And first of all when he was assigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entred into the temple without the lucky approbation of the auspices. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therein, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the said day. In his voyage for France he kept his standing leaguer for the summer time about the mountains *Scimmina* and *Papius*; near the places called *Maacri*. And afterwards he winned about the same places with the allies of the Latine nation. For, the Roman legions, because the day was not rightly appointed for the assembly of the forces at the *Rendevous*, remained behind at *Rome*. Also the Pretors, save only *C. Pappi*. *Carbo*, upon whose lot *Sardinia* was falln, went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civil jurisdiction at *Rome* between citizens and forrainers. *Popilius* likewise, that embassage which was sent to *Antiochus* returned to *Rome*: where he made relation that the controversies between the two Kings were decided. & the army of *Antiochus* retired out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. After this, came the Embass, also of the Kings themselves. Those of *Antiochus* made report that the King their

A matter esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senat, than of any victory whatsoever: and obaieth the orders let down by the Roman Embassadors, no less than the very messengers coming with commandments directly from the Gods: and finally they testified their own contentment, and wished them great joy of their victory obtained, saying that the King himself would have been with all his power at the achieving thereof, in case he had been enjoined to perform any service. The Embassadors of *Ptolemus* in the name jointly of their King and of *Cleopatra*, rendered thanks unto them, acknowledging themselves more bound & beholden to the Senat and people of *Rome*, than to their own parents, yea, & more than to the immortal Godsdior by their good means they were first delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their fathers Kingdom, which was by them at the point to have loft forever. The Senat returned this answer again, that whereas *Antiochus* had been ruled by the Embassadors, therein he did well: and as it befell him, and in so doing he highly contented and pleased the Senat and people of *Rome*. Again, if *Ptolemus* and *Cleopatra* the King and Queen of *Egypt*, had found any goodnes, and commodity by them, the Senat was very glad thereto and rejoiced thereat and would endeavour and work it so, that they might be persuaded that the greatest affurance and safeguard of their realm rest at all times most in the faithful protection of the people of *Rome*. This said, the Pretor C. *Papprius* had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these Embassadors according to the ancient custome. Then were letters brought out of *Macedony* to redouble the joy of the victory, importing that *Perseus* was fure enough in the hands of the Consul,

When those Embassadors were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was between the Embassadors of the Pifans and Lunetians. They of *Pifa* complained that they were de-
 C lized & driven out of their territory by the Roman coloners; contrarywise thole of *Lunaphilia* averred, that the Land in controversy had been set out and assigned for them by the Triumvirs.
 The Senat hereupon sent fifteen as commissioners to make inquisition into the limits of the said territory and to determine accordingly; and thole were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blafio*, *T. Sempronius Mafcia*, *L. Nævius Balbus*, and *C. Apulnius Saturninus*. There came likewise a solemn em-
 bassage sent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Archeus* all three brethren, to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Romans victory. Moreover, *L. Maunius* the treasurer
 D was ready at *Puteoli* to receive and welcome *Mafjaba* the son of *K. Mafjufius*, as he floud disbarik and set on land: for sent he was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct
 him also and bring him to *Rome* at the cities charges. He was no sooner come, but immediately au-
 dience was given him in the Senat. As This young Prince spake in such fort, as the things which of
 " themselves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by
 " his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot and horie both, how many Elephants, what
 " quantity of corn for that four years pace (during the war) his father had sent over into *Alex-*
 " dony, but two things there were for which he was dismained and could not chuse but bluih: the
 " one that the Senat by their Embaff, had made request unto him, and not commanded rather to
 " furnish them with necessities for the war: the other, that they had sent them money to pay for
 " their corn. For *Mafjufius* was not forgetful, but bare well in mind, that he held his Kingdom as
 " first conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the peo-
 E ple of *Rome*: and for his own part, he could content himself with the ufe and occupation thereof,
 " as a tenant in fee-farm; acknowledging the propriety and poffeffion thereof to be in them who
 " as Lords of the fee feoffed him therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also
 " should be bold with their own, to take and not to ask, to have and not to crave, much less then
 " to buy the commodities & fruits ifluing out of the lands by them demised, given & granted. As
 " for *Mafjufius* sufficed he was, and evermore would rest contented with that overplus whi, the
 " people of *Rome* might leave and spare for him. Thus much (qd. he) had in charge and commif-
 " fion from his fathers own mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards
 " certain foreign riders post overtook me, to let me understand that *Maccedony* was subdued, and
 " to charge me, that after I had fignified our joy in your behalf, I should fiew unto the Senat, that
 F my father took such contentment therein, that he would gladly come to *Rome*, to offer sacrifice
 " and render thanks to *Jup. opt. Max.* in the Capitol: which to do he requested leave of the Senat,
 " so it might stand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this
 " answer from the Senat that his father *Mafjufius* did as befeemed a good man and thankful per-
 " fon, fo, to do, in giving fuch a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required. More-
 " over, that the people of *Rome* acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the
 " Punick war by his valiant and loial service, as well as he obtained his Kingdom through the fa-
 " vour of the people of *Rome*; yea, and afterwards according to equity and justice, had born himself
 " right worthily in all sorts of devours and duties during the wars of three Kings one after ano-
 " ther. Neither was it any marvel at all that he rejoiced at the victory of the people of *Rome*, be-
 " caufe King, who had engaged, hazarded, and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole estate
 " of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rendering thanks to the Gods for the victory
 " of the people of *Rome*, let him do that himself in his own house at home; for it should suffice, that
 " his fon for him performed that duty at *Rome*. That he and his father both had sufficiently for-
 " their parts rectified their joy. As for *Mafjufius* in proper person to leave his realm and depart out
 " of *Africk*, over and besides that it was in no wise profitable to himself, the Senat deemed it
 " not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of *Rome*. *Mafjaba* in ther more requested,

hopes, and let him a longing, feeding him with these and such like conceits, That in Rome this was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend fast and sure to the Romans; the other an ally, sound and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Perseus*; and therefore hard it were to let down and say, Whether of the twain would be more easily obtained at the Senate's hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his preferment, or a demand of some hard course against his brother: so bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *Attalus*, and to deny every thing to *Eumenes*. *Attalus* (as the sequel and proof shewed) was pliant to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promitch, had not the sage admonition of one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with the amiable aspect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time one *Siratus* a Physician, sent by *Eumenes* (who relied not secure of his brothers loyalty to Rome, I of purpose for to lie in espial and observe all that *Attalus* did and to advise him faithfully if he saw him tread awry and practise ought against his duty and allegiance. When he came into him, he found his ears already possessed, and his spirit tempted and solicited beforehand: howbeit taking his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to work and stuck to it close, until he had set all up again which was at the point to run on end and fall to the ground. He alleged and laid these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, "That Kingdoms have grown mighty some by one means, some by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no strength of ancient foundations, it stood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren: in that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (qd. he) who are the eldest brother save one, who is it that repute you for less than a King, not only for that he seeth you so mighty at this present, but also the next heir apparent, and without all doubt like shortly to reign indeed? considering the feeble body and craly age of *Eumenes*, who hath besides no issue of children to succeed him in the royal throne? (for as yet he took no knowledge of him that reigned afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, and to force that which of its own accord will shortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempest and storm is risen of French wars, threatening peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you Princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if to fortify a war abroad, there should arise a domesticall and civil dissension between you at home, what remedy then but utter ruin and destruction? Neither shall you (*Attalus*) purchase any good but this, first to prevent that your brother be not King, and then to dilate and disappoint your self of that near and assured hope you have to be K. But say, that to preserve a Kingdom for a brother, and to wrest a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the one and the other: yet surely of the twain, to have saved a Kingdom deserveth greater commendation and praise, in that it sorteth so well with piety and kindness. And certainly, seeing the one is a curied and detestable part even next neighbor to parricide; what scruple and doubt remaineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beseech you, is it one parcel of the Kingdom that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only, then upon the dismembred and distraction of your puissance, you shall be both twain much weakened and exposed to the danger of all injuries: if you would have all, what shall become of your brother? Would you wish him being your elder, to live a privat person? or so far step in years as he is, a banished man; and namely, with those infirmities of body which he carrieth about him? or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly to say nothing of the unhappy and miserable issue of such graceless and wicked brethren delivered unto us in fained fables, you see what a goodly fair end *Perseus* is come unto, who being of the Temple of *Samothracia*, was constrained lying prostrate upon the ground to prostrate himself at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came unjustly by, even with the unnatural murder of his own brother: as if the Gods in heaven had been there present, to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in no friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have put these designs into your head, and prick you on to execute the same: even they, I say, will praise your kindness, your piety and constancy, in case you persevere true and trusty to your brother, to the very end. These and such like important persuasions prevailed with *Attalus* and settled deeply in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senat, after he had wished joy unto them, and protested his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own demerits and good service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and last of all, the revolt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Senate was, for to send their Embassadors unto them, by whose countenance and authority they might be reclaimed, and so lay arms aside. Having declared this message which concerned the profit in general of the realm; he made a special suit for himself, and demanded to have *Eumenes* and *Antiochus* given unto him. And thus, when he had put them besides their hope, who thought verily, that after he had accused his brother he would have required the kingdom to be divided pecuniarily & dismembred, he departed out of the Council house. Seldom had been known at any time before any man whatsoever, King or subject, to have had the like audience with so great favour and applause of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & presents of all sorts whiltes he was at Rome, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.

Among

A Among many Embassies of *Africa* and *Greece*, the Rhodian Embassadors were most marked and looked upon throughout all the City: for whereas at first they were all trim and goodly to be seen in their white and bright apparel, as decent it was for them that would seem to congratulate for the victory (for if they had worn black or been poorly arrayed, it might have been construed that they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of *Perseus*) after that *M. Junius* the Consul broke with the LL. of the Senat (and all that while the said Embassadors stood without in the common place *Comitium*) to confer and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents, and give audience in the Senat unto them: they resolved and were of opinion to observe no rights nor customs of hospitality with them. Then went the Consul out of the Senat: unto whom when the Rhodians said that they were come to rejoyce in their behalf for the late victory, and wished to answer in the name of their City to certain crimes wherewith they were charged, requesting that they might speak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Consul pronounced aloud unto them, That the custome indeed of the Romans was to entertain their allies and friends graciously, and among other matters of courtesy and hospitality which they afforded unto them, to grant them also a day of hearing in the Senat: but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves during the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and associates. At the hearing of these words they cast themselves all prostrate on the ground, beseeching the Consul and all those that were present, not to suffer that false imputations of late furnished should against a Nation prejudice the Rhodians more, than their good defects of old (whereof themselves were so full witnesses) stand them in stead. And presently after they had put on ample apparel, and mourning weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the City, humbly beseeching them with tears, to hear their cause before they were condemned. *M. Junius* the Pretor of L. chief justice for the pleas between citizens and strangers, was the only agent that provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay, he had promiged and published a bill to this effect, That war might be denounced against the Rhodians; also, that out of the Magistrats for that year they would make choice of some one to be sent as Admiral with a fleet for the managing of that war: hoping that himself should be the man. But this action and proceeding of his was crossed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribuns of the common. Over and besides, the Pretor, to say a truth, had broached this matter after a new and strange talisman, and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Consuls acquainted hereunto, and that in this manner and form. Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed against the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in question of war, the Senate did the way first taken, and then the thing was propounded unto the people. Likewise the Tribuns of the common for their part did more than they might, and athing not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a custom and tradition observed ever of old, that no person should intrepose his negative to cross a ye bill, before that privat men in particular had their course and turn granted. both to perwade or diswade the same: by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never protested nor meant to oppose themselves, being moved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to diswade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step between and dash all: yea, and contrarywise such as came of purpose to cross and nip the same being constrained by the authority and born down by the important arguments alleged by those that enforced the said bill, would desist and surcease. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns strove much who should do every thing more unreasonably than others. The Tribuns impeached and flouted the holiness of the Pretor, interposing their negative before the time, and delaying the matter until the coming of the L. General.

Whether we have transgressed and offended yea, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but sure we are of this, that we suffer all punishments and shameful ignominies already that can be desired. Hereof, when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when *Philip* when *Antiochus* was overthrowen we came to Rome: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City we were contented our selves (my LL.) into your Council house, to tell you our great contentment for your conquests: from the Council house we went directly to the capitol, carrying with us presents and oblations to the honor of your gods, but now we the same Rhodians are come unto your Senat clothed in this poor habit and array, as you see, from out of a bare hollery and common inn, where hardly we could have lodging for our money: being commarced in manner of enemies to make our abode without the City walls: we Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye scoffed with the grant of two Provinces, *Asia* and *Caria*, and whom ye graced with a kind of honors, and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards, You ordain as we hear say that the Macedonians and Illyrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they lived war against you. Neither look we this in envy & repine for any mans welfare and good estate: we may we acknowledge therein the rare clemency of the people of Rome: and will yet then make the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but sit and meddle with neither part? Now surely ye Romans are the men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that you have good success and speed well, because they be just and righteous: neither do you glory so much in the event and issue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the beginning and first enterprizes, in that ye undertake them not without good cause. The beseeching of *Messana* in *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, was the cause that the people of Rome repaired there.

O o o o

"enemies. The assailing of *Athenis* by *Philip*, his intent and purpose to bring *Greece* into servitude, H
 "his relieving of *Antiochus* with men and money, caused him likewise to be holden for their ene-
 "my. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his own head the *Roman* war, for that he being solicited
 "by the *Ætolians* your enemies came willingly out of *Asia*, and with a fleet sailed over to *Greece*:
 "and when he had seized upon *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and the streights of *Thermopylae*, went about
 "to disposseise you of the empire. And last of all, *Perseus* by levying arms against your allies, by
 "killing some of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief persons of sundry nati-
 "ons and cities, gave you full occasion to make war upon him. But what colourable cause can
 "there be pretended of our calamity, if needs we must miscreant and perish? All this while I
 "make no difference between our cities safe and that of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even
 "those persons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For suppose that the cause
 "were all one, and that we *Rhodiens* were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be
 "for which we are touched in this war? We favoured *Perseus* and that side (you will say) and
 "like as in the war of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, we stood with you against those kings, so now we
 "took part with the *Kings*, against you. Was that all? Well, in what sort we are wont to aid our asso-
 "ciates, and how lustily to enterprize wars, do but ask of *C. Livius* and *L. Emilius Regillus*, the
 "Admirals of your fleets in *Asia*. Your ships never fought at sea without us yet with our Ar-
 "madore alone fought a battail once before *Samus*, and a second time in *Pamphylia* against *General*
 "*Antiochus* (whose victory there achieved was unto us by so much more honorable and glorious,
 "for that after we had in an unfortunat fight near *Samus* lost many of our ships & the very choise
 "and flower of our youth, we nothing terrified and dismayed with so great an overthrow, durst turn
 "again to make head, yea, and were so hardy as to encounter the *Kings* royal navy coming out of
 "*Smyra*. And all this have I related not by way of boast & to glorify our selves (for we are not now
 "in case to stand upon those terms) but to give you a taste by the way and put you in mind in what
 "manner the *Rhodiens* have need evermore to succour their confederates. And for the better proof
 "thereof, after the defeat of *Philip* and *Antiochus* we received at your hands right great rewards
 "& recompence for our service. In case the fortune of *Perseus* had been so happy as yours is at this
 "present (praised be the Gods for their grace and goodness & thanked be your own valour withal)
 "and we had come into *Macedony* to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards,
 "what could we allege therefor? Might we say that he had bin maintained by our money, or tel-
 "led with our corn: with land forces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held
 "with a garrison for his use? were we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his
 "Captains or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters
 "our soldiers kept? in what coast our ships lay inguard for his defence, what could we answer?
 "Peradventure we might plead our cause & excuse our selves in the presence of him, supposed con-
 "queror, like as we now do before you here in place. For by sending our Embassadors to and fro
 "unto you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in stead
 "of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy displeasure of the one; being thus
 "charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good LL. and honorable Senators of
 "*Rome*, *Perseus* might truly object that to us, which you in no wise can, namely, that we in the be-
 "ginning of the war sent Embassadors to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was
 "needful thereunto: also that we would be ready at all assaies to furnish you with ships strongly
 "rigged and with our youth well appointed, like as in the wars aforesaid. That we performed not
 "these promises of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatsoever the cause was)
 "refused our offered service & rejected all our succours. Well then, neither have we attempted ought
 "as enemies, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies: but impeached have we been by
 "you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may some man say: Hath there been no-
 "thing done or said in your City (O ye *Rhodiens*) that you with unfaid or undone, & whereat
 "the people of *Rome* may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to
 "justly and make good whatsoever hath been done, I will not, neither have I so little wit I tro:
 "but never I will the publick cause of the whole state, from the privat offences committed by par-
 "ticular persons: for no City is there under the sun, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughty
 "Citizens some or other, and evermore a rude and fottish multitude. I have heard say, that even
 "amongst you here at *Rome*, some have sought to advance and set themselves aloft by currying fa-
 "vor and flattering the common people: and that the time was, when the commons rose and de-
 "serted from among you so as the rule of the common-weal and people of *Rome* was out of your
 "hands, as in a very Anarchy. If such a thing as this might chance in this your City (so well quali-
 "fied & ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder, that among us there have been some,
 "who (affecting and seeking for the amity and friendship of the *Kings*) might haply corrupt and se-
 "duce our commons with their naughty counsel? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more
 "than thus, that we sat still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-passe in this
 "place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other wherewith our City is charged during
 "this war, and that is this. At one and the same time we sent Embass, both to you and *Perseus* a-
 "bout a peace. This disengagement (so untoward and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainisick orator
 "and agent of ours (as afterwards we understood) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain
 "known) framed his language in that manner, as if he had been *C. Popilius* the *Roman* Embassador,
 "whom ye sent to the two *Kings*, *Antiochus* and *Ptolemaus*, to warn them both to lay down arms &
 "surcease

"surcease war. But that behaviour of his, (call it what you will, either pride or folly) was no worse
 "before you than it was to *K. Perseus*. Every City hath their conditions, and qualities by them-
 "selves, like as particular and several persons: and temblably it is in whole nations, some are terry
 "and cholerick, bold and audacious, others again be fearful and timorous: some are given to wine
 "and drunkennes, others to women and wantonnes. The people of *Athenis* (by report) are too
 "hasty, hot, and forward to enterprize any thing even beyond their power. The *Lacedæmonians*
 "again, be as slow and backward, calling many doubts & difficulties to enter upon the very things
 "which they are assured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of *Asia* in general breedeth
 "many a mad brain and vain spirit: and I will not say, but that our people are jolly fellows of their
 "tongue and can speak big, for that we seem (among other cities and states becoming upon us)
 "to excel and surpass: and that no so much in the confidence we have of our own forces, as for the
 "honorable regard ye have had of us and the great testimonies and judgments ye have given in our
 "of us, but that foolish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient,
 "being sent away (as it was) with so heavy an answer of yours: and if we were not then disgraced
 "and shamed enough, now truly this present embassage so humble and pitiful, were able to make
 "full satisfaction for a more insolent embassy than it was, All pride (and arrogancy of words) de-
 "ceitful cholerick persons indeed hate, wile men deride, and namely, from an inferior to his bet-
 "ter: but no man ever judged it a mortal sin and worthy of death: may here we shall it edgier,
 "least haply the *Rhodiens* might seem thereby to despise the *Romans*. How therefore there is no time
 "also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be railing & uttering blasphemous words against it
 "C Gods: yet we never heard of any that have been therefore smitten dead with a thunder bolt.
 "What remaineth then for us wherein we should purge and clear our selves, if we neither can be,
 "charged in fact with hostility: and if our embassy hath need some proud and presumptuous words
 "more than became him, which I deserve not the total ruin of our City but some harsh checks and
 "hard rebukes on both sides of our ears? But I hear (my good LL.) that in your ordinary talk a-
 "mong your selves when ye are together, we are censured for our inward affection only & secret
 "thoughts, and condemned no less than for some deed, namely, That in heart we are out of the *K.*
 "and wished him rather than you to obtain the victory: and therefore they deem us worthy to be
 "persecuted with fire and sword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
 "we stood affected howbeit they would not have us for to be ware upon as enemies: for that
 "D it standeth not with the custom or law of any City in the world, That if a man with a mischief
 "to his enemy, he should be straightwaies condemned therefore to die, so long as he hath not en-
 "tered into any action tending thereto. And verily these men we have to thank, who free & quit
 "us yet from punishment, although they clear us not of guilt: howbeit this sentence we pass a-
 "gainst our own selves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and disposed in
 "affection as we are burdened, (for content us are that all under one heart and hand will and
 "deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it and feel the smart. But if of the great
 "men and chief among us, some affected you & others the *Kings*; we require not, that for the love
 "of us who sided with you, the *Kings* suppose should fare the better and escape clear: but we re-
 "quest and beseech rather that for their sakes we perish not and be quit undene. And certain-
 "ly your own selves are not worse affected and more let against them than our very City is, which
 "they knowing well enough most of them either fled away, or else killed themselves: others of
 "them (such as we have condemned and passed judgement against) shall be as your prisoners (my
 "LL.) to do with them what you will. All the rest of us *Rhodiens*, as thanks we have merited none
 "in this war, so we have deserved as little punishment. Lay the over-deed and surprisall of our
 "former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now and let the heap of the one make up
 "the scant measure of the other. With three *Kings* of late years ye have maintained War: let not
 "our lackness and sitting still in this one, endamage and hurt us more, than our devoir and em-
 "ploiment in the other twain may seem to satisfy and countervail. Set *Philippus*, *Antiochus* and *Per-
 "seus*, for three verdicts and sentences as it were passed upon us: two of them acquit us clear: the
 "F third is doubtful whether it will go against us or no. Indeed if they themselves were to sit upon
 "us, we should no doubt be cast and condemned: but you (my good LL.) that are our competent
 "judges determine now at once. Whether there shall be a City of *Rhode* remaining upon the face
 "of the earth, or be rased utterly & destroyed from the very foundation for ever for you are not
 "to debate in council about making war upon us: which we you may begin and go in hand with
 "at your pleasure: but follow and manage you never shall, because there is not a *Rhodian* that will
 "take arms and come into the field against you. Will you not be satisfied but persist fill in your
 "choler and anger: then will we crave at your hands some respite of time, whiles we may go home
 "and report there how we have perished in this lamentable embassage of ours. And then, all of us in
 "*Rhodes* frank-born and of free condition every one, I say, man and woman with all our wealth
 "and substance will embark our selves, forsake we will our privat houses and publick edifices: and
 "G to *Rome* straight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall,
 "and at the porch and enter of your council-house, whatsoever gold and silver we have either
 "in privat purse or common chest, commit we will to your devotion and mercy our own persons,
 "together with the bodies of our wives and children: and never will we go further but even here
 "in this place will we suffer and abide that which we have to undergoe and endure. Let our City
 "then be sacked, rifled and burned, so it be far enough out of our eye that we see it not. The Ro-
 "mans

"mans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies: yet you will give us leave to pass in
 "some sort a doom of our own. That we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such,
 "nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremity
 "that can be suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they fell down again all prostrate,
 "and as humble suppliant petitions put forth and shook their branches of the olive, until at length
 "they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senate. Then began the L.L. within,
 "to give their opinions and pass their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously
 "bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the war of Macedonia, as Consuls. Pre-
 "tors, or Lieutenants; but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported
 "their cause right earnestly, a man otherwise by nature low and severe, but as then he shewed him-
 "self a mild and gracious Senator. I will not infer here the lively portraiture and resemblance
 "of that copious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which he then delivered: his very
 "oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth book of his *Origines*. In fine, the Rhodians
 "received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, nor yet remained in the nature
 "and quality of friends. The principal persons of this their embassage, were *Philocrates* and *Asty-
 "medes*. Ordered it was & agreed between them, that *Philocrates* (with some of his fellows) should
 "report this answer at Rhodes: and that *Astymedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at Rome,
 "to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their
 "Citizens at home. For that present the L.L. of the Senate gave them in charge, to remove their Cap-
 "tains and Governours by a certain day out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These news related at Rhodes, im-
 "porting matter (in itself considered) of grief & heaviness, turned into joy in regard that they were
 "eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted (lest that they should have had hot war.
 "And therefore presently they ordained for the Romans a crown amounting to the value of 20000
 "pieces of gold, and with this present they lent *Theodatus* the Admiral of their navy in embassage.
 "A will and desire they had to make suit unto the Romans for association: but so as not to act and or-
 "dinance of the people should be entered thereof, nor any instrument engrosed as touching it. And
 "this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominy of repulse, if haply they missed of their
 "purpose, and could not obtain. The Admiral alone had this privilege, and was permitted to treat
 "of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many
 "years before they had continued in amity with the Romans in such sort, as they never linked and
 "tied themselves unto them by any formal deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other
 "reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the kings off from all hope of their aid,
 "if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disabie themselves of the possibility they had to
 "reap some fruit & receive good of their bounty and prosperity. But surely at this time (he thinks)
 "they ought to have sought sadly and in good earnest for their society, not so much for safety and
 "security against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspi-
 "cion and jealousy which the Romans had of them. About the same time the Carians also re-
 "volved from them, and they of *Mylissa* took certain Towns of the Euxemestians. Now were the
 "hearts of these Rhodians within the City not so much broken or abated, but they saw well en-
 "ough that if the Romans took from them *Lycia* and *Caria* all the rest would either by way of re-
 "volt put themselves in liberty and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or else be surprised and
 "seized by the neighbouring nations bordering upon them: and that then they should be pent up and
 "shut within the compass of a small Isle and the strands of a barren soil, not able to nourish and
 "maintain the inhabitants of so great and populous a City. Therefore with all speed they dispatched
 "and sent forth their youth, and not only for- ed the Carians (notwithstanding they had joined
 "unto them the aid of the Cybirs) to their obeisance, but also in battel near *Orthesia* overcome
 "the *Mylaeans* and *Alabandians*: who having disfigured the Euxemestians of their province, ad-
 "vanced jointly with their united armies against them.

While these affairs thus passed there, while some occurrences fell out in Macedonia, and others
 likewise at Rome, *L. Anticus* having subdued King *Genius* (as is before said) and brought him under
 his own hand, pla ed a garrison in *Scodra* the Kings royal seat, and appointed *Gabinus* the Cap-
 tain thereof: but in *Rhizon* and *Olcinia* two commodious cities of good importance, he ordained
C. Licinius the Governor. Having thus made over the rule of *Illyricum* unto these twain, himself
 with the rest of the army went into *Epirus*. Where the Town *Phana* was the first that yielded
 unto him and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their inshules
 in token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this place also he passed over into the country
 of *Mylissa* where he received the surrender of all the Towns thereof, excepting *Paffiron*. The principal men
 and rulers of that City were *Antinous* and *Theodatus*, men of mark and name: as well for the favor they
 bare to *Perseus*, as the hatred they carried to the Romans: the only persons who had conspired
 and perswaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These two having guilty consciences
 within them for their privat treasels, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut
 the gates of the City, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and be over-
 whelmed with the total ruin of their own country: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to
 prefer present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst once open his mouth to con-
 tradict these so great and mighty persons. At length a certain noble young Gentleman, named also
Theodatus, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame the

At the self fear of the rulers at home, "What all ye my masters (sd. he) and fellow citizens, what rage
 "and madnes hath metted you, to enwrap and interres the whole City in the taunt and folly of these
 "two perfids? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their country have willingly lost
 "their lives, but to think it meet, that their country should perish for them, these are the first
 "that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and submit our selves to that empire,
 "into which the whole world besides is subject. As he spake these words, the multitude followed
 him toward the gates: which when *Antinous* & *Theodatus* saw, they made no more ado, but brake
 upon the first words guard of the enemies which they came unto and exposing their bodies to the
 swords point, were soon killed, and the Town was yielded into the hands of the Romans. *Tegmon*
 also, upon the like wilful obstinacy of Prince *Cephala*, had shut their gates, but after that he was
 slain, the Town was taken by surrender. And neither *Phylace* nor *Horreum* would abide the assault.
 Having thus quieted *Epirus*, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in diverse commodious Towns
 for the winter time, he returned into *Illyricum*: where he held a general assembly at *Scodra*,
 to which he had summoned the principal States of the whole nation and whither also there were ar-
 rived five delegates from Rome. And there in this frequent and solemn session he pronounced from
 the Tribunal seat, by the advice of the council assistant unto him, That the Senate and people of
 Rome ordained the Illyrians to live free and enjoy liberty, and that himself would withdraw the
 garrisons out of their Towns, Fortresses and Castles. As for the Ilseans, Tantalians, Tritunians in
 the Discretians country, Rhizonits and Olcinians (for that whiles *Genius* his fortune stood up-
 right they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but also exempt and pri-
 viledged from all tributes. The Doarrians also, for leaving *Caracantium*, and passing with their ar-
 mies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of *Scodra*, *D. Sura*, and
Selcopia, with the rest of the Illyrians, were to pay the one moiety of the tribute which they had
 yielded to the King. After this he divided *Illyricum* into three cantons: the one of them he made
 of those before named: the second, all the Labats: and the third, of the Agrani, Onites, Rhezonits,
 Olcinians, and those that bound and border upon them. Having let down this order in *Illyricum*,
 he returned to *Phaena* City in *Epirus*, there to lie for the winter time.

While these things hapned in *Illyricum*, *Paulus* before the coming of the ten Legats, sent *Q.
 Maximus* his son (who was now lately returned from Rome) to the laccage of *Egionum* and *A-
 gassae*. The quarrel against *Agassae* was for that they having delivered the Town once to *Martinus*
 the Consul, and therewith of their own accord craved the alliance of the people of Rome, revolted
 notwithstanding afterwards to *Perseus*. As for the *Aeginians*, they had committed a late and fresh
 revolt: for giving no credit to the fame that was voiced of the Romans victory, they cruelly han-
 dled certain Roman founders, who were entered into their City. Moreover, he sent *L. Posthumus*
 likewise to smatch in hostile manner the City of the *Enians*, for that they had perfided in arms
 more than in their neighbour Cities. Now was it about that season of the year which men call
 Autumn: in the beginning whereof, so soon as he had determined to ride a circuit and visit all
 Greece round, and to see those places whereof there were great a name, and which were more
 renowned by hear-say than known by sight of eye: he left *C. Sulpicius* *Alaius* for the command and
 guard of the camp, & let forward in his progress, accompanied with no great train. And being guar-
 ded of the one hand with his own son *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Atrox* the brother of King
Bithynies, he passed through *Thessaly*, toward the famous Oracle at *Delphos*. Where, after he had
 sacrificed to *Apollon*, he destined and appointed those Columns & Pillars (which were begun in the
 porch of that Temple, and whereupon the statues of King *Perseus* should have been erected) for to
 sustain and bear the statues of himself with the title Victorious. He visited also the temples of *J. p.
 Trophon* in *Lebadeia*: where, after he had seen the mouth of that peashift cave into which they were
 to descend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the Gods: he let
 sacrifice also done to *Jupiter* and *Hercinnus*, whose temple there is to be seen he went down to *Chalcis*,
 to behold the frith of *Eurippus*, and that Island which 10 times past was united & joined to the firm
 continent by a bridge. From *Chalcis* he crossed over to *Andu* three miles distant from thence, a port
 enabled for the rode some time there of *Agamemnon* fleet, consisting of a thousand sail. Being
 there, he went to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his own
 daughter in sacrifice upon her altar, to have a prosperous voyage for his fleet intending to sail to
Troy. After this, he came to *Oranpa* a Town in *Attica*, where *Amphichloctus* the Prophet is worship-
 ped as a God. There, was to be seen an ancient Temple, most pleasant to behold for the goodly
 Fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to *Athens*: a City likewise for anti-
 quity of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many mo-
 numents also worth the seeing: namely, the citadel, the heavens, the walls that reach from the City
 to *Pyramus*, the arseinals made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods: and of
 men likewise, so rare & excellent, as well for the artificial workmanship, as the matter whereof they
 were made. When he had sacrificed within the City to *Minerva* the goddess and patroness of the
 said citadel, he kept on his journey, and the next day following arrived at *Corinth*. A fair & beauti-
 ful City this was in those daies, before it was destroyed, the fortres there and the *Isthmus* were
 things of especial mark and worth the sight: for the said fortres notwithstanding it be mounted
 up to an exceeding height above all yet is it full of fountains: and the *Isthmus* by a narrow ride
 of land divideth two seas neer together, the one lying East, and the other West. From thence he
 went to *Sicjon* and *Argos*, two noble Cities and so forward to *Epidaurum*, nothing in wealth com-
 parable

to give them summons was this, that amongst the Kings records and rolls they had found the letters of the principal Statemen of other nations; but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them, were nothing evident.

After the Ætolians were dismissed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration; only *Leucas* was exempt from doing service to the high court and general assembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the inquisition still farther and farther, making enquiry who either in publick or private had taken part with the King, they extended their commission as far as into *Asiatic* and sent *Labio* to demolish and raze *Aurissia* a City in the Isle *Lebos*, and to translate the inhabitants thereof to *Metymnia*: the pretence was, for that they had given harbor in their haven to the provisions of *Antenor* the Kings Admiral, at what time as he hovered and ranged about *Lebos* with his pinnaces. Two there were that lost their heads, men of quality and great worth, to wit, *Andronicus* the Ætolian, son of *Andronicus*, for that he followed his father and bare arms against the people of *Rome*; and *Neen* a Theban, by whose advice and perswasion they had contracted a society with *Perseus*.

After this enquest of offraire causes interposed and coming between, the assembly of the Macedonians was called again: wherein as touching the state of *Macedony*, pronounced and published it was, That there should be certain Senators chosen, whom they call *Synedræ*, by whose counsel the common-weal should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen years of age) to go before into *Italy*. This at first was thought to be an hard and cruel course, but anon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians, that it was all done for their liberty. For nominated there were, the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the Admirals of the fleets, and the Captains of the garrisons, who were wont to serve the King basely, but to over-rule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthy, others spending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arrayed in apparel like KK, not one carying with him the civil mind of a good citizen, not one that could abide to hear of laws, or of equal liberty. All these therefore, who had been employed in any ministry or service about the King, even they also who had been used in the least embassages that were, had commandment to depart, out of *Macedony* and to go into *Italy*: and look who obeyed not this edict, were threatened with death. Unto *Macedony* he gave laws, with such diligent care and regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good desert: such laws (I say) as the very practise and tryal of long time (the only corrector of all statutes) was not able upon that experience, to check and control.

After these serious affairs were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a solemnity of game and disport at *Amphipolis*, which long before he had intended, and for the intimation whereof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of *Asia* and to the KK, and also himself in his circuit and visitation of the Grecian Cities, had given warning to the great men and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profession of such plaies and pastimes; besides a sort of wrestlers, champions, and brave horses of the best kind & breed. Also divers embassages with their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever else was usually done of custom, at the great and solemn games in *Greece*. Thus it came to pass, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wisdom also in exhibiting these shews and fights, wherein the Romans at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover, he seated and banqueted the Embass, in the same sumptuous manner and respective consideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegm and common saying of his, That none could make feasts and set forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having represented these solemnities of all sorts, and bestowed all the brazen shields on shipboords, all other armor and weapons of sundry kinds, he piled upon a mighty heap, and after his prayers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Lucas* and other Gods and Goddesses, unto whom of right and duty appertained to consecrate and dedicate the spoils of enemies: himself the General with his own hands put under a burning torch, and kindled the fire, and after him all the military colonels standing round about, cast every man his fire-brand, and set all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great assembly of *Europe* & *Asia*, where there was such a confluence of people from all parts, as well to testify their joy in his behalf as to see the shews and disports: in that meeting, I say, of so great armies of sea-servitors and land-souldiers, there was that plenty of all things and cheapness of victuals, that *Emilius* the General, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away freely to privat persons, to cities and nations, not only for their violent but also to carry home with them, into their countries. And this multitude there assembled took for more pleasure either in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing men practise feats of bodily strength and activity, or in the running of horses in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian booty and pillage laid all abroad to be seen; namely, of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth, of silver vessels in gold, in silver, in copper, and ivory, most curiously wrought in that total tear and City of *Pella*; not only to serve for a present shew and no more (like those that the Kings Palace of *Alexandria* was replenished with) but also for continual and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Cn. Octavius* to be transported to *Rome*. *Paulus* after he had given the Embassadors a gracious and courteous farewell, passed over the River *Strymon*, and lodged within a mile of *Amphipolis*. From thence he dislodged and journeyed untill he came on the fifth day as far as *Pella*.

A *Pella*. And passing by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call *Spelæum*, and then he sent *P. Naficus*, and *Q. Maximus* his own son with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the waite unto those Illyrians, who had succored *Perseus* in his wars, but he commanded them to meet him at *Oricum*. Himself marching toward *Epirum*, at the fifteenth removed arrived at *Passaron*. Not far from thence lay *Anticus* encamped: unto whom he dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution, signifying therein, that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of *Epirum*, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, he bestowed certain Centurions, and lent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians; & he supposed out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of souldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the nearer; and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them what to do. In the morning betimes all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the souldiers to fall to ranke and rifle the Cities. Wherein they found so great store of pillage, that every horiman had for his part a good Denarii, and the footmen 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand pils were led away into captivity. Then the whole

C Were rased of the said Cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventy. All the booty and prizes were sold, and out of that mass of money were the souldiers paid. From thence *Paulus* went down to the Sea-side, unto *Oricum*. But the souldiers minds were nothing so well satisfied, as he supposed they had been, for discontented mightily they were and enry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and treasure, as if they had made no war in *Macedony*. At *Oricum* he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *S. Naficus* and *Maximus* his son; there he shipped his whole army, and sailed over into *Italy*. In like manner a few daies after, *Anticus*, when the session and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnanians was ended, having given commandment, that their principal persons should follow him into *Italy* (the knowledge and deciding of whole causes he referred and referred thither) himself attended the ships which the army had used in *Macedony*, and passed over likewise into *Italy*.

D At what time as these affairs were thus managed in *Macedony* and *Epirum*, the Embassadors who had been sent with *Attalus* to end the war between the Gauls and King *Eumenes* arrived in *Asia*. A successe of affairs for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties, during which the Gauls departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to *Pergamum* the city winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and look abroad: but by that time they were come as far as the *Synæda*, *Eumenes* had alighted his forces from all parts to *Sardis*. There at *Synæda*, the Romans parled with *Sollicitus* the General of the Gauls: *Attalus* also went with them; but though good it was not, that he should enter within the Gauls camp, for fear of stirring coals in heat of argument, and raising choise of the one side or other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the Duke of the Gauls abroad: and when he had done he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and less tractable: inasmuch as it might seem a wonder, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were so powerful and effectual with *Antiochus* and *Ptolomæus* (two mighty and puissant Kings) as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Gauls.

To return again to *Rome*. First, the two captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Anticus* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians as afo the other chief peers of *Greece*, who were wanted to repair unto *Rome*. For not they only were summoned to make appearance there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptory, who were reported to have been with the Kings. Then *Paulus* himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings, a Galeace of a mighty bigness, making way with sixteen banks and rowes of oars to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoil: not only of brave gorgeous armour, but also of rich hangings, stiffe & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe came up the *Tyber* against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Anticus* and *Perseus* arrived also with their fleet, and to all three by an act of the Senat was triumph granted. *Q. Cassius* the Prior had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senat, that they should prefer a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full communion of command and government that day when they were to ride triumphant into the City. See, how mean things escape the touch of envy, but the highest commonly are met with. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of *Anticus*, nor yet of *Perseus*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been ashamed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of slanderous & malicious tongues. His souldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service. And to them he had given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more sparingly & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings: and yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy desire, and dealt

still amongst them till they had cried Ho, he should have left himself just nothing to have brought into the common treasury. So that all this Macedonian army gave a shew by this time, as if they had but cold devotion to their General, either to appear, or to give their voices for the letting forward of the bill aforesaid, as touching his triumph and plenary power of command, when the day of assembly should come. Over and besides, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, who had been a martial Colonel in the second legion in *Macedony*, and in private civility with the General; both himself in person was in hand with him, and by the souldiers also of his own legion solicited and spurred on the rest to appear in sufficient number, there for to give their suffrages against him, and check the bill: saying, "That as he was an imperious and Lordly commander, so he was as miserable a pinner: penury withal, and a good deed it were to deny his grace and to cross the law proposed for his triumph, & for to be revenged of him through y: for no doubt the commons of the City would y: go that way that they should see the souldiers to lead before. He could not forsooth (say they) give money among his souldiers liberally: well, he shall surely know, that his souldiers yet can give him honour; but never let him look for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath deserved none. These words let them agog; and when *Tib. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons read out and published the aforesaid bill in the Capitol, and that by permission of law any private person might have spoken thereto; and no man came forth, as being a matter whereof no doubt & question was to be made: then *Servilius Galba* suddenly leapt forth and required of the Tribune, That (so far as much as it was to farforth dayes, as being the eight hour thereof, so that he had not time enough to declare and shew at large, what allegations he had why they should not grant *L. Aemilius* a triumph) they would adjourn the assembly to the next day and betimes in the morning let the matter on foot again; for that he had need of a whole day and no less, to plead that cause to the full as he should do. But when the Tribune willed him again to speak his mind that day, if he had ought to say; he made a speech, and with his long oration held the court until it was within night: putting them in mind and alleging, "How precisely and rigorously he had exacted at their hands all military duties; how he had imposed upon the souldiers more painful & dangerous labour than need was: but contrary-wise in dealing rewards and bestowing honourable recompences for good service, he was over-strait-laced & too short in every point: and verily souldiery and warfare, if it continued still under such Captains, will be more hard travel and rough to souldiers and warriors: but when all is done and victory obtained, rewarded it shall be with bare poverty and neglect of honour. Certainly, the Macedonians are in better case yet than the Roman souldiers. But if they would be present in great frequency the next morning for to deny and revoke this bill, then these rich and mighty men shall know full well, that all lieth not in the hands of the Captain and Commander, but that the souldiers also can do some war. The souldiers animated and induced with these perilous words, resorted to the day following in so great multitudes and pestered the whole Capitol so full, as none but they could come in to give their voice. The first tribes that were called in, clearly called the grace: which when the principal and chief men of the City saw they ran all into the Capitol with open mouth crying out upon this indignity offered, That *L. Paulus* a conqueror in so great and dangerous a war, should be deprived of his due triumph; and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now subjugated and embroiled to the loose licentiousness and greedy avarice of their souldiers. In this one thing (say they) have we too too much faulted, such hath been our favour and partiality, and so forth have we been to displease any: but what will become of us in the end if souldiers once may come to be Lords and masters, and thus to crow over their Generals? And every man railed and cried out upon *G. Iba*. In the end after this garbail was appeared, *M. Servilius* who sometime had been Consul and great master of the horse under the Dictator, requested the tribunes that they would begin all again annulling that which was past, and give him leave withal to make a speech before the people. The Tribunes were aside to consult of this matter and in fine, over-ruled with the authority and countenance of the nobles and peers of the City, began to treat afresh and go in hand with all matters and making it known openly that they would recalc back those first tribes, in case *M. Servilius* and other private men who were willing to utter their mind to the cause had once spoken. Then said *Servilius* as followeth, "Matters and friends citizens here of *Rome*, if by nothing else it might be judged, how singular & how excellent a Commander *L. Aemilius* was in the field, this only (if there were no more) may suffice, that having in his camp such sedicious and light-headed persons or his souldiers, and an adversary of his own among them, so noble of birth, so rash of action, and withal so arrogant and self-conceited, ready to incite and stir up a multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutiny at all in his whole army. The same civility it was in government & conduct, that held them in awe and good order, which they durst not quench nor give offence. As for *Servilius Galba* if (like a new barrister who is) shew the first proofs, or to give the assay and hanel of his eloquence he would have made choice of *L. Paulus* to begin withal and accule him at the bar, he should not have hindered his triumph, which (if there were nothing else to dissuade and draw him back) the Senat had judged to be just & due: but the morrow after his triumph (when he had seen him a private man again) he might have given presentment of his name, & by order of law ministered interrogatories unto him and to entred process: or rather he might have said a little longer, namely, until himself had been a Magistrat in place, and then have gone roundly to work, arrested him upon an action

The Oration
of *Servilius*
in the behalf
of *Paulus*.

A to answer at day, and so accused him judicially before the people. Thus should *L. Aemilius* have had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well-doing, in that so nobly & valiantly he had conducted this war: thus likewise should he have suffered condign punishment, if he had committed ought unworthy either of his ancient glory or this new honor. But will you have the truth? when he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he sought by wiles and indirect means to detract his well deserved praises. He demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse *L. Paulus*: and * four hours, even all the day time that was left he spent in making an invective against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the bar so culpable and sinful, but all the faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in so many hours space? But what objected he all that while, that *L. Paulus* if he were to frame his defence, would with *to deny* O that some man would procure me here for the while, two assemblies and courts, the one of Roman souldiers employed lately in *Macedony*, the other more pure and uncorrupt of the twain, namely, of citizens founder in judgment, void of all favor & cleer from hatred. And the people of *Rome* I would have to be the judge. First, let *Paulus* be accused in the grand assembly & court of the citizens. Tell me, O *S. Galba*, what would you say against him before those *Quirites* of *Rome*. For there you should have been cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your oration, carrying these terms, You looked too freightly & precisely to the *corpi de guard* in their stations; you held the souldiers too hard to their watch and ward; the sentinels were neerly and narrowly looked unto; & you were over curious about going the rounds & relieving the watch in the night (season about the works and fabricks you put the souldiers to more toiling & moiling than heretofore whiles you, my *L. General*, their surveior, over-ler, and task-maker, rode all about to exact the utmost with all extremity: in one & the same day when you had the army on foot, presently from a journey you led them forth to battail; when the victory was got, you would not suffer the souldier to breathe and take repose, but caused him to march immediately & to follow the enemy in chase also, whereas the booty to be parted & shared out might have enriched your self, yet will you carry the Kings treasure in shew of triumph & then lay it up in the chamber of the City. As these be shrewd matters, like sharp goads to prick those souldiers & set them on, who think they have not scope enough to serve their disloyal loins, or too small allowance to content their covetous appetites: so with the people of *Rome* they would have nothing at all prevailed: who if they should not call to mind examples & stories of old, which they have heard their fathers talk of famously, what overthrows have been received through the indigence and popularity of Generals; and contrarywise what victories have been achieved by their severe discipline and government: yet at least will they cannot chuse but remember what odds & difference there was in the late Punick war, between *M. Minutius* General of the horse, and *Q. Fabius* Max, his Dictator. And therefore since the accuser might know all this, the defence of *Paulus* in this behalf was altogether needless and unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience and assembly of the Macedonian souldiers. But now me thinks I must not say you *Quirites* any more, but souldiers: if haply there be so much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you to blush, & be ashamed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your Generals. And verily for mine own part, I find a great change in my self, & am otherwise affected in my mind, now that I seem to speak unto an army of souldiers, than ere-whiles I was, when my oration was accommodated and framed to the commons of a City. Now souldiers, what say you to the matter? Is there any one at *Rome* (but *Perseus* again) that would not have a triumph over the Macedonians? Are you not ready to pull such a one in pieces with those very hands, wherewith you vanquished the Macedonians? He, who soever he is, that impeacheth you for entering into the City in triumph, trust me truly, would have debarr'd you of victory if it had bin in his power. Lo how foully are ye deceived (souldiers) and far out of the way, if ye think that the triumph is the honor only of the General, and not of the souldiers likewise, and consequently of the whole people of *Rome*. This is not *Paulus* his case alone. Many others likewise there have been, who when they could not obtain triumph at the hands of the Senate, triumphed nevertheless upon the Alban mountain. As impossible it is for any man to bereave *L. Paulus* of the honor due for the finishing of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint *C. Lucatius* of his glory for ending the first Punick war, *P. Cornelius* for the second; or others besides who after their triumphed. It is not triumph that can make *L. Paulus* better or worse, either the greater captain or the less. Herein consisteth the credit, renown & reputation of the souldiers and of all the people of *Rome* more than his: for let left they be reputed & noted either for envious & malicious, or else unthankful for their best members & noblest citizens: & therein seem to imitate the people of *Athenes* who ever more persecute and plague with envy their best men that live amongst them, Your ancestors and forefathers when time was faulted this wates enough twis in the person of *Camillus*, whom they offered abuse unto, before the City by his means was recovered out of the Gauls hands. Much you may be to blame your selves here, & overmuch too in *P. Africanus*. That in *Literum*, his mansion house and place of habitation (who was the conqueror of *Africa*) should be shewed: that in *Literum* (the sepulchre of *P. Africanus*) should be seen. Let us blush for very shame, that *L. Paulus* as he is equal to them in glory and honor, should likewise go with them and have his part of your hard and wrongful dealing. The first thing that ye do then, let be this: Out with this spot & stain of any which ye have caught so reproachful in regard of other nations. Lo hurt not to your selves. For who will ever hereafter wish to be like *Africanus*? who will endeavor to

* By this it
is collected,
that they
counted the
day 24 hours,
from 6 o'c
not from lat
to sun, as some
would have it;

resemble

"publick felicity of the City. At my departure from Italy, I looked from *Brundisium*, and serup sail¹⁴ at the sun-rising: by the ninth hour of the same day I arrived safe with all my ships at *Corfu*. The fifth day after I came to *Delphi*, where I sacrificed unto *Apollo*, for my self, for your armies and your navy. From *Delphi* I departed, and within five daies was in the league. Whereafter, "I had received the charge of the army, and altered some things which might greatly have hindered the victory, I marched forward, for that the enemies camp was inexpugnable, and the King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the passage, I went as far as *Petra*: so as by this means having perforce drawn the King to fight, I vanquished him in plain field and ranged battel, *Macedony* I subdued, and brought it in subjection to the people of *Rome*. Finally, that war which for four years together other Consuls before me so managed, as each one left it ever to his successor worse than he found it, I achieved I and brought to a final end in fifteen daies. I followed then in this train other prosperous affairs, as the fruits ensuing of that victory. For all the Cities of *Macedony* yielded unto me. The Kings treasure I seized upon: the King in person (as if the very Gods themselves had delivered and put him into my hands) took prisoner, with his sons in the Temple of the *Samothracians*. But then my heart misgave me, and even then I suspected the surpassing favour of my good fortune: then cast I doubts, and began to fear the dangers at sea, having so mighty a mass of the Kings treasure to transport, and my victorious army to reconduct back into *Italy*. But seeing all things fall out to hearts desire, a prosperous voyage, a safe arrival and whatsoever I could pray for at Gods hands; this I wished in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune, when she is at the highest pitch, to turn back again and come as fast down) that mine own Kingdom, rather than the Common-weal, might feel a calamity of mine own, shall excuse the City came. And therefore I hope that this so notable a calamity of mine own, shall excuse the City for having any other misfortune, since that my triumph (as it were to check and mock the changes of this world) hath fallen so just between the funerals of my two sons. See how I and *Perseus* are represented above all others for two notable examples of the frail and unstable condition of man. To how he, who being a prisoner himself, saw his sons likewise led captives before his face, hath them yet living found and safe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from the buriall of one of my sons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence descended again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair issue that I had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Aemilius*. For two of them the house of the *Cornelii* and the *Fabii* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of children: so as now, in the family of *Paulus* there is not one left but himself. Howbeit for this calamity and ruin of my house, your felicity and the happy estate of the City is a great comfort and consolation again. Their words delivered with such a magnanimity, troubled the spirits of the auditors, and stonied them more, than if he had lamentably moned himself unto them with piteous tears, for his childless estate and desolate condition.

C. Octavius solemnized his naval triumph over King *Perseus* the fifth day of *December*: in which solemnity, he neither had prisoners led in shew, nor spoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mariners and sailors seventy and five Denarii apiece: to every pilot double, and to the ship-masters four times as much. After this the Senat assembled, and the LL. ordained, That *Q. Cassius* should M lead King *Perseus* with his son *Alexander*, together with his train that accompanied him, as also bring all his money and goods, silver, or what moveables and furniture soever he had to *Alba*, there to be kept in sure custody. *Birius* the Kings son of *Thrace*, with the hostages was sent to *Carthago*, there to lie in safe ward. As for the rest of the captives who had been led in triumph, thought good it was they should be clapt up fast in prison.

Some few daies after these things, there arrived Embassadors from *Cotys* King of the *Thracians*, bringing with them money for the ransom of his son and the other hostages. Into the Senat they were brought: where, by way of preamble they laid this offer for the ground at their speech, That *Cotys* had not sided with King *Perseus* in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compelled to give hostages: then they besought the LL. of the Senat to suffer them to be redeemed at what price soever they would let down, were it never so high. Unto whom this answer was returned by authority of the Senat, "That the people of *Rome* bare well in mind the amity which they had with *Cotys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the *Thracians*. As for the giving of the hostages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excuse their trespass and fault: considering that when *Perseus* was quiet, the *Thracian* nation flood in fear and awe of him, much less then, when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the *Romans*. Howbeit although *Cotys* preferred the favour of *Perseus* before the friendship of the people of *Rome*, yet they would consider of the matter, and respect more his quality and what was meet for his estate than his desert and what he was worthy to have; and therefore they would release his son and the hostages, and send them home again. As for the people of *Rome*, their manner is to bestow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence: the worth and estimation whereof they had rather leave to the consideration and minds of the receivers, than require and demand the same presently. So there were Embassadors nominated to reconduct the hostages into *Thrace* to wit, *T. Quintus Flaminius*, *C. Licinius Nerva*, and *M. Cinnius Rebilus*. And to those *Thracian* Embassadors were given by way of presents 2000 asses apiece. So *Birius* with the rest of the hostages was sent for from *Carthago*, and with the fore-named Embassadors returned again to his father.

The

A The Kings ships taken from the *Macedonians*, of an extraordinary and monstrous bignes before time, were landed upon *Maris* field and there laid up drie. Whiles the late remembrance of the *Macedonian* triumph remained still not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men, *L. Antius* triumphed over King *Gentius* and the *Illyrians* upon the very day of the feast *Quirinalia*. It was generally thought that all things therein rather resembled home likenes in shew, than otherwise countervailed in substance the former triumph. The General himself *Antius* was inferior to *Emilius* both in nobility and also in quality of person: and setting together their places of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Consul: neither was *Gentius* equal to *Perseus*, nor the *Illyrians* to the *Macedonians*. Spoil for spoil, money for money, gifts for gifts, there was no proportion nor comparison between them. And therefore as that itself late triumph was more resplendent and glorious than this, so considered in it self without other respect it was not to be found fault withal and despised. *Antius* within few daies had vanquished and thoroughly tamed the nation of the *Illyrians*: both by Sea and Land proud and mighty, bearing themselves stout and bold for their strong and fenced forts. The King he took prisoner and those of the Kings race and roial blood. He shewed in triumph many field-ensigns, besides ocher spoils and moveable goods of the King. Likewise of gold seven and twenty pound weight, and of silver nineteen besides 3000 Denarii, and a hundred and twenty thousand peeces of *Illyrian* silver incoin. Before his chariot were led King *Gentius* with his wife and children: *Carvavius* also the Kings brother, and certain noblemen of *Illyricum*. Out of the pillage he gave unto his footmen 45 Denarii apiece, to every Centurion a double proportion, and unto the horsemen a triple. To the allies of the *Laetina* nation he allowed as much as to citizens: the sailors and mariners he made equal with the footmen. Herein he surmounted the triumph of *Emilius*, for that his soldiers followed after his triumphant chariot more joynd and merry and the General was praised and extolled in many a ditty and ballad. *Antius* writeth, That of his booty there was raised as much money as came to twenty millions of Sestertii, over and above the gold and silver that went into the common treasury. But because I could not see how possibly such a sum should be made, I have let down mine author for the thing, now, while you whether you will believe him. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senat led to *Spolegium*, there to be kept in ward: all the captives besides were at *Rome* cast into prison, and there lay. But when the *Spoleitans* refused to take the charge and custody of him and the rest, these Princes were translated from thence to *Iguvium*. There remained besides of the *Illyrian* prizes two hundred and twenty barks, which being taken from King *Gentius*, *Q. Cassius* by the ordinance of the Senat gave and distributed among the citizens of *Corfu*, *Apollonia*, and *Dyrbachium*.

The Consuls that year after they had only wailed the territories of the *Ligurians*, because they could never train the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable service, returned to *Rome* for the choice of new Magistrats in the room of the old. And so the fifth consular or count day that came, they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. The morrow after were elected for Pretors *L. Livius*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*, *P. Rutilius Calvus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, and *Marcus Fomcius*. These Pretors had their government in this manner: two for the jurisdiction within the City, two for *Spain*, the other for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. This year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feast *Terminusia*. That year died *C. Claudius* the Augur, and in his place the collegd of the Augurs chose *T. Quintius Luminus*. *Allo* King *Fabius* Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the same year departed this life. This year also came King *Prusias* to *Rome* with his son *Nicomedes*. He entered into the City with a great train attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of *Q. Cassius* the Pretor. And when there was a great concourse of people about him from all parts: he said that his coming was to worship the Gods which are the presidents of the City of *Rome*, as also to salute the people of *Rome*, and withal to shew his own joy and to wish theirs for their happy victory over the two Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and for that by subduing the *Macedonians* and *Illyrians*, they had enlarged their signory and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call a Senat for him even that present day if he would to himselfe he desired two daies respite to see the Temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to visit his good friends and acquaintance. *L. Cornelius Scipio* the treasurer was appointed to go about with him and shew him all: who also had been sent as far as *Carpus* to meet him upon the way: also for him and his train about him, there was a sufficient house taken up, where he was kindly and liberally entertained. The third day after he came into the Senat, where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory, he recounted his own demerits and good deiers during the war: and then requested, that he might have leave to pay his vows and namely, to sacrifice at *Rome* in the capitol, even head of greater beasts, and one at *Prenefte* to *Fortuna*. For that he said those vows were made for the victory of the people of *Rome*. Also that the league and alliance with him might be renewed, Item that the Land won by conquest from King *Antiochus*: which being not by the people of *Rome* given unto any, the Gauls notwithstanding held in possession, might be conveyed unto him by a deed of gift. Last of all he recommended his son *Nicomedes* to the Senat. He found much favour among all them who had been Generals of armies in *Macedony*. And therefore he obtained directly all other suits that he made: only as touching the said lands, this answer he had, That they would send certain commissioners to see and view the thing. "And if it appeared and fell out, that the foresaid land was appertained to the people of *Rome*, and was not passed away by gift to any already, they would

repute King *Prusias* the worthiest man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands, **B**ut if it never belonged to King *Antiochus*, and so was plain and evident that the people of *Rome* had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a grant thereof already, *Prusias* then must be content and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts prejudicial and injurious to another. Neither could a thing never so freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he knew the *donor* may take away from the *donee* at his pleasure. As for *Nicomedes* his son, they would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands so recommended. And how careful and tender the people of *Rome* was over Kings children committed unto them to keep, may appear by *Prolemus* the King of *Egypt*. With this answer was *Prusias* dismissed. Order was given that he should be presented with a certain summe of sesterces, and with silver plate to the quantity of 50 pound weight. Also they ordained that his son *Nicomedes* should have gifts proportionable to that sum which was given *Malagaba* the son of *Malanissa*; also that beats and all other things appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the King out of the City-chamber, like as to the magistrates of *Rome*, shule whether he would slay and offer them at *Rome* or *Perseis*. Also that out of that fleet which rid in the harbor of *Byzantium*, there should be twenty galies assigned him to use, until such time as the King were arrived at the fleet which was given him. Finally, that *L. Cornelius Scipio* should accompany him and never depart from him, but bear the charges both of him and his retinue about him until they were embarked and on shipboard. It is said, that the King joied wonderfully at this courtesy and kindness offered him by the people of *Rome* and that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him: only he commanded his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of *Rome*. Thus much have our Historians written as touching *K. Prusias*. But *Polybius* reporteth, that this King was unworthy the Majesty of so honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the Embassadors of *Rome* with his head shaven and a cap upon it also to acknowledge and call himself the freed villain and vassal of the people of *Rome*, and to testify so much, he wore the badge and token of that degree and condition. At *Rome* likewise when he entered the Councel-house, he stooped down and kissed the very door-sill, calling likewise the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have used other speeches not so honorable to the hearers, as bafe and unfitting his own person. When he had joined in and about the City not above thirty daies, he took his leave and departed into his own Realm.

To the Reader.

From the five and fortieth book forward, all the rest of *Livy* (to the great main and blemish of the Latine tongue, and no small grief of learned men) is lost, even 100 books wanting five, like as those ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the second Decad. For as it appeareth by *L. Florus* the Epitomis there were in all 140: and the arguments of so many remain at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that *Francis Petrarch* saith, *Levy* wrote in all 142: and as *Charles Sigonius* probably conjectureth, the 36 and 37 Breviaries of *L. Florus* be wanting of this later number. How all these complete books of *T. Livius* should miscarry, it is not certainly known. Some hope there is that they are but mis-cast and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred years some fragments of the story were discovered in *Moguncie*: and the last five books now extant, found by *Simon Grineus* in the Library of a monastery over-against the City of *Worms*, and dedicated by *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* unto *Charles*, the son of *William Lord Montjoy*, in the reign of *Henry* the eight of famous memory *K. of England*, &c. so we are not to despair of the rest. In the mean times, we must make much of these brief summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries in stead of the books: so I thought it not amiss (in hope that one day the very books themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather, for that neither he that translated *Livy* into the Tuscan language, nor they who have done him into French (as far as I could ever see) have taken that pains.

The

The Breviaries of L. Florus upon the rest of T. Livius his Books; which are not extant.

Of the XLVI. Book.

Eumenes came towards *Rome*. Now because in the Macedonian war he had carried himself indifferent between *Petius* and the *Romans*, there passed a law in general terms, That no King might repair to *Rome*; to the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be repented in enemy: nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault. *Cl. Mariellus* the Consul subdued the Gauls inhabiting the Alps, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus* the *Ligurians*. The Embassadors of King *Prusias* the Gauls, for that he invaded and wasted their borders; and they informed besides, that he had conspired with *Antiochus* against the people of *Rome*. At the earnest suit and entreaty of the *Rhodiens*, a league was contracted with them. The Consuls took a review and survey of the City, wherein were enrolled and taxed 327022 citizens of *Rome*. *M. Amylius Lepidus* was elected praetor of the Senat. *Prolemus* the King of the *Egyptians* was by his younger brother expelled out of his realm, but by the means of Embassadors (sent from *Rome*) he was restored to his Kingdom. Upon the death of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, his son *Ariarathes* came to the crown and by intercession and mediation of Embassadors, renewed amity with the people of *Rome*. This book containeth besides, the wars against the *Ligurians*, *Corians*, and *Lusitanians*, fought with variable fortune: the troubles also in *Syria* after the death of *Antiochus*, who left behind him *Antiochus* his son a very child, his young Prince (together with his guardian *Lysias*) *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus* (who had been sent in hostage to *Rome*) murdered privately, because he was not set at large and dismissed by the *Romans*, and so himself entered upon the Kingdom. *L. Amylius Paulus* who had conquered *Petius*, departed himself into corruption and abstinence from the publick treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both out of *Spain* and *Macedony* so great store of wealth, a drachter, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The Pompeian warblers were drawn drie by *Cor. Cethegus* the Consul (unto whom that charge was by lot fallen) and the same turned into firm ground.

Of the XLVII. Book.

Cneus Tremellius a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongful cause with *M. Amylius Lepidus* the sovereign Pontiffe. The power and authority of the clergy might as yet be greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted touching the name suit for officers. In the survey of the City, there were taxed in the subsidy book 328314 Roman citizens. *L. Amylius Lepidus* was chosen again praetor of the Senat. Between the two brethren *Prolemes*, who were at variance, there passed this accord and agreement: That the one should reign in *Egypt* and the other in *Cyrene*. *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, by the publick power and forceable power of *Demetrius* King of *Syria* dispossessed of his Kingdom, was by the Senat set into it again. Certain Embassadors were sent as delegates from the Senat to determine of the intestine quarrel between *Malanissa* and the *Carthaginians*. *C. Martius* the Consul fought against the *Dalmatians*, at the first unfortunately, but afterwards achieved the victory. The occasion of the war with them was this; for that they had made wast upon the *Illyrians*, who were allies of the people of *Rome*. The same action *Cornelius Nafica* the Consul brought in subjection. *Q. Optimus* the Consul subdued the *Ligurians* beyond the Alps, who had spoiled *Antipolis* and *Nicea*, two Towns belonging to the sovereignty of the *Massiliens*. Moreover, here are contained the adventures of many Captains in *Spain*, with no good success. In the 598 year from the foundation of the City, the Consuls so soon as the assembly for election was past, and other Consuls chosen for the year following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was because the *Spaniards* were entered into rebellion. The Embassadors afore said who had been sent to take up and decide the controversy between *Malanissa* and the *Carthaginians*, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matters for a navy at *Carthage*. Certain Praetors accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.

Of the XLVIII. Book.

The Consuls took a review and tax of the city wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thousand polls of citizens. The cause of a third Punic war be here recordd. Upon report that there was a right puissant army of *Numidians* upon the borders of the *Carthaginians*, conducted by *Archobazanes* the nephew of *Syphax*. *M. Porcius Cato* perceived in an oration to proceed war against the *Carthaginians* for that they entertained such a power within their frontiers under a colour against *Malanissa*, but in truth raised against the *Romans*: *Tiberius Publius Cornelius Nafica* counselld him and dissuaded the matter. Whereupon ordained it was, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage* in special to observe what they did, and whereabouts they went. After they had given the *Carthaginians*

Senat a check and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they were willing to conclude a peace between Malanilla and them: so as Malanilla should forgo and part with the land in question. But Gilgo the son of Amilcar, a busy and seditious man, who then was sovereign Magistrate (nowwithstanding their Set) at promise to be rewarded by the award of the said Embassadors, incited them so by his persuasive remonstrances to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made shift to flee and save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related these news at Rome, the Senat already sit and bent against the Carthaginians were now by his words provoked much more. M. Porcius Cato performed the funerals of his son, deceased in his Prætorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability; for he was put poor. One Andronicus, who shortly made the world believe, that he was the son of Pericles the King of Macedony, was sent to Rome. M. Æmilius Lepidus, now six times chosen President of the Senat by the Censors, gave his son in freight charge before he died, to carry him forth to burial in a coach without linen clothes and the purple pall, and not to bestow in other of sequels above one denier: saying, that the funerals of the great and best personages are wont to be enrolled and honoured with the shews of images and titles, or done with sumptuous expenses. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and secrecy. Pubilia and Licinia who were enticed for making away their husbands; put in statutes before the Senat: to be bound in good lands, and body for them; and after judicial process passed and their cause heard, by a decree of their kinsfolk suffered death. Gullilla the son of Malanilla gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was murthering and laying of soldiers; rigging and providing of a fleet; all preparations not done for war: and Publius Cornelius Nasica replied against him, but nothing was to be done inconsiderately, yet he went away. Though good it was to send them Embassadors, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledge to certify. L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumus Albinus the Consuls, when they took matters with severity and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but press all, were committed by the Tribunes of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of soldiery. By occasion of the wars in Spain, which many times had been untowardly and unfortunately managed, when the City of Rome was so dismaided and daunted, that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martial Tribuneship, or was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant: P. Cornelius Æmilianus stepped forth, made offer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service whatsoever should be laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after him he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the slaves and nations of Celtiberia, saved the Væcans, Cantabrians, and other nations: and nations as yet unknown in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a mortal Colonels, slew a Carthaginian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Interactia, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: for he was the first of all others that scaled and mounted over the wall. Servilius Sulpicius Galba the Prætor shed but lately in a battle against the Portugals. When as the Embassadors were returned out of Africk, together with the Carthaginian Orators, and Gullilla the son of Malanilla, bringing word, That they found at Carthage both an army and also an armada: thought it was to put to question and debate the matter in the Senat: where Cato and other principall Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army posthaste into Africk: but because C. Nasica opined as I said, That he saw as yet no just and sufficient cause, they agreed they army forth, then they agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government should propose at touching the Panick war. When the Theatre was built, which by the Consuls had been put forth to no known frame, and it up at a price, through the means of Pub. Cornelius Nasica: who inferred, that it was a piece of work, unprofitable, yeas, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens: by virtue of an Act of Senat demand it was pulled down; so as the people for along time stood on their feet to behold the publick playes. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and warred upon Malanilla. But was opposed there were in field by him (who notwithstanding he now was so foreworn yeare old and rievold, yet he did so fast his meat simply without any dainties yeas and so clew his bare breast still) and over and besides they desired to draw upon their head the Roman war.

Of the XLIX. Book.

The beginning of the third Panick war, in the six hundred and one year from the Cities foundation, which within 5 years after it began, came to a full and small end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nasica, who by the Senat was indeed the best and honestest man in the City. Cato was altogether for the wars, and advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nasica contrariwise dissuaded what he could. Not without, in the end ordained it was. That because against covenant and accord they kept a navy at sea, and had forth an armada out of their borders: also for that they entred into arms and levied men upon Malanilla, a friend and confederat to the people of Rome, and received into their Town Gullilla his son, who was in the company of the Roman Embassadors; was should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and taken the seas, the Embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, yielding themselves and all that they had. That embassy, as a speciall preface to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senat, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentium (a place it was in Campus Martius, whereupon the p. sime Terentius took their name) were places exhibited

exhibited to Father Dis the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Panick war, and in the five hundred year and one, after the City was founded. Thirty Embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato imported and prevailed, to hold still their former determination, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward to their journey to the war. Who having passed the sea and arrived in Africk, received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required a day demanded: and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war so was there from the LL. of the Senat to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place: so that it was ten miles at least remote from the Sea: by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rise and take arms again. L. Marius and M. Manilius the Consuls, began to beseege and assault Carthage: during which siege and assault it happened that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the whom they were sore beaten and killed, by the means of Scipio Africanus they were rescued: by whom also a certain lance and fort of the Romans, which the enemies by night assaulted, with the help of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians had sallied forth of their City to give the assault at once upon it with all their forces: by which service he above the rest won great honor. Over and besides, when at the Consul (for the other was gone to Rome to hold the election of Magistrats) seeing the siege and assault of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the army against Adrubal, who with another power of men kept the narrow freights of a certain passage, he compassed the said Consul, not to give battle in a place of such disadvantage: but after words overweighed and born down by the opinions of the greater number (who envied as well his wisdom as virtue) he also entred into the narrow freights. And when the Roman army, according as he foretold, was discovered and put to flight, and two cohorts beset round and invested by the enemies, he with certain small cornets of horse returned into those freights, rescued them, and brought them away in safety. Which valour of his, even Cato, (a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senat, that in those terms he gave out and said, * That all the rest who were employed in the wars of Africk, served as shadows and dead men, but Cato had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome besides call such favour and good liking to him, that at the next elections, most of the tribes picked him for to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Commons had promulgated a Law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yielded to the people of Rome, and yet by S. Galba were sold in France) should be restored to their freedoms: M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that Law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included within his Annals. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, when he was by him picked up and point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons: being * Prætextatus, and a son of C. Sulpicius who of Guardians he was, and made such piteous and tender move, all the while he stood in his own cause, that the foresaid Law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be seen against Libo a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed Laws, as touching the Portugals; and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus, in which he confessed and avowed the killing of the Portugals: excused near unto him: for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed on horse and a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his army. Andronicus one of best birth and the most chastest lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King Pericles son, and thereupon changed his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whither Demetrius King of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious flight) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged and counterfeit false title of his, as if it had been a true one and report: by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the goodwill of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seized all Macedony and held it in his hand. Now had he decayed and framed the present in this wife. That Pericles the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine: that he was committed to * one Cyrtella to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if single (should fall out) he well into the K. in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might he yet some good use: it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and royal race. When Pericles was deceased he had his education at Adramyrium until he was 12 years old, supposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and wist not at all from what stock he was descended. Now it fell out (as it be) that the said foster father of mine lay very sick: and being at the point of death, he wist in length his faith and parentage. Pericles, which he was to deliver unto me when I surpassed mother, led with the first manual of King her most freights of all lovers, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age as I said, then the boy was given me, wherein mention was made of two children of a true left for me by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of hers, but only reputed, bewailed my birth unto me, who was fortune ignorant of mine own defect: also I then made great wail upon me to deprive out of those quarters before that Eunenes, a professed enemy to Pericles, came to the knowledge thereof, for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted and doubting what had to find some aid in the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria: and there first I took heart unto me, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before. [Thus much of Andronicus his counterfeit Kings son.]

* He alludeth here to this verse of Homer, *ὁ δὲ παῖς τὰ δὲ σείας ἀνέειπεν.*

* i. under 17 years of age.

Or, * Cretæ cūdam, i. to one in Cretæ.

Of the LX. Book.

p. 94.

* Scaevola, a
darty, and
Scaevola to
sing.

Aurelius the Consul, subdued the Sordians, Fulvius Flaccus was the first man that vanquished in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being sent to aid the Mussiliani against the French Salpes, who lay fore upon the borders of the Mussiliani, and spoiled them. Lucius Optimus the Pretor received under his subjection the Fregellani who had revolted, and destroyed the Town Fregelle. Here he reported a pestilence in Africa, by an exceeding multitude of locusts, killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A survey was taken of the City by the Consuls, wherein were numbered 390736 citizens. C. Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, a Tribune of the Commons, but of the twain more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among these, one as touching grain, namely, that the Commons should be served in the market at the rate of one half, and a third part of * Affe, a Modius: another concerning division of lands, the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senators) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senat: and for as much as in those days, there were but 300 Senators, those 600 Gentlemen should be entered into the Senat: that is to say, that the order of Gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having continued his Tribuneship another year, by proposing still the Agrarian laws, prevailed, that many Colonies more should be planted in Italy, and one besides, upon the very plot of ground where Carthage lately destroyed, had stood: and there himself (chose) Triumvir therefore created a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Q. Metellus against those Balcare Islands, which the Greeks call Gymnetia, because the people go naked all the summer time. But Balcares they are named either of singing darts, or of Balcare the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there, at what time, as he sailed to Ceryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatra slew both her husband Demetrius and his son Seleucus: taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the diadem upon him.

Of the LXI. Book.

* Scaevola, Scabro, Dampbino, Maritimo, C. alius.
* P. Scaevola, Parados, or P. Scaevola, Scalligere.
* S. Scaevola, S. Scaevola.

Caius Sextius the Pro-consul, after he had conquered the nation of the Salpes, built the Colony Aquæ Sextiæ, so called of the plentiful abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hot and cold, and also of his own name. C. Cominius the Pro-consul fought for many years against the * Allobroges, near the Town * Vindiliam. The cause why he levied war against them was, for that they had received and relieved by all means they could, Teutomalus the King of the * Salvi when he fled unto them, and had wasted also the territories of the * Hedunians, who were the allies of the people of Rome. C. Gracchus, after he had born his Tribuneship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by L. Optimus the Consul (who by virtue of an act of Senat had put the people in arms) defeated of his hold and slain; and together with him Fulvius Flaccus a Consular man, his affiance and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the Consul, and nephew of Paulus, won a field of the Allobroges, and Bituitus King of the Arverni. Of Bituitus his army were slain a hundred and twenty thousand. And when himself in person was gone to Rome to satisfy the Senat, he was committed toward in Alba for that it seemed dangerous and hurtful to the peace, for to send him back again into France. Also there passed a decree, that Congeniatius his son should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobroges submitted and were received, L. Optimus being accused before the body of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certain citizens uncondemned, was acquit.

Of the LXII. Book.

* B. Scaevola.
* Scaevola.

Caius Marcus the Consul vanquished the Stoniæ, a people dwelling upon the Alpes, Micipsa, King of the Numidians died, and left the Kingdom unto his three sons, Adherbal, Hymphal, and Jugurtha his brothers son, whom he had adopted for his own child. L. Cælius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha levied war upon Hymphal his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him: Adherbal his third brother, he drove out of thereunto, but by the Senat of Rome restored he was again. L. Cælius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the Consuls, deprived 32 Senators of their place and dignity. Besides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syrian Kings.

Of the LXIII. Book.

Caius Porcius the Consul fought with the * Scordisci in Thracia, and lost the field. The Consuls took a survey of the City: in which were enrolled 394336 parts of Roman citizens. Bomyia, Licinia, and Marcia, three vestal virgins were convicted and condemned for incest. The manner how this their fornication was committed, detailed, judged, and punished, is here set down. The * Cimbrians, an huge and mighty nation, invaded Illyricum and put it to the wast: by whom Papirius Carbo the Consul was defeated, both he and his army. Livius Drusus the Consul, warred in Thracia upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gauls) and won much honour.

Of the LXIV. Book.

Adherbal warred upon by Jugurtha, was within the City Cirra besieged, and by him slain, notwithstanding the commandment of the Senat to the contrary. For which cause war was proclaimed against Jugurtha himself. Calphurnius Bestia had the commission and charge to manage this war: who made peace with Jugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senat. Jugurtha being cited and called forth that he had bribed and corrupted with sums of money many of the Senat, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and jeopardy for a murder committed upon the person of a certain Prince, called Maffia (who seeing him to be hated of the Romans, sought for his kingdom) whom he slew at Rome. Being commanded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he, fiercely fled, and as he departed from the City, uttered (by report) these words, O corrupt City, and yet so vile; how soon wilt thou perish, if it may meet with a chapsman? A. Potthumius a Lieutenant General, after he had likewise sought as unfortunate a battle against Jugurtha, amended the matter full well by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senat judged no meet to be observed and kept.

Of the LXV. Book.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus the Consul, in two battels discomfited Jugurtha and over-ran all Numidia. M. Jun. Syllanus the Consul, fled unluckily in a battell fought against the Cimbrians: whose cruel demands of the Senat a place of habitation and lands to occupy, were denied. M. Minutius Pro-Cos. had good success in fight against the Thracians. L. Cælius the Consul, together with his host, was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobroges by the French Tigrinus, a country of the Helvetians, who had divided themselves and were departed from the rest of the State. The soldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for safety of their lives, to put in pledge for to part with the one moiety of all that ever they had unto them.

Of the LXVI. Book.

Jugurtha driven out of Numidia by C. Marius, had the help and aid of Bocchus King of the Moors: but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battell, and himself unwilling to maintain the war any longer (so unfortunately begun) Jugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius. In which exploit the service of L. Cornelius Sylla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVII. Book.

Aurelius Scaurus lieutenant to the Consul with his army overthrew by the Cimbrians, and himself taken prisoner. When by them he was called forth to council (at what time as they intended a voyage into Italy) in which he seemed to fright them for passing over the Alps, saying, That the Romans might not possibly be overcome, he was by Bolus their King, a proud and fierce prince, killed. At this time the hands Cn. Manlius C. Serv. capto, Pro-consul received an overthrow in the field and lost both their camp besides 40000. By the verdict and censure of the people of Rome, capto (through whose fault this loss and overthrow happened) was condemned: and he was the first after K. Tarquin whose goal he was a confessor: and finally deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of C. Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in prison. Marius entered into the Senat with his triumphant mantle of estate, which never any man before him had done, and for fear of the Cimbrians war he continued in his Magistracy many years together. To his second and third Consulship he was chosen: absent, and he attained to be Consul the fourth time: which heaped upon, after he defied the contrary. C. Domitius was by the suffrages of the people created the chief Pontifex. The Cimbrians having laid waste all the parts about the river Rhodanus and the mountain Pyreneus, passed over into Spain through the streights: where after they had spoiled many places, they were by the Celtiberians chased away: and being returned into France, they joined with the * Teutons, a warlike nation.

* Notwithstanding a law to the contrary.

* The Dutch or Easterling.

Of the LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius the Pretor persecuted the robbers at sea, and chased them as far as into Cilicia. C. Manlius the Consul manfully defended at the camp, assailed with all most forcible means by the Teutons and * Ambrones. Afterwards in two battels one after another about * Aquæ Sextiæ he utterly defeated those enemies: where (by report) were slain 20,000 and 90,000 taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created Consul the fifth time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he deferred and put it off, until he had made a full and final conquest also of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drove from the Alps Q. Catulus the Pro-consul, who had first the narrow gullet of the Alps, and kept a Castle highly mounted over their Arctetis, which he now abandoned: and when by their valour they had cleared the passage, they passed the Pro-consul with his army, and passed over into Italy together in battell: they were overthrown by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had joined their forces together: in which (they say) 140,000 men were slain, and 60,000 taken prisoners. Marius was honourably received at his return with a general accord of the whole City: and whereas two triumphs time before had envied him as a man newly start up risen, and advanced to so great honours, confessed now that the common-weal by him was preferred. Publius Metellus for murdering his own mother, was the first man sewed up in a leather bag and so thrown into the sea. Here is recorded how the famous shield Ancilla stirred off themselves with a great rushing noise before the Cimbrians war was finished. Finally this book comprehendeth the war between the two Kings of Syria.

Of the LXIX. Book.

* **NUMBERS.**

CNEUS APULCIUS SATURNINUS, by the help of C. Marius, and by occasion that A. NONIUS his competitor and concurrent was by his foulness: slain, was by forcible means created Tribune of the commons, and bare the Tribuneship as violently as he got it. And when he had proposed an Agrary law and passed it by force, he moved METELLUS NUMIDICIUS to answer at a day, for that he had not subscribed and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the Citizens of the better sort, because he would not give no occasion of unseemly debates and evil contentions, went in voluntary exile to Rhodes: and there he employed his time in reading of books, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was depared, C. Marius the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a large] of money (scamled among] the tribes, proclaimed him as excommunicat and interdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same APULCIUS SATURNINUS, Tribune of the commons, flew C. Memmius in his white gown standing to be Cof, for that he feared him above all others to cross his proceeding: whereupon the Senat was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of C. Memmius: and when C. Marius a man by nature mutable and in his counsel variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the badge and to band with the mightier, was not able to bear him out and protect him, he said SATURNINUS together with GLAUCIA the Prator and other his complices in that outrage, was slain by one RABIRIUS. Q. CECILIUS METELLUS was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City, MANIUS AQUILIUS the Pro-Consul, dispatched and ended the flavet-war raised in Sicily.

Of the LXX. Book.

Or the L.A.X. book.

WHen **Manius Aquilius** should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he pleaded not himself interested and craves the favour of the Jury. **B. M. Antonius** his advocate who pleaded for him at the bar. (as his coat down along his breast, to shew the honourable fears received in the forefront of his body: which being by the Judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquit him. Of his thing Cicero is the only author. **Diodorus** the Pro-*conf.* managed his case was against the *Calpurnians* happily. **Prolo-**
manus K. of *Cyrene* was named *Apion*, when he died, left the people of *Rome* his heir: and the *Senate* or-
dained that the cities of his realm should be free. **Axiobianus** was restored to his king dom of *Cappa-*
docia, by *L. Cornelius Sylla*. The *Parthian* ambassadors sent from their *K.* Attaces came unto *Sylla*, to
treat and sue for amity with the people of *Rome*. **P. Rutilius** a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who
(being lieutenant under *L. Mucius* the Pro-*conf.*) had defended *Asia* from the wrongful dealings of the
Publicans or common farmers: (being odious to the order of knight hood or gentlemen of *Rome*, who now
as Judges had their jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished. **C. Geminus**
the Pro-*tor* fought unwarily against the *Thracians*. The *Senate* would no longer abide the unruliness
and violent abuses committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by
all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and translate their prerogative again to themselves in which
enterprise **M. Livius Drusus** a Tribune of the common flood in their behalf: who to gain more strength
to the cause, raised the common by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a large *Ad* increase in
this book are comprised the stirs and troubles of the Kings in *Syria*.

Of the LXXI. Book.

Of the LXXI. Book.

MARCUS LIVIUS DRUſus, a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senate's cause, which he had undertaken, ſolicited the allies and the nations of Italy, upon hope to be enfranchiſed citizens of Rome: by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Aſſurians and Erymentarian Laws, he obtained alſo the forſaid law Judicialis, in this manner, That all judgments ſhould paſſe indifferently and equally by Senate and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedom of Rome promiſed to the allies could not be comp- liſhed and performed, the Italians in a cloſe and heat of choler began to complot how to revell: whose convictees, conſpiracies, and orations delivered in the aſſemblies and diets of their Princes, are in this book reported. In regard whereof, Livius Druius became hatefull even to the Senate, as the author of a ſociall war, and in his own haſte was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.

Of the LXXII. Book.

Of the LXXII. Book.

Of the LXXXI. book.

TH*e Italian states revolt; namely, the Piceni, Peligni, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucini, Lucanians, and Samnites. The Piceni first entered into arms and began the war. Quintus Servilius the Proconsul was slain at Akulum, together with all the Roman citizens which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of Rome, together with all the soldiers coats, Servius Galba being surprised by the Lucanians, fled into the mountains. He was afterwards taken by the Lucanians, and sold for a slave. His wife, who was by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging, Eternia and Alba, two Colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, there are reported the aid of the Latines and other foreign nations sent unto the people of Rome: moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.*

Of the LXXII. Book.

Of the LXXI. Book,
Lucius Cæsar the cousin a battell against the Samnites went down and had the worſe. Nola the colony fell into the hands of the Samnites; together with L. Pothumius the Prætor who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies, for that P. Rutilius the Consul had fought with loſs againſt the Marſians; and loſt his life in the battell. C. Marius his lieutenant had a better conſiſt with the e enemies in the end and laſt. Servius Sulpicius vanquiſhed the Pelignians; Q. Cæpio, and his lieutenant of Rutilius, who having been by the enemies beſieged, had ſallied forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good ſucceſs he was made equal in government and command with C. Marius. But hereupon he grew to be too proud, and being over-taken by an ambuſh of the enemies was ſlain, and his army defeated. L. Cæſar the Conſul won a field of the Samnites: for which victory the ſoldiers coats were laid off again at Rome. Yet becauſe the fortune of the field would ſhow her ſelf variable, the Colony Eſſer-

nia, together with M. Marcellus, was taken by the Samnites. On the other side, Marius in a battle vanquished the Mariani, and slew Herminius Annius the Pretor of the Marrucini. C. Cæcilius overcame the Salviæ that rebelled in that Province of Gaul beyond the Alps.

Of the LXXIV. Book.

Cneus Pompeius discomfited the Picenis in battle and held them besieged: for which victory the Cnricoridæ purple robe with a star upon the shoulder and badge of the *Magnifrats* were taken up and put on. C. Marius fought against the *Numidians* with a very successful event. The *Liberians* then and over before began to serve him for want. Aurel. Plautius the lieutenant of Marius overcame the *Numidians* likewise. L. Porcius the Pretor vanquished the *Marsians*, when at both the times they were rebelled. Nicomede was placed again in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobazanes of Cappadocia. Pompeius the *Colosse* overbore the *Marsians* in a pitch field. When the City was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, A. Sempronius Aelilius the Pretor, because he gave sentence respectively in the favour of the debtors, was slain in the market-place by their creditors the *Misers*. Moreover, since he took care of the invaders and inventions of the *Thracians* into Macedonia together with their waiving of the book of debts.

Of the L X X V, Book

Aul Posthumus Albinus a Lieutenant General, being Admiral of the fleet, was upon an infamous Impudment of betraying his lordship, as suffered by his own army. L. Corn. Sylla, a Lieutenant governor, shew the Samniti in fight, and won two camps of them. Lucius Aquilius received the Picti upon their submission. L. Porcius the Cæsar, after fortunate success in kettell and land, had his third victory discomfit the Samniti, at he assailed force their camp last his life: which caused him to have his third victory of that battell to the enemy. Confolius and Lucius overcame the Samniti in battell, but Marius Magnus, a most valle and renowned commander of the enemies, and had many of their towns surrendered to their hands. L. Sylla attacked the Hirpini, and defeated the Samniti in many battels: and certain States submitted unto him: who having achieved so worthy and brave exploits before his Confollipe (& as if some any other man besides the like) repaired to Rome for to be made for Consul.

Of the LXXVI, Book

Aulus Gabinius a *lieutenant*, having fought *bravely* against the *Lucians*, and won from them many towns: as he laid siege to the *emissaries* together with cut off and slain, Sulpitius in quality of *lieutenant* took the execution of the *Marrinians*, and the surrender of that whole nation. Cn. Pompeius the *Pro-Consul* took the submission of the *Vestins* and *Pelignians*. The *Marrinians* likewise having been in certain battles quelled by L. Murena, and Cæcilius Piana, the *lieutenants*, craved peace. Alculum was won by Cn. Pompeius: and the Italian people by Mæmæus Æmilius, the *lieutenants*. Alculum was won by Silo Popedius, *General* of the *Marrinians*, and the author of the voluntary *slain* in battle, Ariobastæres of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdoms by Mithridates King of Pontus. Last of all this book discourses of the incursions and spoils that the *Thracians* made in Macedonia.

Of the LXXVII. Book.

Of the LXXVII. Book.

When P. Sulpitius a Tribune of the Common, by the advice and instigation of C. Marius had promised certain pernicious laws, that the banished should be restored, and new Citizens together with Libertins be forced into Tribes: also that Marius should be chosen General against Mithridates King of Pontus : and when he offered violence against Q. Pompeius and L. Sylla the Consuls, who contradicted his proceedings : and had slain the son of Pompeius the Consul, who had married Sylla's daughter : then L. Sylla Consul entered Rome with an army, and within the very City fought by against the adverse side of Sulpitius and Marius, and drove them forth : of which faction twelve were by the Senate judged enemies, and amongst them C. Marius both father and son. As for P. Sulpitius, when he was led in a certain farm-house of the country, was betrayed and betrayed by his own bond-servant : and pulled forth from thence and killed. The slave, because he might seem to be rewarded for revealing his Master according to promise, was manumitted and set free : but for his wicked treachery in betraying his own Master he was thrown down the rock Tarpeia. C. Marius the son crossed the seas into Africk, C. Marius the father lay hidden amongst the marshes of the Minnistrans, and was plucked out from thence by the townsmen : and when a certain bondswoman, a Frenchman born, was sent to kill him, she was so frightened at the Majesty and countenance of so brave a man, that she went back and would not do the fearful misdeed : Marius was embarked at the charges of the City and carried into Africk. L. Sylla reformed the State of the City, and drew out from thence inhabitants to people the Colonies. Q. Pompeius the Consul took his journey to receive the army of Cn. Pompeius the Consul, and by his Consul it was slain, Mithridates King of Pontus defeated by Bithynia and Cappadocia : drove out Aquilius the lieutenant, and with a mighty army invaded Phrygia the Province of the people of Rome.

Of the LXXVIII. Book

Mithridates held Asia by his garrisons; he came into prison Q. Oppius the Prae-Consul, and likewise Aquilinus the lieutenant. Also by his commandments, all the Roman Citizens to be found in Asia were in one day massacred. The City Rhodes, which only continued true and kept allegiance, he assailed, but being in certain battles in a year overcome, he razed it down, and made a chief governor and commander under the King, enred Greece with an army, and reduced Athens to slavery. Moreover, this book containeth the fearful trouble of certain Cities and Islands: while the Indians pants endeavour'd to draw their states, some to side with the King; others, to take part with the Romans.

Of the LXXIX. Book.

Lucius Cornelius Cinna, at what time as by force and arms he published dangerous laws, was thereupon by his Collegue Cn. Octavius, driven out of the City with six Tribunes of the commons besides; and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of Ap. Claudius his army by corruption; and joining with C. Marius and other banished persons, out of Affrick he march'd in a like manner against the City of Rome. In which war, it fortuned that two brethren, the one of Pompeius his army, and the other of Cinna's, encountered in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conquerour was in disarming, and spoiling him whom he had slain, he saw what he had done, and took knowledge that it was his brother: whereupon he fell into an exceeding piteous fit of weeping and lamentation: made a funeral fire for his brothers corps, stabbed himself through the weapon, and in the same fire was burnt and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these civil wars might have been suppressed in the beginning, such was the fraudulent dealing of Cn. Pompeius, who seeming to maintain both parties, gave strength to Cinna, and set not his helping hand before that the Nobles side went down: such also was the faineness and coldness of the Consul, that Cinna and Marius took heart and grew strong: and so with four armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of Q. Sertorius and C. Carbo, they invaded the City of Rome. Marius won by force the Colony Ostia, and most gently rancked it.

Of the LXX X. Book.

The Italian nations were by the Senat enfranchised, and obtained the freedom of Rome. The Samnites who only continued in arms banded again with Cinna and Marius. By them was Plancius slain and his army defeated. Cinna and Marius together with Carbo and Sertorius were possessors of Janiculum, and being discomfited and repelled by Octavius the Consul, retired and departed. Marius spoiled and laid desolate Antium, Aricia, and Lavinium three Colonies. When as now the nobility and Lords of the Senat had no hopes at all left to withstand the contrary factions, by reason of the cowardice and treachery as well of soldiers as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or else went over to the adverse part: Cinna and Marius were received into Rome: who as if it had been an enemy City forced by assault, made havock of all with massacre and massacres. In this garbail Cn. Octavius the Consul lost his life, and all the nobility of the other side were murdered: and among the rest, M. Antonius a most eloquent Orator, and C. Caesar: whose heads were set upon the Palpi Rostra, Tullius Crassus the son was by the horsemen of Fimbria killed: and Crassus the father, because he would not endure any indignity unworthy his virtues, fell upon his own sword. Without any assembly or election at all, Cinna and C. Marius declared themselves Consuls for the next year: and at the same day where they entered into their Magistracy, Marius caused Sex. Licinius a Senator to be thrown down the rock Tarpeia: and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of January, he depriv'd out of his world: a man whose vices (if they were weigh'd together with his virtues) hardly could be determin'd whether he were in war a better soldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commonwealth in his armour saved, the same in his long gown he overthrows first, with all manner of condescension and deceit: and lastly plain hostility and force of arms.

Of the LXX XI. Book.

Lucius Sylla straightly beleaguered Athens, which Archelaus a governour under King Mithridates held with a garrison: and after much toil and labour won it. To the City he granted their liberty again, and restored unto the Citizens all that was their own. Magnesia the only City in Asia that remained free and by all means most valiantly defended against Mithridates. Over and besides, here ye shall read the exploits performed by the Thracians in Macedony.

Of the LXX XII. Book.

Sylla vanquished inattel the power of King Mithridates, which having kept Macedony in obedience, was now come into Thracia. He slew one hundred thousand enemies, and was Master of the Camp. Afterward, when the war was renewed, he discomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army. Archelaus together with the Kings fleet yielded to Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus the Consul and companion in government with Cinna, being sent to succed Sylla, was (for his covetousness) so odious unto his army, that he was slain by C. Fimbria his own lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person: and so the conduct and command of the army was transferr'd to Fimbria. Moreover, here is recorded what Cities in Asia Mithridates won; how cruelly he spoiled and vexed the Province: and how the Thracians made roads and insouglons into Macedony.

Of the LXX XIII. Book.

Caius Fimbria after he had discomfited certain forces of Mithridates won the City Pergamus, besieged the King there, and mistook'd a little of taking him prisoner. To the City Uion, which stood out and refused it self to the behoof and devotion of Sylla, he forced and strove, with the greatest part of Asia he recovered. Sylla in many battels defeated the Thracians. When L. Cinna and C. Papyrius Carbo who for two years together were Consuls of their own making, prepar'd war against Sylla: by the means of L. Valerius Flaccus the President of the Senat (who made an Oration in the Council-house) and those who loved concord and sought for amity, effected it was in the end, that Embassadors should be sent unto Sylla to treat about a peace. Cinna was murdered by his own soldiers, whom he forc'd against their will to be embarked and to take a voyage against Sylla: by which occasion Carbo alone bore the Consulship. Sylla being pass'd over into Asia, made peace with Mithridates upon this capitulation. That the King should quit the Provinces namely Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, Fimbria being forsaken of his own army, which revolted unto Sylla, gave himself a free wound and yielding his neck unto his own bondslave obtained this favour at his hands, as to dispatch him outright.

Of the LXXXIV. Book.

Sylla returned this answer unto the Embassadors sent unto him from the Senat, That he would be Sordered by them, in case those Citizens who (upon the hard usage of Cinna) fled unto him, might be restored. The Senat thought this a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, they refused no agreement and accord. The same Carbo when he was minded to exact hostages of all the towns and colonies of Italy, thereby to bind them upon their Allegiance against Sylla, was by a generall consent of the Senat crossed and inhibited. The new embassadors, by virtue of an act by the Senat granted, were allowed the privilege of their passage, and voice. Q. Metellus Pius who had sided with the nobility, whilst he lived was in Affrick, and by C. Fabius the Prator discomfited: and by the fallow of Carbo and those that follow'd the part of Marius, an act of S. was pass'd, That all armies and forces whereforever should be cass'd and discharg'd. The Libertines were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirty tribes. Besides all this, there was specified the preparation of war which was rais'd against Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. Book.

Sylla crossed the sea with an army over into Italy: and when those Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul C. Norbanus coill entreated, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battel. And when he was about to assail the camp of L. Scipio the other Consul, with whom he had travelled and assaid all means to conclude peace, and could not compass it: the whole army of the Consul in generally, being solicited by soldiers whom Sylla had sent out under-hand to take passage, they turned their engines unto him, and followed him standard. Scipio, when he might have been killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius, the son of that Cneus who won Alifum, enrolled in army of vol. stairs, and came unto Sylla with three legions: unto whom also the nobility all and whole winged themselves, so as to surround the City they pass'd to the camp. Finally, in this book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides throughout all Italy.

Of the LXXXVI. Book.

That year wherein C. Marius (the son of C. Marius) was by forcible means and strong hand created Consul before he was twenty years of age, C. Fabius in Affrick was burnt quick in his own passion for his bloody cruelty and greedy avarice. L. Philippus, lieutenant unto Sylla, seized Sardinia, after he had discomfited and slain Q. Antonius the Prator. Sylla contracted a league with the States of Italy, to put them out of fear, but he would not because them of their freedom of Rome and liberty of suffrages lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (as he had already) of undoubted victory, he commanded all those that were in suite and resort'd unto him for jurisdiction, to adjudge their appearance in Court, and to appear at Rome. Whilst the City yet was divided and distracted, two men, L. Damalipus the Prator, having according to the will and pleasure of C. Marius the Consul, gathered the Senat together, massacred all the nobility of the City. One of which number Q. Mutius Scævola the great Pontific as he stood was in the very porch and entry of Velants Temple murdered. Besides this book containeth the war renewed by L. Murena against Mithridates in Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. Book.

Sylla after he had discomfited and overthrowen the army of C. Marius, near a place called Sacripontus, besieged him within the town Praeneste. The City of Rome he recovered out of the hands of his enemies: and when Marius made an offer to sally forth, he repelled him. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits achieved by his lieutenants, with the like success of both sides in all places.

Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

Sylla after that he had defeated and put to the sword the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, chased him forth of Italy. With the Samnites, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down arms, he fought one small battel, and vanquished them near the City of Rome close by the gate Collina: and thus having recovered and got into his hand the absolute managing of the state, he spoiled and spoil'd this most goodly and beautiful victory with the fittest cruelty that ever man committed. He cut the throats of 8000 in the face of hostility called Villa Publica, even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the tale of proscription and outlawry. The City of Rome and Italy throughout filled with massacre. Amongst these he caused all the Praefectis, disarmed as they were, to be slain. Marius, a Senator by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes. C. Marius besieged within Praeneste by Lucretius Aella and that side with Sylla, when he sought means of evasion by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was overruled by the army, flow himself within the said mine for perceiving that he could not escape, he and Pontius Telesinus, that accompanied him in this fight, saw one at the other with their drawn naked swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindness at his slaves hands as to make an end of him quite.

Of the LXXXIX. Book.

Lucius Butus sent from Cn. Papyrius Carbo, who was arrived at Corcyra in a slier boat to Lilybaeum, in quest, to see whether Pompey were there: being compass'd, a little benevolent toward him by those vessels which Pompey had sent out toward his sword point to his body, as if the power would allow, Cn. Pompeius sent by the Senat with full commission of rule and command of all Cn. Carbo's power, who was arrived in the 11. day of February, and flew him, who kept a policy and weeped like a woman, when he should see Sylla come Dictator, and that which never any man had done before him: he sent his port abroad with 24. ships or Lictors going before him with their rods and axes. He altered the S. and

Q. qqq 3

and in that innovation established it. The Tribunes of the Commons he abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and establish laws. The College of the Pontiffs and Augurs he amplified and augmented to the number of 15. The body of the Senate he supplanted out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of those whom he had proscribed and outlawed he disjunctured for being eligible to any honorable office, and of their goods made portulaks, whereof at first he seized much by violence and laid it away. A mighty mass of money he raised thereof, amounting to a hundred and fifty millions of Sesterces. He commanded Q. Lucretius Ocellus to be killed in the very Forum of Rome for that he presumed without his leave and license to sue for a Consulship: and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignity, he assembled them to a public audience, and before them avowed the fact and took it upon him. Cn. Pompeius in Affrick vanquished and slew in battell Cn. Domitius, one of the proscript outlaws: and Hiarbas King of the Numidians, who prepared to levy war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better as yet than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Affrick. C. Norbanus, a man who had been Consul, and now proscript and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Mutulus likewise one of them that were outlawed and out of protection, being come privily disguised with his head covered to the back door of Bassia his wives house, and with his own hand blindfold sprinkled the door of his wives house. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Samnium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongst them. He be sieged the town Volaterra, which yet stood out and bare arms, and at length upon surrender got it. Mitylene also, the only City in Asia (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was freed and rescued down to the ground.

Of the XC. Book.

Sylla depa'ted this life, and this hence it was done unto him by the Senat, that he was entered in Mars field. M. Lepidus going about to cancel and abolish the acts of Sylla, raised new war: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italy: and when he prepared to wage war (but to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished, and came to his death. M. Brutus who held Lumbardy, was by Cn. Pompeius slain. Q. Sertorius, another proscript out-law, levied a great war in the northern lands of Spain. Lucius Manlius the Pro-Consul, and M. Domitius a lieutenant, were in fight overcome by Hercules the treasurer. Moreover, this book containeth the acts performed by P. Servilius the Pro-Consul against the Cilicians.

Of the XCI. Book.

Cneus Pompeius, being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was sent with full commission of Consul, to command against Sertorius. Certain Cities had Sertorius won by assault, and brought under many States to be at his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Pro-Consul overcame the Thracians in divers and many battels. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul defeated and slew L. Hirculeius the treasurer of Sertorius, with all his army.

Of the XCII. Book.

Cneus Pompeius hitherto fought with Sertorius in doubtful event, so as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overbore in fight Metellus and Perenna with two armies. Pompeius desirous to carry away his part in that victory, entered into the field, but made no saving game of it. Afterwards Sertorius was besieged within Calagurium, but by daily and continual sallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in siege within as good as they brought. Over and besides, herein are contained the deeds achieved by Curio the Pro-Consul in Thrace against those Dardaniens, together with sundry cruel and bloody parts played by Q. Sertorius, even with those of his own side. For many of his own friends, as such as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treason pretended against them, he put to death.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Publius Servilius, the Pro-Consul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and won certain towns of the Priests. Nicomedes King of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his full heirs, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province. Mithridates contrived a league with Sertorius, and waged war against the people of Rome. Herein is shewed the great preparation of war that the King made as well by land as sea, and how he seized upon Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta the Consul was in battell vanquished by the King at Chalcedon. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus against Sertorius, who in all warlike feats and martial prowess was equal unto them, whom also he saved from the siege before the town Calagurium, and compelled to go into divers countries, Pompeius into the further Province of Spain, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Lucius Lucullus the Consul fought against Mithridates, and in horse-service had the better hand of him. Certain roads he made with good success, and when his soldiers called hard upon him for battell, he fled them from mutiny. Deiotarus a tyrant of Gallogracia, defeated the captains of X. Mithridates who led war in Phrygia. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate achievements of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

Of the XCV. Book.

Ains Curio the Pro-Consul vanquished and subdued the Dardaniens in Thrace. Threescore and fourteen sword-players of Capua fled out of the fest-school of Lentulus at Capua: who having gathered together a number of slaves, and hired hind, raised war under the leading of Chrysius and Spartacus,

tacus, and vanquished in plain field, Cl. Pulcher a lieutenant, and P. Vatinius the Prator. L. Lucullus the Pro-Consul with the famine and the sword together tamed and subdued the host of Mithridates at the City Cizicus: and when they had chased him out of Bithynia, after many overthrow in war, and misfortunes of shipwreck at sea, wherewith his heart was qualified, he compelled him to flee into Pontus.

Of the XCVI. Book.

Quintus Arrius the Prator defeated and slew Chrysius the captain of the fugitives, and with him 20000 men. Ains Lentulus the Consul recovered a spoil and overthrow at the hands of Spartacus. He also overcame in fight Lu. Gellius the Consul and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a battell slain by Manius Antonius and M. Perenna with other conspirators in the eight year of his disband. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he saved his own, but more often went away winner, however, in the end he was abandoned and betrayed. The overthrow of that side was made over to Marcus Perenna. Whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished, took prisoner, and slew: so about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered Spain. C. Cassius the Pro-Consul, and Cneus Manlius the Prator were killed by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Crassus the Prator.

Of the XCVII. Book.

Marcus Crassus the Prator first fought with a power of the fugitives afore said, consisting of Frenchmen and Germans, and won the better: for he slew 35000 enemies, and their captain Granicus. After that the warred against Spartacus, killed him also and 40000 with him. Manius Antonius the Prator maintained war unfortunately against the Cretensians, and by his death it took an end. M. Lucullus the Pro-Consul brought the Thracians under subjection. L. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battell of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above 60000 enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Consuls, and as Crassus immediately out of his Pratorship stepped to that dignity, so Pompey was of a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had won the office of Treasurer. They restored again the Tribunes power and authority. By the means of Aurelius Cotta the preeminence of judgements also was translated unto the Gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates seeing his own estate lying in danger, fled unto Tigranes King of Armenia for succour.

Of the XCVIII. Book.

Machares the son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amity. Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius the Consuls administered their office with great severity and rigour, and disposed 60 from Senators dignity: they also held a review and purged the City. Enrolled there were 450000 Citizens of Rome. L. Metellus Lord Prator in Sicily fought furiously against the private reivers, the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitoll, which by fire had been consumed, was re-edified by Q. Catulus, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia discomfited in many battels Mithridates and Tigranes with a mighty power of both Kings. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul having the charge of the war against the Candots, besieged the City Cydonia. C. Triarius a lieutenant under Lucullus recovered a battell of Mithridates in fight. Lucullus was impeached, and stand for pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, that he could not accomplish his victory by occasion of a mutiny among his own soldiers, who would not follow, because the Valerian Legions forsook Lucullus, alleging that they had served their time fully out.

Of the XCIX. Book.

Quintus Metellus the Pro-Consul forced by assault Gnosus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other Cities in Crete. L. Roscius a Trib. of the Com. pulled a Law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the 14 next seats in the scaffold of the Theatre, to behold the games and plaies. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promulged unto the people for to pursue the reivers above said, who had debarr'd and cut off all commerce for corn and vitall, within 74 dies rid the sea of them quite, and after the war with them finished in Cilicia, he received them upon submission, and gave them Cities and lands to possess. Moreover, this book containeth the worthy exploits of Q. Metellus against the Cretensians. The letters also of Metellus and Cn. Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus complaineth that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to receive the surrender and homage of the Cities there, annulled and p'ssided by the glory of those acts which he had achieved. Pompeius again answereth a reason thereof, and alledgeth that so he ought to do.

Of the C. Book.

Ains Manilius a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding displeasure and indignation of the nobles, that the war against Mithridates should be assigned to Pompey. His speech to the people imported and was effectual. Q. Metellus having subdued the Cretensians, gave laws unto that Island, which until that time enjoyed freedom of State. Cn. Pompeius won his honour for to levy war against Mithridates, and with Phraates, King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battell performed by both, he overcame Mithridates. Also herein is contained the war, first between Phraates King of the Parthians, and Tigranes King of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.

Of the CI. Book.

Cneus Pompeius vanquished Mithridates in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flee to Bosphorus. He received Tigranes upon his submission and when he had taken from him Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia, he gave him again the kingdom of Armenia. Their conspiracy who having been condemned for the inordinant and ambitious sins of the Consulship, were considered to kill the Consul, was surprised and dashed. Cn. Pompeius following the chase after Mithridates, saved into far remote countries and unknown nations. The Iberians and Albanians who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides this book sheweth how Mithridates fled by Colchii and Heniochi, and what his acts were in Bosphorus.

Of the CII. Book.

Cn. Pompeius reduced the realm of Pontus into the form of a Province. Pharnaces the son of Mithridates made war upon his own fathers, by whom Mithridates was besieged within his own royall Court and Palace. Whereupon he drank poison and seeing it was not effectfull and strong enough to dispatch him, he was killed by a French souldier, named Biturix, whose helping hand he requested for to rid him out of the world. Cn. Pompeius subdued the Jews: their famous Temple of Jerusalem, which until that day never had suffered abuse and violence, beset and won. Catiline, by occasions that he had twice suffered a repulse in suing to be Consul, conspired together with Lentulus the Prator, Cethegus, and many others, to massacre the Consuls and the Senat, to set the City on fire, and to subvert and overthrow the State of the Common-wealth, and to this purpose had levied an army in Tuicany. This treason and conspiracy was by the industry of M. Tullius Cicero detected and found out. Catiline was banished the City. The rest of his complots and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.

Of the CIII. Book.

Catiline together with his army, was by C. Antonius the Pro-Consul defeated and slain. P. Clodius was accus'd for entring (in the habit and apparel of a woman) into a Chappel which it was not lawful for a man to go into, and notwithstanding he had committed adultery with the arch-priestess wife, yet he was acquit and went clear away. Cn. Pompeius the Prator published with great strife and contention, the Senat was unwilling thereto; but by the other Cef. M. Bibulus they passed. C. Antonius, Pro-Consul in Thracia, shed his badly in his war-affairs. M. Cicero was banished the City by over-tonius. P. Clodius Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens uncondemned, Caesar made a voyage into the Province of Gaul, where he subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandering nation in those dates, who seeking a place to inhabit, intended through the Province of Cesar to travell into * Narbo. Moreover, it containeth the situation of France. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, also over Tigranes and his son, and by one voice and generall consent of the whole assembly was saluted by the name of * Magnus.

Of the CIV. Book.

The forepart of this book compriseth the sit and description, together with the manners of Germany. C. Cesar at what time as he led his army against the Germans, at the request of the Helvians and Segvianians, whose territory by them was possessed, and who under the conduct of Ariovitus were come down into France, by an Oration to his army shaid the timorous disposition of the souldiers, which arose upon the fear they had of new and strange enemies, vanquished the Germans in plain fight, and drove them clean out of France. M. Cicero by means of Pompeius (who among others made an Oration in his behalf) and of T. Annius Milo, a Tribune of the Commons, who likewise pleaded his cause, was with the exceeding joy of the Senat and all Italy called home from exile. Cn. Pompeius had commision for five year space to look unto the provision of corn and vittuals, Cesar overcame in fight the Ambians, Sussians, Proandians, Atrebares (nations all of the Belgæ) of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received them upon yielding to his protection. Afterwards he fought with passing great hazard and jeopardy against the Nervii, one of his foresaid States, and in five utterly destroyed and extinguished their whole generation: for they had waged war so long, untill of 60000 armed men there remained but 300, and of 95 of their Noblemen three only escaped and no more. There passed a law for to reduce Cyprus into the form of a Province, and to confiscate the King's treasure: by overtune whereof, the managing of that affair was committed to C. Cato, Ptolemaus King of Egypt suffered many wrongs and injuries at his own subjects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdom, came to Rome. C. Cesar in a battell at sea vanquished the Venetians, a State and City seated in the very Ocean. Last of all, it reporteth exploits by his Lieutenants performed with like good fortune.

Of

Of the CV. Book.

At what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the negatives and inhibitions of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com, the Senat generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weeds. M. Cato in his sute for a Pratorship suffered a repulse, and Vatinius was preferred before him. The same Vatinius when he would have impeached the law, whereby were granted to the Consuls the Provinces for five years, unto Pompey the government of both Spains, unto Crassus Syria and the Parthian war, and unto Cesar France and Germany, was by C. Trebonius a Tribune of the Commons, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison. M. Gabinius the Pro-Consul established Ptolemaus again in the kingdom of Egypt, and dispossessed Archelaus whom they had set up for their King. Cesar after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in France, crossed over the Rhene, and subdued that part of Germany which is next thereto: which done, he sailed over into Brittain with much trouble and damages, by reason of the cross and contrary winds whilst he was at sea; and he sped little better when he was there: but after he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the Island.

Of the CVI. Book.

Iulia daughter to Cesar and wife to Pompeius departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done unto her by the people, as to be enterr'd in Mars field. Many of the States of France revolted by the leading of Ambiorix, Duke of the Eburons, by whom Cotta and T. Aurunculeius the Lieutenants of Cesar, were by an ambuscado surprised and environed, and by means thereof they and the armies whereof they had the conduct were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions also was besieged, assailed, and with difficulty defended, and among them Q. Cicero, who was Lord President of the Treveri: the enemies were by Cesar himself in person overtaken in fight. M. Crassus intending to war upon the Parthians posted over the river Euphrates, and being vanquished in battell, wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken end of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was trained forth by the enemies (whose Captain was Surenas) to a parley and treaty of peace, and thereupon attacked: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany alive, he made resistance and in that struggling of his was slain, and there an end of him.

Of the CVII. Book.

Caius Cesar having vanquished the Treveri in Gaul, passed over the second time into Germany, but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into France, where the Eburons and other Gentles which had conspired, he overcame, put their King Ambiorix to flight, and followed him in chase. The body of P. Clodius slain in the big way Appia near Bovilla by T. Annius Milo a competitor of the Consulship, the Commons of Rome burnt in a funeral fire within the Curia Hostilia. By occasion of a tedious variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely, Hypiclus Scipio, and Milo, who with force and arms tried the issue by the ears: Cn. Pompeius was sent out of the Senat to suppress such enormous debates. Created Consul he was the third time in his absence, and (which prerogative no man ever had) alone without Collegue. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of Pub. Clodius, by vertue whereof Milo was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be banished. A bill was proposed, that C. Cesar notwithstanding he was absent, should be accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit M. Cato was unwilling thereto, and gainst it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike act: achieved by C. Cesar against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted under the leading of Vercingetorix the Avernian: also the painfull sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of * Avaricum in Bituriges, and * Gergovia in Auvergne.

* Biterges.
* In Brit.
* C. 1003.

Of the CVIII. Book.

Caius Cesar vanquished the Gauls at * Alexia, and received all the Cities in France which had been in arms, into his protection upon their submission. C. Cassius the treasurer of M. Crassus, put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into Syria. M. Cato sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and Ser. Sulpitius with M. Marcellus were created Consuls: C. Cesar subdued the * Bellovacii, with other States and Cities in France. Also it containeth the strife and debate between the Consuls about sending of a successor to C. Cesar. For M. Marcellus the Consul was earnest in the Senat, that Cesar should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that he by a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Last of all, the martiall deeds of Mar. Bibulus in Syria are here reported.

Of the CIX. Book.

The causes of the civilwar and their beginnings be here set down. The contentions likewise about a successor to be sent in lieu of Cesar, who denied flatly to dismiss the armies, until Pompey also discharged

charged his forces. *At once, this book treats of the actions preferred by C. Cato, a Tribune of the Commons, first against Cæsar, and afterwards for him. When there passed an act of the Senate, that one or other without fail should be employed to succeed Cæsar, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, two other Tribunes (for that by their negative and inhibitions they seemed to cross and stay that act) were expelled the City; and a commission was directed by the Senate to the Consuls, and to Cn. Pompeius, in this form, To see that the Common-wealth sustained no damage. C. Cæsar intending to persecute his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Cornificius together with L. Domitius and L. Lentulus he took prisoners, and let them go again: but Cn. Pompeius, and the rest of that side he miserably chased forth of Italy.*

Of the CX. Book.

Cæsar besieged Massilia, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus at the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon submission Lu. Afranius and C. Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, with seven legions at Ilberda, and dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Vatro also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obedience. The Gaditani he enfranchised and gave the City unto. The Massilians after two overthrow in sea-fights, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Cæsar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Cæsar, fought an unfortunate battle against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Cæsar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and lighters locked up and fast shut within the enemies ships, rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C. Curio, a lieutenant of Cæsar in Affric, after he had fought against Varus a captain of the Pompeians, was together with his army defeated, and was in power by Juba King of Mauritania. C. Cæsar passed the sea over into Greece.

Of the CXI. Book.

Cæsar Cæcilius Rufus the Prator going about to raise commotions and seditions all that over he could within the City, and having solicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debt-books, was first deposed from his Magistracy, and after driven out of the City. Then he banded with Milo a banished person, who had levied a power of fugitive outlaws: but both of them in this preparation of war came short of their purpose and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Egypt was by her brother Ptolemæus expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the avarice and cruelty of Q. Cæcilius the Prator, the Cordubians in Spain, together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cæsar and his side. Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Cæsar at Brundisium: but having won his sconces with the guards thereto belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse party, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was translated into Thessaly, he was at Pharsalia in a battle overthrow. There remained still within the camp Cicero, a man by nature framed for nothing more unfit than war. Cæsar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

Of the CXII. Book.

Herein is related the fearful condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. Cn. Pompeius being arrived in Egypt, by the commandment of Ptolemæus the King as yet an infant under age, and persuasion of Theodorus his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other over-rule the King, was killed by the hands of Achilla, one who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Cornelia his wife, and Sextus Pompeius his son fled back into cyprus. Cæsar three daies after the foresaid victory, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his hand and signet of his finger, he was distressed in his heart and wept withall. He entered Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and hurlyburly therein. Cæsar was created Dictator. He restored Cleopatra unto the kingdom of Egypt: and when Ptolemæus made war by their advice and counsell who moved him to murder Pompeius, Cæsar vanquished him, with great peril and hazard of himself. As Ptolemæus fled, his vessel wherein he was embarked ran a ground in Nilus, and there stuck fast. Besides, this book sheweth the painful and toilsome journey of Marcus Cato with his legions in Affric through the desert wilderness: and the war which Cn. Domitius fortunately managed against Phraates the Parthian King.

Of the CXIII. Book.

When the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Affric, the sovereign command thereof was committed to P. Scipio: for Mato who before had equal power and commission with him, gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was debated in council as touching the subverting and utter ruin of Utica, for that the City was so inclined and favourable to Cæsar, while M. Cato stood stiffly in this point, that it should not be destroyed, and Juba the King earnestly to have it saved: the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The son of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (the conduct and leading whereof, neither Afranius nor Petreius were willing to undertake), made fresh war upon Cæsar, Pharnaces King of Pontus and son of Mithridates, endured no time of war.

but was soon overcome. At what time as P. Dolabella a Tribune of the com, raised seditions in Rome, by means of a law by him published in the behalf of bankrupts. That the old debts should be stricken off, and new order taken with the creditors: upon which occasion there ensued a commotion of the commons. M. Antonius, General of the Cavalry, entered the City with a strength of soldiers: and eight hundred of the commons lost their lives. Cæsar discharged all his old soldiers, who in a mutiny demanded the same: and having sailed into Affric, he fought against the power of K. Juba with exceeding great jeopardy.

Of the CXIV. Book.

Cæcilius Bassus a gentleman of Rome, and one of Pompeys side, levied war in Syria. Sextus Cæsar was both for saken by the legion which revolted and went to Bassus, and also slain. Cæsar vanquished Scipio the Prator, Afranius, and Juba, near Tapio, and forced their camp. Cato hearing thereof, wounded himself at Utica: and when his son came between and bled his hand, his hurt was dressed, but in the very cure, as the wound was newly lanced again, he yielded up his vitall breath and died, in the 49 year of his age. Petreius killed Juba and himself. P. Scipio in his ship was by sea round, and at his death, which he took manfully, he uttered a brave speech: for when the enemies made search and enquiry what was become of the General, The General (quoth he) well, Paulus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son had his pardon. Brutus, a lieutenant of Cæsar vanquished the Bellocians in France that rebelled.

Of the CXV. Book.

Cæsar rode in four triumphs over France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemn feast he made, and exhibited unto the people shows of all sorts. Into M. Marcellus a man of Consular dignity, at the request of the Senate he granted leave to returne with Marcellus, could not enjoy the benefit of this grace and favour, by reason that he was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magius Chilo, his own client and vaillal. Cæsar also held a review of the City, wherein were enrolled 150000 Citizens, whereas before there had been numbered 400000. See the calamity of civil war. He took a voyage into Spain against Sex. Pompeius: and after many rodes and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced, in the end he attained one final victory for all before the City Munda, but with exceeding peril and danger. Sex. Sempronius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. Book.

Cæsar triumphed a fifth time over Spain. When many honours and those right excellent, were by the Senat ordained for him, and namely, among the rest, to be called Pater Patriæ: it to be sacrosanct and inviolable: and withall to be Dictator for ever: he gave occasion to be envied and misliked: first in that when the Senat bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as he sat before the Temple of Venus Genetrix, he rose not up nor did reverence unto them: second for that when Mar. Antonius the Consul and his Colleague ran among the Luperci, he laid upon his ivory chair of estate the wreath or diadem which was by him set upon his head: thirdly, because he deprived from their authority Epitius Marullus and Cæcilius Flavius, two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into hatred, as if he affected and sought to be King. Upon these causes, a conspiracy was contrived against him, whereby the principall heads, were M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, and C. Cassius, also one of his own side D. Brutus: by whom he was massacred in the court of Pompeius, and received 23 wounds: and by these murderers was the Capitol seized and held. But after that the Senat had passed a decree to forget this murder, as conspirators aforesaid, having received for their security the favour of Antonius and Lepidus, as hostages, came down from the Capitol. By the last will and testament of Cæsar, C. Octavius (his sisters son) was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of Cæsar being brought into Mars field, was by the Com. burnt in a funeral fire before the Rostra. The honour and dignity of Dictatorship was for ever abolished. Chameaces a person of most vile and base condition, avowed himself to be the son of C. Marius: and whilst he raised a sedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII. Book.

Cæsar Octavius from out of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cæsar had sent him thither before, when he minded to make war in Macedony, where he was received with good tokens and fortunate preface, and withall took upon him the name of Cæsar. In this confusion of state and tumultuous trouble of all things, Lepidus attained by stealth to the highest pontifical dignity. But when M. Antonius the Consul demeaned himself most lordly and proudly in his place, and by force published a law at touching the exchange of the Provinces; and withal offered much wrong and abuse to Cæsar, when he made request that he would assist and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his uncle: Cæsar, to the end that he might make both himself and the commons freed from against him, raised and excited the old soldiers whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion also, and that called Marcia, fell from Antonius and turned their engines to Cæsar. After this more tedious (by occasion that many through the cruelty of A. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) because they were once suspected, revolted from him and ranged to Cæsar. D. Brutus purposing to stop Antonius as he should pass into Lombardy, seized upon Mutina with an army. Finally, this book declares the running to and fro of those on both parts, so be possessed first of the Provinces, and the preparation for war.

Of the CXVIII, Book.

MARCUS BRUTUS in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the state, and enterprising war against Antonius) possessed himself of the army whereof VETURIUS had the conduct together with the Province. Unto CÆSAR, who first took arms in defence of the C. P. the government and command of a Province was granted, with the Prætorian ornaments and ensigns thereto belonging, and withall, he had this addition to be reputed 'Pro-Prætor.' M. ANTONIUS besieged D. BRUTUS in MUTINA. Certain Embassadors were sent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treaty and conclusion thereof. The people of Rome generally betook them to arms and soldiers habit. BRUTUS in EPIRUS subdued C. ANTONIUS the Prætor together with his army.

Of the CXIX, Book.

CNEUS TREBONIUS was by the guilfull practice of P. DOLABELLA, slain in Asia: for which fall DOLABELLA was by the Senat judged an enemy to the State. When PANIA the Cof. was at the point to lose the field, ANTONIUS, A. HIRTIIUS the other Cof. came with his army to the rescue, discomfited the forces of M. ANTONIUS, and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equall. Afterwards, ANTONIUS being vanquished by HIRTIIUS and CÆSAR, fled into FRANCE, and joyned unto him M. LEPIDUS with the legions which were in der him. Both he and all they who were within his holds in garrison, were by the Senat attainted. ANIUS HIRTIIUS, who after his victory was slain within the camp of the enemies, and L. PANIA, who died of a wound received in an unfortunate fight, were both buried in Mars field. To C. CÆSAR the only Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not so kind as they ought to have been: for having ordered that D. BRUTUS (who by CÆSAR had been delivered from the siege at MUTINA) should triumph, they made no thankfull remembrance of CÆSAR and his soldiers, as was meet and requisite. For which discontentes, C. CÆSAR (being reconciled to M. ANTONIUS by the means and mediation of M. LEPIDUS) came to Rome with an army: and when they were sore dismaied at his coming, who had before increased him so unkindly, created Consul he was (with Q. P. P. being but nineteen years of age, or not full twenty, for he wanted one day, as Velleius Paterculus saith).

Of the CXX, Book.

CÆSAR now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them by whose means his father CÆSAR was killed. And by virtue of that law, M. BRUTUS, C. CASSIUS, and D. BRUTUS were indicted, attainted and condemned in their absence. When together with M. ANTONIUS, ANINIUS POLLIO also, and M. NATIVUS PLANCUS had joyned their arms, and thereby much strengthened and augmented their forces, D. BRUTUS whom the Senat had sent with commission to pursue ANTONIUS, being now forlorn of his own legions and fled, was at the commandment of ANTONIUS (into whose hands he fell) killed by one CAPEBUS a Burgonian. Caius CÆSAR contraited a peace with ANTONIUS and LEPIDUS, wherein it was capitulated between them, that those three should for five years have the sovereignty over all, only to set in order and establish the state of the common-weal: to wit, himself, LEPIDUS, and ANTONIUS, and each of them proscribed, and outlaw their own adversaries and enemies, in which proscription were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of Rome, and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongst the rest, were L. PALLIUS the brother of M. LEPIDUS, L. CÆSAR the uncle of ANTONIUS by the Mother, and M. CICERO, slain by POPILIUS a gionary soldier, in the 63 year of his age, whose head and hands was set upon the Rostra. Moreover, this book sheweth the deeds by M. BRUTUS achieved in Greece.

Of the CXXI, Book.

CASSIUS who had in commission from the Senat, to pursue by force of arms DOLABELLA, judged an enemy to the common-weal, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, possessed himself of SYRIA, and became Master of three armies which were in that Province. He besieged DOLABELLA within the City of LAODICEA, and put him to death. C. ANTONIUS was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandment from M. BRUTUS slain.

Of the CXXII, Book.

MARCUS BRUTUS had but bad success in fight against the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond sea, and the armies, were under his hands and Caius CASSIUS: they comploted both together at SYRINA, what course to take for the future war. Publicola the brother of M. MESSALA they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.

Of the CXXIII, Book.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS the son of MAGNUS, assembled together out of EPIRUS a number of outlaws and banished persons, and having a long time with this army robbed only by way of piracy, and settled as yet upon the possession of no piece upon the land, first seized MESSANA, a town in Sicily, and afterwards the

the whole Province. And after that A. POMPEIUS Bithynicus the Prætor there, was by Pompey slain: he the said Pompey in a battell at sea vanquished Q. SALVIDIENUS, a Lieutenant of CÆSAR. CÆSAR and ANTONIUS with their armies sailed over into Greece, with intent to wage war against BRUTUS and CASSIUS. QUINTIUS CORNICIUS in AFFRICK overcame in plain fight T. SEPTIUS, the Captain of the Cassian faction.

Of the CXXIII, Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR together with ANTONY fought at PHILIPPI with variable fortune against BRUTUS and CASSIUS, in such sort, as the right point of both battels last he better, and each of them won the other camp. But the death of CASSIUS was it that turned the balance and made the difference: who being in that point that retreated and went down, supposed that the whole army and withall was discomfited and so killed himself. In another conflict afterwards, M. BRUTUS also was overcome, and there ended his life: for he intreated STRATO (that accompanied him in his flight) to set his sword point toward him, and so he was upon it. The same did some forty more of the principall Romans: among whom was Q. HORTENSIVS likewise slain.

Of the CXXV, Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR left ANTONY (for to his share fell the Empire of some Provinces beyond sea) and returned into Italy. He divided lands among his old soldiers. The mutinies of his own army by occasion that the soldiers were seduced by FULVIA the wife of M. ANTONIUS and rose against their Generall, he repressed with exceeding danger and jeopardy: L. ANTONIUS the Cof. and brother to M. ANTONIUS, the ungracious counsel and persuasion of the said FULVIA, made war upon CÆSAR: and having procured the actions to side and take part with him, whose lands had been made over and assigned to the old soldiers afore said, and withall, discomfited M. LEPIDUS, who with an army had the government and guard of the City, entered perforce by way of hostility into Rome.

Of the CXXVI, Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR when he was but three and twenty years of age, besieged L. ANTONIUS in the town PERUSIA: and when he made sundry offers to fully out and break forth, he repelled and chased him back, yea, and for very hunger forced him to yield and come under his obedience. As for ANTONY himself and all his soldiers, he pardoned, but PERUSIA he rased and destroyed. Finally, after he had brought all the armies of the adverse side to submit and to stand to his mercy, he finished the war without effusion of any blood.

Of the CXXVII, Book.

THE PARTHIANS, under the conduct of LABIENUS, who had taken part with POMPEY and that side, invaded SYRIA: overcome DIDIVS SASS, the Lieutenant of M. ANTONIUS, and held all that Province to their own use. M. ANTONIUS being solicited by the instigation of his wife FULVIA to make war against CÆSAR, put her away, because she should be no let nor hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirat. Then made he a peace with CÆSAR, and took to wife his sister OCTAVIA. Q. SALVIDIENUS who complotted mischief against CÆSAR, he detested and bewaried: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his own death. P. VENTIDIUS a Lieutenant under ANTONIUS, overcome the PARTHIANS in battell, and chased them forth of SYRIA, having before slain their Leader LABIENUS. When at SEXTUS POMPEIUS held SICILY, and being a near enemy and neighbour to Italy, staid at her transporting of corn and victuals by sea: upon request CÆSAR and ANTONY made peace with him for this consideration, that he should govern SICILY as his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of AFFRICK.

Of the CXXVIII, Book.

WHEN SEXTUS POMPEIUS infested the sea again with robbery and piracy, and would not make good and maintain that peace, which he had accepted of CÆSAR, he was forced upon necessity to undertake war against him, and in two naval battels fought with double event. L. VENTIDIUS a Lieutenant of M. ANTONIUS, vanquished the PARTHIANS in SYRIA and slew their King. The Jews also were by ANTONIUS Lieutenant subdued. Herein besides, is set forth the preparation for this consideration, that he should govern SICILY as his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of AFFRICK.

Of the CXXIX, Book.

SUNDRY battels were fought at sea against SEXTUS POMPEIUS with variable issue: so as, of CÆSARS two fleets, the one which was conducted by AGRIPPA, got the better hand: but the other led by CÆSAR himself, had the overbrow: and the soldiers being set ashore were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards POMPEIUS was defeated, and thereupon fled into SICILY. MARCUS LEPIDUS crossed the sea from out of AFFRICK, pretending to take part with CÆSAR in his wars to be made against SEXTUS POMPEIUS. But when CÆSAR warred upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign up the honour and dignity of the Triumvirat, obtained life. M. AGRIPPA was by CÆSAR rewarded with a naval crown, an honour to no man ever granted before him.

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Of the CXXX, Book.

Marcus Antonius, in his rioting time with Cleopatra, entered into the Province of Media with eighteen legions, and sixteen thousand horsemen; levied war upon the Parthians, and when he had left two of his legions, seeing nothing prosper well on his side, he retired back. But still the Parthians followed him in chase; whereupon in exceeding fearful battle and great perill of the whole army, he returned into Armenia: so as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he lost by tempestuous weather, but he was himself the occasion that he suffered these dangerous tempests, over and besides the Parthian war which unfortunately he entered, because he would not winter in Armenia for haste he made to his love Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI, Book.

Sex Pompeius having once submitted, whilse he was in the protection of M. Antonius, went about to stir war against him in Asia; but by his Lieutenant he was surprised and slain. Caesar fled the mutiny of the old soldiers, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Ispides, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians, Antonius having upon his word and promise of safety and protection, constrained unto him Artavasdes the King of Armenia, commanded him to be led up safe in front, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, which he had by Cleopatra; for now by this time he began to avow her as his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.

Of the CXXXII, Book.

Caius Caesar subdued the Dalmatians in Illyricum, when M. Antonius for the love of Cleopatra (who bore him two sons, Philadelphus and Alexander) would neither return to the City of Rome, nor after the time of the Triumvirate expired, resign up that dignity and government; but prepared for war, which he meant to levy against Rome and Italy: and thereto he raised a mighty power, as well of sea forces as land: and withall, had renounced the marriage with Octavia, Caesar's sister, and sent her a letter of divorcement, and so put her away: Caesar thereupon with an army sailed into Epirus. The battles, sieges, skirmishes, and the horse-fights, wherein Caesar had the upper hand, be here related.

Of the CXXXIII, Book.

Marcus Antonius was with his fleet overcome at Actium, and thereupon fled to Alexandria: where being by Caesar besieged, and in despair of recovering his former state, but moved especially upon this consideration that was spread, how Cleopatra was killed, he slew himself. When Caesar was now Master of Alexandria, Cleopatra likewise because she would not fall into the hands of the conqueror, willingly procured her own death. Caesar upon his return to the City of Rome, had the honour of a triumph; the one over Illyricum, another for the victory at Actium, and the third in regard of Cleopatra. Thus when he had finished all civil wars which had continued 21 years, M. Lepidus, the son of Lepidus the Triumvir, confessed a gift Caesar: and whilse he went about to make war, was prevented and slain.

Of the CXXXIV, Book.

Caius Caesar having set the State in good order, and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was surnamed also Augustus: and the month Sextilis to honour his name was likewise so called. Whilse he sat in exaltation at Narbonne, he took a review of the three Provinces of Gaul, which his father (Caesar) had conquered. The war which M. Crassus made against the Bastarnians, Massians, and other nations, is here reported.

Of the CXXXV, Book.

The war which M. Crassus levied against the Thracians, as also which Caesar made upon the Spaniards is here set down. Likewise how the Salassians, a people inhabiting the Alps, were utterly subdued.

Of the CXXXVI, Book.

Rhetia was conquered by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus his wives son, Agrippa Caesar's son in law did: and by Drusus was the general review and tax taken.

Of the CXXXVII, Book.

The Cities of Germany situate on either side the Rhene, are by Drusus besieged and assailed. The tumult and insurrection which arose in France, by reason of the foresaid review or tax, was appeased. And there was created unto Divus Caesar at the confluence of the two rivers, Arax and Rhodanus: and a Priesthood created to offer thereupon, one C. Julius Vercondaridubius an Hednan.

Of

Of the CXXXVIII, Book.

Here is shewed how the Thracians were by L. Pilo tamed. Likewise how the Thracians, Temachar, by Drusus, Octavia the sister of Augustus departed this life, having buried before her son Marcellus: whose monument still remain, namely the Theatre and gallery bearing his name, as if they had been dedicated by Marcellus.

Of the CXXXIX, Book.

The war which Drusus managed against the nations beyond Rhene is here reported. In which war the chief persons that fought were Senecius and Anechius, Tribunes of the Nervian State. Nero the brother of Drusus subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was concluded with the Parthians: and upon capitulation the military ensignes were delivered up again to their Kings, which fell under the conduct of Crassus, and afterwards of Antonius were lost, and by them taken.

Of the CXL, Book.

In this book is related the war which Drusus fought against the Cities and States of Germany beyond the Rhene. Himself fell from his horse and brake his leg, by reason that his horse fell thereon: upon which fracture he died thirty daies after. His corpse was by his brother Nero (who being sent for upon the news of his sickness, rode in post) brought through to Rome, and bestowed in the tomb of C. Julius. Praised he was by Caesar Augustus his father in law, and at his funeral for a small forewell, he was entituled with many honourable names.

To the Reader.

The history of Titus Livius, as it was by him passing well penned otherwise, and none thereto in Latine comparable: so in the calculation and date of times, which they call Chronology (a singular light to give direction in a story) he is somewhat defective and unlike himself, so as he cannot be praised without exception. But if we consider the huge volumes which he wrote, and namely, in his declining age; the variety and disagreement of former authors, whom he followed, who before him faulted also in this point: and whereof he much complaineth; he is to be pitied and pardoned if his memory failed somewhat in this behalf. For where shall we find a man that is *ἀπαρτα σοφός, omnique ex parte bonus*? And indeed, if we weigh the thing aright, as it was a profession by it self, and required a whole man: so many travelled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deserved high thanks and commendation. And to let many others pass, how worthily is *T. Pomponius Atticus* praised by Cicero his friend, for digesting the head Magistrates of 700 years in one book? As for *Pompeius Fiacus*, who lived in the time of Augustus Caesar, he collected a catalogue and register of the chief Rulers of Rome, how they were chosen successively, and how they governed from time to time: which as he caused to be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetual memory to posterity: so thereby he deserved also to have his own statue erected near the Temple of *Vesta*, for an everlasting memorial of so great a benefit. But what is there so durable, that time waleth not? What so conspicuous and evident, but troublesome dates may overwhelm and hide in oblivion? Thus amidst that havoc which the Goths and Vandals made in Italy, there remained in one fourth part extant of *Livertory*: thus in that general confusion of Rome, their records of *Pompeius Fiacus* were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitoll and other stately edifices. But the revolution of times, as it hath brought to light again some reliques of *Livy*: so it hath discovered also those marbles of *Verrinus*: for in the time of Paul the third, Pope of Rome, the fragments of the said times were digged out of the ground between the Roman Forum and the broad street *Via Sacra*: brought forth also & laid abroad in the Capitoll to the view of the world. To which as the true touch-stone certain learned men of late daies have laid to their own labors in that kind, namely, Bartholomew Martian of Millan, Omphrius Puvionius of Verona, Charles Sigonius of Modena, and Francis Robortellus of Udine: and comparing the same as also the annals gathered by Henry Glareanus before time, with the said antiquities of *Verrinus* late found, have recovered much light to the history of *Livy*, and supplied his wants in that behalf. I thought it not amiss therefore to gratifie my countrymen in some measure this way also, and deliver the same in English which I found annexed to the best editions in Latine, as followeth.

CHRONOLOGIE

TO THE
HISTORY OF *TITUS LIVIUS*,

Compiled according to the Tables and Records of *Verrius Flaccus* in the Capitoll, and set out with most profitable Notes, shewing the variety and disagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Consuls.

The causes of dissent and repugnance in Historiographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of Rome.



Since we intend to set forth a Kalender or Register of the Consuls mentioned in the History of *Livius*, which by reason of uncertainty, obscurity, and discordance of the times, is so dark and intricate, that not only the learned and most experienced Historians of our age, but the best writers of the Roman story in ancient time very often complained thereof: we think it not impertinent to our purpose, briefly to search into the causes of this dissent: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which seemeth to accord best with the Historical truth, and to be grounded upon the authority and testimony of the most authenticall and approved writers. For seeing that an History (as *Cicero* hath most truly said) is the witness of times: what is more unfitting for it than to mislead and want that which is the chiefeft point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was first and what was last done? It seemeth therefore, that of this diversity in the account and computation of the Roman Consuls, there be three especiall causes.

The first is, for that the year in which the first Consuls entred into that Magistracy, is by the Roman Historiographers, not after one sort but diversely set down. For *Dionysius* (a most diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his first book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reporteth, that the KK. reigned 244 years: which also is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by *Varro* and approved by the authority of others. For *Messala* reporteth, how upon the expulsion of the KK. which happened in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Consuls. To which opinion *Livy* also subscribeth in the end of his first book, saying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But *Europius* in his first book writeth that the seven Kings reigned in Rome 243 years: which account agreeth with *Sex. Rufus* in his abridgement. In which variety this is to be observed, that these two last named reckon the years only of every Kings reign, and out of the whole and gross sum leave out the year of the interregne, which *Dionysius*, *Livius*, *Messala*, and the rest insert between, and that right truly and upon good reason: for after the death of *Romulus*, the interregne continued one year. Consider then and examine the thing diligently, and ye shall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in severall, *Europius* and *Sexius Rufus* both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as *Dionysius*, and therefore so that this difference is not much. But others there be (as *Ensebius* hath delivered in his Chronicles) who write, that the KK. reigned but 243 years, and take the interregne withall: whose judgment, *Orosius*, *Jordanides*, and *Beda* seem to follow. For *Orosius* in the first chapter of his second book recordeth, that *Brutus* the Consul in that very year namely the 244, put his own sons to death. The Kings reigned not precisely 20 many years just but, for that some (and namely, *Romulus*) went over some months and daies, *Dionysius* and *Livius* reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to *Tarquinius Priscus*: but the other above named, together with *Ensebius*, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a compleat year) and assigned but only seven and thitty years to the reign of King *Priscus*. To this may be added another reason of the like nature: namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, so they are no more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For *Plutarch* in his Problems writeth, that they entred upon the first day of *January*: but *Miscrobis* in the first book of his *Saturalia* and seventh chapter, seemeth to imply that they took their Consuls place the first of *June*, saying, (according to the opinion of others) That *June* took the name of *Junius Brutus*: for that in this month, and namely, upon the first day thereof (according to a vow whereto he was obliged by the banishment of *Tarquin*) he solemnized a sacrifice to the goddess *Ceres* upon mount *Calvus*.

Others

Others again write, how this hapned the 24 of *February*; grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of stone, together with the testimony of *Ovid*, who in the second book of his *Kalendar* thus writeth:

*King Tarquin with his sons then fled: The Consuls yearly bear
The sovereign rule at Rome: since that, no King ever reigned there.*

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entred the first day of *July*: and of their mind see-meth *Joachimus Perionius* to be, in his third book of the Greek Magistrates. In this repugnancy therefore of opinions, very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of *Plutarch*, it hath long since been clearly and learnedly consulted by two great and excellent clarks, *Omphobius Pansius*, and *Sigonius*: since it is plain that it was the six hundred year from the foundation of the City, and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of *January*. But in setting down this certain day, they themselves are not well agreed. For *Sigonius* after *Macianus* thinke this way and faith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the six and twentieth day of *May*. But *Pansius* thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26 day of *February*. And this diversity is found not only in the day when the first Consuls took their government, but also in the time after ensuing. What was the usual day of any month whereon the Consuls were wont to begin their Magistracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the six hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fortieth year verily after the Kings were exiled the first day of *July*, as *Livy* writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly Magistrates to take their place: but how many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, he sheweth not before he cometh to the three hundred and two year, and then he faith in his third book. That the thirteenth of *May* was the ordinary day for Magistrates to begin their government. Thus much at leastwise we may collect by him (when he faith that this time was solemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called solemn, which is by law usually observed. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the fifth book, that this time also was altered: for whereas the first day of *December* was the usual time that Magistrates began to execute their office, he faith, that it was changed, in these words, The principal Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the infortunity of their Generals (that so shamefull an overthrow was received) joined and advised, not to expect and stay for the ordinary time of the election but presently to create new military Tribunes in Consuls authority, who should enter into their government the first day of *October*. &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole sentence accorded to it: whereupon the other Tribunes gainst it. But *Sergius* and *Legianus* withstood this Act of the Senat, and denied flatly to resign up their dignity before the eleventh of *December*, the ordinary day of taking their oath and beginning their Magistracy. And a little after within one page, he sheweth that the usual day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of *December* to the first of *September*, saying, When this speech was received with a general applause of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about six years after, he faith, by occasion that both Consuls lay sick it was ordained that the first of *July* should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was changed to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: and therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as *Livy* about the beginning of the eighth book sheweth in these words: And when the Consuls were commanded to resign up their Magistracy before the time, to the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against so great troubles of war, &c. For in these words [The sooner, &c.] he declareth that the usual day of entrance into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly set down what day this was: so the other was as well known: for soon after, and namely the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of *July*. Immediately therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, *L. Angulius Marcius* and *Cn. Plautius* were joynted that day (even the first of *July*) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themselves their Provinces. As for the month, wherein for the most part the assembly for election of Magistrates was holden, were it was *February*: like as the thirteenth of *March* was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held always during the second Punic war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus *Livy* testifieth in many places (which to quote is needless) as in the first book of the second Punic war, and in the beginning of the first book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who seeth not that there is great variety in the month and day both, whereupon the Magistrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a precise exact firm, and settled reckoning of years months, and daies: and seeing that in *Livius* story it is neither expressly shewed, what year month or day, the Magistrates began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered: considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered, than the very usual day of entering into Magistracy: what marvel is there, if authors dissent so much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles some, I say, ascribe these Magistrates created to this year, others attribute the same to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference between *Dionysius* and *Livy*, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that therein passed; all seemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of *Livy* was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrences of greatest antiquity which hapned in the State of the people of Rome, and which by many writers aforetime had

been most diligently set down and penned to posterity: but to record and write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punic war had been achieved by the people of Rome, unto the age wherein himself lived, but because (as Polybius most wisely and pithily writeth) a general story cannot be understood by particular registers; and for that an Historiographer study & endeavour ought to be employed rather in an universal treatise, than in particular discourses: therefore, left so great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should seem maimed & imperfect: in the formost 20 books he lightly & briefly ran over the deeds of the people of Rome from the foundation of the City, unto the beginning of the second Punic war. But *Dionysius* professing purposely to describe the ancient monuments of the Romans, thought it his part to overpass and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourse of affairs; inasmuch as those things whereof *Livy* hath scantily made 3 books, he hath declared at large in eleven. Hereupon if a man read in *Dionysius*, the ancient beginning and original of the Roman Empire, and examine well the times how they are by him digested & compare the same with the brevity in *Livy*, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhaughtiness of the later. But if the indifferent reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praise; & whereas *Livy* making haste to be excused than reproved for it, slightly handled some things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excused than reproved for it.

To these three causes above rehearsed, others also might be adjoined; namely, the ordering of the years by *Romulus*, and the variety as touching that year wherein Rome was founded: but it may suffice only to touch these & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertise and admonish the reader by the way; that albeit in the digesting and reckoning of the Coss, we have let before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of *Verrinus Flaccus*; and according thereto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 250 as also the other, which *Verrinus* rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the sum of the years, as they are collected by *Varro*. Which, before us, *Oncophorus Parricinus* a most learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the year which *Verrinus* and they that followed him rated out was the 423, and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consuls, according to the Capitoline records.

Of the computation of times usually observed by the Romans, and of the year of the Cities foundation.

THE calculation of years was taken and observed by men in old time divers and sundry waies. The Achæans (as we read) received it from the revolution of the stars: the Argives from their women Priests: as for example, if *Chrysis* such a year were chief Priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of years from the said *Chrysis*. But many have derived and fetched the course and consequence of their acts and affairs, from the years before *Tras* was built, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 year after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympian games, which *Hercules* first instituted in the honour of his great grandfater by the mothers side and which by his son *Iphiclus* (or *Iphim*, as some will have it) were renewed that year from that time (I say) they began to number the years by the Olympiads, especially among the Grecians, whose story (as *Eschylus* affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympiad. The Hebrews (like as other nations in the East) received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians from their Eponymy (as they called them) but that in their *Archæologia*, [that is, the election of their Magistrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wise, *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἡγουμένη τῇ δεκάτῃ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῃ*, i.e. the tenth or eleventh of the first *Prytania*. And hereof it seemeth, that the name cometh *τῇ δεκάτῃ*; as it is from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name. After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their daies, made their Kalender, and registered their acts by such and such Consuls; noting thereto otherwhiles the year from the Cities foundation. But about it there is much more diversity in authors, than about that wherein the first Consuls took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of Rome was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and further off, *Timæus Siculus* (I know not upon what reason induced) hath recorded, how the City was built by *Romulus* much about the time that *Carthage* in *Affrick* by the Tyrians, namely in the 38 year before the first Olympiad.

L. Cincius (a Senator of Rome by calling) saith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad. *Q. Fabius Pictor* (a most ancient writer of the Roman story and of greatest credit) attributeth it to the first year of the eighth Olympiad.

Polybius Megapolitanus and *Diodorus Siculus* quote the second year of the 7 Olympiad. *Appollodorus*, *Q. Lutatius Catellus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Erastosthenes*, *M. Porcius Cæcilius*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Theophilus Antiocheus*, name the first year of the 7 Olympiad.

M. Verrinus Flaccus (the avoucher of the Capitoline stone-records) *T. Livius*, *C. Julius Solinus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 Olympiad.

L. Tarantius

L. Tarantius Firmianus, *M. Terentius Varro*, *T. Pomponius Atticus*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, *Augustus Caesar*, *C. Plinius Secundus*, *Plutarchus Chæronæus*, *Domitianus Caesar Augustus*, *P. Cornelius Tacitus*, *Cassius Dio*, *A. Gellius*, *L. Septimius Severus Augustus*, *Conformis*, *M. Julius Philippus Augustus*, *Ensepius Pamphilus*, *Cæsarionis*, *Eutropius*, *Paulus Orosius*, *Paulus Diaconus Longobardus*: and after the time of *C. Cæsar Dictator*, the common opinion of the people of Rome (which we also go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authors is induced, & whereby they would seem to confirm their several opinions, needles it is in this place for to declare: both because the speculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profession, and also for that (besides *Plutarchus* in *Romulus*, *Solinus* in the 1. chapter of his *Polyhistor*, and *Cæsar* in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so thoroughly handled by *Oncophorus Parricinus* in the first book of his *Calendar*, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of Rome was laid by *Romulus*, it was the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, called *Parilia* or *Palilia*. Now was this a festival day to *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, celebrated by the said shepherds upon the eleventh Calends of *May*, in the fields and country villages, for the chasing away of wolves, for the preservation of their sheep and cattell from diseases, or for the saie yeaning and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called *Parilia*. Of this matter wrieth *Propertius* in his fourth book, in this wise.

*A festa there was, Palilia, our fathers did call,
And on that day they first began, for Rome to build a wall.*

Ovid also in the fourth book of his *Fasts*:

*A time full meet they chose, with pough the plot to mark,
Dime Pales was laid, and so began the work.*

The fame is avouched by *M. Tullius Plutarchus*, *Solinus*, and others. And that these *Palilia* were celebrated ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, appeareth as well by the old marble Calendars, as also by the fame authors before rehearsed.

Of the first sovereign Magistrates of the City of Rome, namely, of the KK, who were in number seven.

ALL sorts of policies and governments in a Common-weal which are set down and named by ancient Writers, the City of Rome (were it by the fatal course of destiny or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they proceeded to one after another, as they did in the very City of Rome. For in the beginning, the KK, ruled it: but when they by their excessive outrage and inordinate lust exercised upon their Citizens and subjects, were dissolved and expelled, the Coss, (and after them the Tribunes military in Coss, authority) were dissolved. But in process of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (simply the best) was by the outrage of the two *Gracchi* (*Saturnius* and *Drusus* Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, untill such time as their power and authority was by *Sylla* rent in twain, and the Commons disfeized of their lands and killed: then the administration of the Common-weal was restored again to the Nobles and principal persons of the City. But at length, when it was oppressed again by the civil war of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, the sovereign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of *Cæsar* alone; wherein, being first shaken a few years before, through the wicked infolency and lust of the three Trimmurs, it continued untill the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all these sorts of government, in that successive order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

Romulus the first King of the Romans, reigned 37 years.

Romulus, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for so many *Livy* assigneth unto him. Likewise *Dionysius* in the first book, which he repeateth also in the second; and *Plutarch* in *Numa* dissenteth not from them, howsoever in *Romulus*, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. *Solinus* in like manner rehearsing his worthy acts attributeth unto his reign 37 years. Only *Eutropius* in 1. book 4. chap. alloweth unto him 39 years: but *Cyprian* thinketh very well that the Copy is corrupt. This Prince having reigned (according to the more common received opinion of au-

thors) 37 years: in which time, he laid the first ground-work of the Roman Empire, with excellent laws and ordinances, and established both civil and also military discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of *July*, which day was called afterwards, *Nona Caputina*: by occasion that he in mustering and reviewing his army at the lake of *Caprea*, was conveyed out of mens sight: whereupon the people stood amazed at the sudden death of their King, as *Plutarch* & *Dionysius* do witness. This *Romulus* after his deification was named *Quirinus*, of which surname *Ovid* in his Kalender giveth these reasons,

Some read
thus,
* *Latinis.*
* *Arma.*
* *Romanus vi-*
cerat, but cor-
ruptly.

Sive quod basta quiris, priscis est dicta * Sabinis:
Bell icus a telo, venit in * astra Deus:
Sive suo regi nomen possuere Quirites,
Sen qua * Romani junxerat ille Cures.

A spear, old Sabins *Quirina* call'd, which *Romulus* us'd in
fight :

This martial man a god became, and so *Quirinus* hight,
Quirites eke his subjects liege, their King this name
might give:
Or eke the *Curies*, whom he brought with Romans
for to live.

That he was bafe born, and could not avouch
his own father, befide other writers, *Plutarch*
efpecially affirmeth in his *Theſeur*. Howbeit,
the old opinion went current, that he was by
Mars begot in ſtealth of a veittal virgin, *Ilia*,
Rhea, or *Sylvia*, for ſo many names there go of
her: and that firſt he was called *Romus*, of *Ruma*,
which ſignifieth a teat or papp, and afterwards
by way of flattery, *Romulus*.

I
Interregents.

Interregents.
FOR one year after the death of *Romulus*, the Nobles fell to variance, & I prove who should be K. but by reason that no one person excelled above the rest in that flatte is newly debated, there grew several fictions & debates in their head-corporations. They who were defended from the *Sabins* (because after the death of *E-tur* none of them reigned with *Romulus* in a equal society) were desirous to have a K. created out of their body, because they would not forgo their hold and possession in the Empire. But the old Romans could not away with a stranger-King. Howbeit, as different as they were in affections, all were willing to setup a K. as having not raised yet the sweetnets of liberty. The Peers moreover mightily feared (by reason that the neighbour States bordering round about were provoked against them) lest some foreign force might assail their City lest this without sovereign government, and the army without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred Nobles agreed among themselves to enter into an association of rule, and made ten Decuries: and in every Decury created one to have the sovereignty over the rest. These Senators were then 100 in number, as *Livy* saith, and according to *Plutarch* a hundred and fifty. But *Dionysius* writeth, that there were two hundred of the *Sibins* & as many Romans. After this they call Iorsand their Decury unto whom the lottery first fell, ruled the City: howbeit, not all at once, but one alone had the regall ornaments, and the Licitors going before him. Five daies he governed no longer; and so by this order in course, the nobles of every Decury governed the City fifty daies. For after five daies determined, he whose lot was first to govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the second the imperial dignity together with the ensignes thereof: and he again, when his five daies were expired, unto a third, and so to the tenth. Thus when these ten first Interregents had passed one 50 daies a second Decury of Senators in like manner ruled the City other 50 daies; and thus they went round through all

untill they had fulfilled a years space in this regency. This government was of the thing it self called *Interregnum*, which name it still retained afterwards, and the men likewise were named *Interreges*. In this year therefore was the Magistracy of the Interregents first deviled among the Romans. And not only after the death of *Romulus* the State was ruled by *Interregency*, but also after the deceale of *Numa*, *Tullius*, and *Anchus* Kings. In like manner during the time of the free State and Common-wealth, after the time of yearly Magistrates expired, the said government took place very often before the creation of new: for they held the assembly for elections, wherein new governors were by the people created. Now the office and charge of this Interregment was, during the time of his regency (which ordinarily passed five daies) to execute all those functions in the City which belonged either to *KK*, or *Coss*, namely, to minister justice, to rule the Common-wealth to hold a *Senat*, and there to propound the affairs of State, and lastly, to summon the general assembly for chusing new Magistrates. As touching the beginning of Interregents, *Dionysius* in his second book, *Livy* in his first, *Plutarch* in *Numa*, *Senat*, *Rufinus*, *Eusebius* and other old writers, have written at large.

43
Numa Pompilius the second K. reigned 43 years.

O Ne year of Interregny being thus accomplished, the people of *Rome* thought this a grievous and heavy manner of government; and the Commons grumbled that their servitude was manifold more than before, as having two hundred Lords over them instead of one. Which when the Senators perceived, they agreed at last upon this point, That the old Senators should create a King, whom they would, for whereupon *Numa Pompilius* (for that in justice & wisdom he excelled all other) was called out of *Cures* a City of the Sabins, to be their King. That he reigned three and forty years, all accord, save *Ennius, Eufebius, and Castidorus* (late writers) who set down but one and forty, as *Onoprius* and *Sepunus* have observed. Of this *K. Diomifinus* in his second chapter, *Livy* in his first, *Salmus* in his second chapter, *Plutarch* *Pliny* and *Europus* in his life; in like sort *Valerius Maximus* have delivered much in record. He died not much above the age of 80 years, as *Plutarch* writeth: for born he was (as he himselfeith) the same day whereon *Romulus* laid the first foundation of the City, namely the twelfth Calends of *May*. Now for the name of *Numa*, some lay it was the forename of *Pompilius*. But out of *Sextus Pompeius* it appeareth, that neither *Tullius* nor *Numa* were forenames, as also by this conjecture, for that the sons of *Numa* are by *Diomifinus* called by some sundry names divers from the family. Some thought therefore that *Numa, Ancus, Aruns, Volusus, Drusus, Eufebius, Fulvus, Mamurrius, and* certain others names, were at first forenames, as *Martianus* in his *Annals* hath very well noted.

32

Tullus Hostilius, the third King of Rome,
reigned 32 years.

Numa being deceased, the Interregency took place again: during which time an A. & O. Senat passed, wherein by the approbation of the Commons and advice of the Nobles, *Tullus Hostilius* was created the third K; of the Romans, in the 81 year after the foundation of the City. Who having raised *Alba*, commanded the *Albans* to be translated to *Rome*. Their Commons he made free denizens, and the principall Nobles he took into the order of Senators. After *Numa* he reigned 32 years, as all writers most constantly affirm. He perished as *Dionysius* witnesseth, by accident that his house was on fire, wherein his wife and children and all their household besides were consumed and burnt. Some say, that his palace took fire by lightning through the ire of the gods, for that he had tormented some sacrifices and holy rites: others write, that it was occasioned by the treacherous practise of *Anus Martius*, who reigned next after him. Of him *Dionysius* writeth in his 3 book: That he carried before him the name of *Hostili* is appareth by this, that both his father and grandfere bare the said name. A Prince he was, not only far unlike to *Numa*, but also more fierce and stout than *Romulus*.

24
Ancus Martius, the fourth King of Romans,
reigned 24 years.

King *Tullius* was departed this life, there was an Interregit by the Nobles declared; who held the assembly for election in the 114 year from the foundation of the City: wherein the people created *Ancus Martius* the fourth K. of the Romans, and the Senators approved the fame. He built *Florentia* a town 16 miles distant from the City of *Rome*; and fought seven batels, *Luvinus*, *Dionysius*, and *Salentin* say, that he reigned 24 years; but *Eufebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Calliodorus*, 23. What death he died, neither *Livy* in his first book, nor *Dionysius* in his 3 do set down: notwithstanding that by them his noble acts are set out at large. Now *Ancus* (as *Sax. Pompeian* hath reported) is he called, who hath an arm bowing inward, for as it cannot be pure straight forth.

38
L. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth K. of Romans,
reigned 38. years.

This *T. quinus* being left by *Ancus* (when he died) guardian to his children, was the first that ambitiously intercepted the kingdom to himself; he sent the sons of *Ancus*, during the time of Interregency, out of the way, as it were to hunting, and made an oration unto the people to win their hearts & affections to him; and so with the suffrages of the people, and authority of the Nobles, he was by the Interregent declared *King* in the 170 year after the foundation of *Rome*, and in the 41 *Olympiad*. This noble Prince as well for warlike prowess as peaceable policy and government, at the length (being above fourscore year old) was foretold by the secret trains of one of the two sons of *Ancus*

Martius, in the eight and thirty year of his reign, according to *Livy* and *Dionysius*, whose judgment we follow : or in the 37. as *Sextus Metellus*, *Ruffus*, *Entropius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Berthinus*, and *Beda* write ; I like as we have before shew'd, *Priscus* he was Iurorned after wards, because he liv'd before *Tarquinius Superbus*, laith *Sex. Pompeius*, unto whom accord *Dionysius* and *Laurentius Valla* : who writeth that the addition of *Priscus* was given unto him, not by men of that time wherein he liv'd, but by the age following. But *Livy* sheweth plainly, that he had the Iurorn of *Priscus* given him, even then when he came first into the City, because he was born before *Superbus*. He also was called *Lucumo*, and was the son of *Demetrius* the Corinthian, descended from the family of the *Brahchides*.

44

Servius Tullius, the sixth K. of the Romans, reigned
four and forty years.

Atter *Prince Tarquinius* was slain present-
ly *Servius Tullius* was the first that (with-
out any election of the people, yet with the ge-
nerall consent of the Nobles) took upon him
the Roman kingdom, in the year from the
foundation of the City 176. Concerning whose
conception, we must note particulars that which *Pliny*
writeth in the 36 book after this manner.
During the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, there
appeared suddenly the genitall member of the
masculine sex upon the hearth where the fire
was kept, & thereupon presently a captive wo-
man and bond-servant of *Tarasque* the Queen,
named *Oersilia*, sitting there by the fire side, con-
ceived and was with child; and lo was *Servius*
Tullius born, who succeeded in the kingdom.
Afterwards as the boy lay asleep within the
K.K. palace, his head was leen on a light fire, and
supposed he was the son of the familiar *Lur* of
that house. In which regard, he intulced first
the *Comptulca* and plaies to the *Lurs*, concerning
his birth. *Plutarch* hath written more in his
book of the *Romans* fortune. By the crafty and
subtil device of his wives mother *Tanquil*, he
attained to the Crown in the fourth year of the
first *Olympiads*, and reigned 44 years; but by the
villanous complot of *Tarquinius* his son in law,
and *Tullia* his own daughter and *Tarquin* wife,
he was most impudently slain in the very third;
which thereupon was called *Sceleratus*. As touch-
ing the years of this Kings reign, some con-
troverisie there is among writers: for *Livy*, *Dio-
nysius*, and *Solinus* (whom we have followed)
write, that he reigned 44 years: but *Mellala*
Corvinus, *Sex. Rufinus*, *Eutropius*, *Eusebius*, *Cassio-
dorus*, and *Bedae* 34, and not above. Howbeit,
in adding those ten to the reign of *Tarquin* af-
terwards, they hinder not this gross sum and
computation of the years: for they set them
down 35, which *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Solinus*
make but 25. This *K. took* the name of *Ser-
vius*, by occasion of his own fortune, for that
his mother *Oersilia* a captive / but a most beau-
tiful and wise woman of *Corniculum* / bare him
during her bondage: but *Tullius* he was called,
by the name of his fathers kindred, as *Dionysius*

wrieth in his fourth book, reckoning up many
acts by him atchieved. . .

25

L. Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh King of Romans, ruled 25 years.

IN the two hundred and twentieth year after the foundation of the City, *L. Targuntinus* the younger, having killed *Servius Tullius*, entered upon the Roman kingdom with force of arms, nor by Interregent, nor yet any right of law. *Superbus* he was named for his cruel demeanour, in that he forbade to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law by him murdered: giving out that *Romulus* likewise died and lay unburied. He was the son of *L. Targuntius Priscus* the King; as *Q. Pictor*, *An. Gellius Licinius Macer*, *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Urbicus* have written. Howbeit, *Dionysius* of *L. Pif-*

in his *Annals*, by most strong reasons disprove their error, and by the certain computation of the years sheweth how it cannot possibly be so, but rather that he was the son of *Terquinius Priscus* his son, who died in the life of *Priscus*. Five and twenty years he reigned according to *Livy* in his first book, *Dionysius* in his fourth, and *Solinus* in his Polyhistor. But *Cassiodorus*, *Eusebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Bedae* ascribe unto him five and thirty years, adding unto his reign those ten years which they took from *Servius Tullius*, and thereby giving occasion of error to the later writers. Of him *Dionysius Livy*, both the *Plinies*, *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Eutropius* have written much. Collect them, into one from the year of these Kings reign, and thereof will arise the number of two hundred forty four.

Of the first Elections of Consuls.

THis is the second change of the Common-weal, by occasion that *Superbus* the King, as well for his insolent and proud government, as for the villany offered by *Sextus* the Kings ion to *Lucretia*, was expelled, and liberty recovered: whereupon the soveraign government year by year was committed to two men, who first were named Prators, for that they were chosen over the people: then Judges, because they decided their controversies: and lastly, Consuls, in that they advised and provided for the good of the Common-weal: as *Cicero* in the third book of *Laws* declareth in these words: Let there be two invested in royall government; and of ruling, judging, and counsell-giving, be they called Prators, Judges, and Consuls: let them also have the sovereignty of command in war. Now the first Consuls or Prators were created by *Sp. Lucretius* (father of *Lucretia*; and Interregent for the time) in a general assembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of *Servius Tullius* the King. The first Consul had all the right, prerogatives, and regall enignes of the KK, this only provided, that both of them should not have the rods and axes carried before them for fear of presenting any terror to the people. Both of them were chozen out of the *Patritii*: which for this intent I advertise the Reader of, that the progress of the Common-weal might be known: seeing that in process of time they came to be created out of the Commons also. Moreover, as concerning the year month, and day, when as the first Consuls entred their government, something were to be laid in this place: but because we have spoken before of the variety and dissention of Authors thereabout: therefore letting pass these circumstances, proceed we to the very Consuls, who by the testimony of all writers were first chozen: namely,

245
L. Junius Brutus, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*.

IT is recorded by all writers, that *L. Brutus*, *Brutus*, and *L. Targ. Collatinus*, were the first Coss, or Prators of the Roman people; who in the end of the 244 year first day of *March* (after the *Targuins* KK, the father and the son were expelled the City) in an assembly of the Centuries were solemnly pronounced and declared Coss. But after that *Brutus* had compelled his Colleague *Tullius* to resign up his Consulship, because he was suspected for the affinity and name of the *Targuins* (as *L. Piso* in *Gellius* the 5 book and 29 cap. *Livius*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, do write;) or by occasion of a variance between *Brutus* and *Collatinus* about the execution of *Collatinus* his sisters son. (as *Dionysius* reporteth) he was belated in his place *Pub. Valerius Volturnus* the son of Volturnus whose helping hand he had used especially in banishing the KK. Of whose Consulship, Po-

lybians in the third book, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, *Valerius Max.* 4. book 4. chapter, *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*, and *Pliny* 36 book, chap. 15, have made mention, But *Valerius*, after that *Brutus* in his Magistracy was slain by *Arms* the son of *Superbus* (for the King his father had levied war against the Romans) in a general Court of all the Centuries, took unto him for his companion in government, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus* the father of *Lucretia* : and to him (being the elder) submitted the preeminence of sovereignty. And soon after, within few days upon his death, (for he was very aged) he returned unto him *M. Horatius Vulsellus* for his Colleague in the Consulship. The said *Brutus* was called *Poplicola*, for that during his Magistracy, he enacted certain laws very popular, and namely, concerning the appeal from the Consuls to the people, and the receiving of the state-government from the said people, as

Living and *Dionysius* do witnesse. In the vulgar books, as also in the old written Copies (whether by error or of purpose) was not Iwe read this name evermore *Publicus* but still in one and the same signification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwise have had infinity one with another, as *Quintilian* writeth, namely a with u, and p with f. For in antique titles and inscriptions, you shall read often *Publicus* for *Publicus*. To conclude therefore, in the first year after the Kings were exiled, Confat. Rome were these, *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tar. Collatinus*, *P. Valerius Publicus*, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *M. Horatius Pulvillus*.

246

P. Valerius, II. T. Lucretius.

THe Consulship of these two is recorded unto us by *Dionysius, Livius* and *Cassiodorus*; *Onuphrius Paganinus*, giveth unto *Lucretius* the surname of *Triumphinus*, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that house; and also, because by an ancient Chronographer in the records of *Cappisian*, he is named *Triumphus*. Now for *Publius* the Etymology thereof according to *Sextus*, is twofold: For some call him *Pub*, who hath been brought up at the publicke charges; others again name him *fo*, who was a ward before he had his name given him.

247
P. Lucretius, P. Valerius Poplicola,
I Poets calleth this Lucretius by the forename
Loſe P. but other books of TITUS, Dionysius
writeth, that P. Valerius Poplicola the third time,
and M. Horatius the second time were
Coff. Plutarch speaketh of the third Consulship
only of P. Valerius, Oſpſubius and Sigonius follow
Dionysius. As for Caſſiodorus, he leaveth out
altogether these Consuls.

248
Sp. Lærtius, T. Herminius.
AFTER *Poplicolæ* the third time, and *Publi-*
us the second time *Confuls*, *Dionysius* hath placed *Sp. Lærtius* and *T. Herminius*. The fame doth *Cassiodorus*. And the book noted by *Cri-*
pinian, under an unknown author, hath in it thus written, *Poplicola I. L. & Publius Rufus & Aquilino; Valerio & Tuberto*. Luv omiteth these *Confuls*, and in their place putteth down *M. Valerius*, and *P. Posthumius*: but as *Sigoni-*
us thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the book.

But that this year should necessarily come between *Omphrys* (thinker) according to the book of *M. Tullius Cicero* entitled *Brutus* and certain it is that *Perius P. Cicero* in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected these Confuls. Now this name *Largus* is derived of *Lars*, and so ought it to be written and not *Largius*, as corruptly it is to be seen in some Copies of *Livy* and *Dionysius*. As for the surname to *Hermianus*, *Omphrys* supposeth it to have been *Egfrinus*, both for that the mention of that surname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline marbles, as also because of what family else it should

be, no writer ever hath delivered, This *Spartius* was the brother of *Titus Lartius* the first Dictator, as writeth *Dionysius*.

249
M. Valerius, *P. Postumius*,
Platarch, as also *Diomius* and *Lucius* wit-
 teth, that this *M. Valerius* was brother
M. Valerius Publicola, and therefore truly is he
 said to be the son of *Valerius*. *Postumius* for his
 surname had *Tiberius*, Witness *Zonaras* together
 with *Plutarch* in *Poplicola* and *Diomius* in
 the sixth and fix books. Him *P. Postumius* calleth the
 brother of *Quintus*, where he treateth of the
 Consular Embassadors sent unto the Common-
 weale in the year 266. This *P. Postumius* was *Orpilius*
 teacheth, was by old authors written without
 the aspiration (*h*) either because of *Post* a *P. Postu-*
mus and *Postumius* and to *Postumius* is derived,
 or for that in old time they wrote *uons* with-
 out the said (*h*). Now is he called *Postumius*,
 who was born last, as *Ciculus* with sixth in his
 commentaries of ancient readings, *Enobarbi*,
 lawyers pronounce e the word with the aspiration,
 and call by that name him on y. who was
 born after his fathers death: and with them ac-
 cording *Varro* and *Plutarch* in the life of *Sylla*.

250

P. Valerius IIII. T. Lucretius.

Dionysius, Livius, Plinius and Iulius Africanus report these for Consuls this year. But the registers of Cassiodorus deliver unto us Popilius Laetorius fourth time and Treptius Valerius Maximus in the fourth book and fourth chapter written thus, Valerius Popilius begin in his Consulship with Brutus; and the same in bare three Consuls afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

254

Agrippa Menenius, P. Postumius.

Dionysius hath for Coss. this year, *Agrippa Menenius Laetanus*, and *P. Postumius* the second time. *Lucy C. Strophion* Latinus books, and the Greek records disagree not from him. *Valerius Atrix*, 4 books, 4 cap. corruptly call eth him *M. Menenius Agrippa*. Now *Agrippae* they called who are born into the world with extraordinary throws & birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward against nature.

252

Opiter Virginius, Sp. C. filius.

L *Points, Zouaves, and Cassidors,* name themselves *Confuls* rather thus. *Dionysius* yet is more liberal, calling *Sp. Cassius, Hecellinus,* and *Opiter Virginius, Treasurers,* But whom *Dionysius* calleth *Magistres, Cicero* in his *Latinus* termeth *Cassius, Hecellinus,* and *Culpinius* is *Kalender Vise Illus.* For first of *Vesuvius* cometh *Hecellus,* and so from thence they derive *Hecellinus.* *Opiter* (to note that by the way, as *Sen. Pompeius* saith) is he, whose father died before his grandfathers. And the word foundeth thus much, as if he were born after his fathers death: or because he re-acted his grandeur for his father.

253

Posthumus Cominius. *T. Lartius*, *Livy*, *Dionysius*, *Zonaras*, and *Cassiodorus* name these simply thus. But *Cuspinian* Kalender, giveth to *Posthumus* the surname *Aureus*, &c. to *Lartius* *Ruffus*. And those whom *Cuspinian* book nameth *Ruffi*, the Greek registers by another word, but to the same fence, call *Flavi*.

254

Ser. Sulpitius. *M. Tullius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to *Sulpitius* the addition of *Camerinus*, like as the Kalender of *Cuspinian*; and to *Tullius* of *Longus*: as also doth *Dionysius*, who writeth, that *Manius Tullius* died in the time of his Magistracy, and that in his place there was none substituted, because the year was wearisome at an end. Of this *M. Tullius*, *Cicero* speaketh in his *Brutus*, saying, As if I should avouch my self to be descended of *M. Tullius* the Patritian, who in the tenth year after the expulsion of the *KK*, was Col. with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This surname *Manius*, as *Ser. Pompeius* saith, cometh hereupon that some one was born many, i.e. in the morn. like as *Lucius*, who entered into the world by daylight. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd. he) consecrated the field *Neurense*, from whom many noble and famous men sprung, and continued many years. Whereupon arose the Proverb, *Mutis Manis Aricia*, i.e. there be many *Mani* at *Aricia*. Moreover, he was called *Servius*, who came of parents (either both or one at least) whilst they were in bondage, or else, who when his mother was dead, lived still in her womb, and so was saved.

255

C. Vetusius. *T. Ebutius*. The forename of this *Vetusius* or *Veturius* in some Copies of *Livy*, as *Marlian* sheweth in his annals of *Colli*, is *Caius*; in other *Cneus*; in *Cassiodorus*, *Lucius*; in *Dionysius* *Publius*; who also nameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*; and *T. Ebutius* *Helius*, and in some place *Uasas*, but faintly: for the Latine writers also affirm his surname to be *Helius*. The Greek Records likewise have *Helius* and *Geminus*. Moreover they that write him *Vetusius*, imitate the ancient manner of putting, for, as when they call men *Eufis*, *V. Ies*, and *Papfi*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter usage. Of this matter *Livy* speaketh in the year 292.

256

Q. Clatius. *T. Lartius*. Thus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Dionysius* surnameth *T. Lartius* *Flavius*; and *Q. Clatius*, *Siculus*: to whom accord the registers both of *Cuspinian* and *Sicily*. This *T. Lartius* is the same, as appeareth by *Dionysius* who before was Col. and therefore is his surname *Flavius* rightly added. The house of the *Clatii*, as also of the *Julii*. *Ser. Lii*. *Geganis*, *uriani* and *Q. Julii* descended from the Albans first, as *Dionysius* writeth.

257

An. Sempronius. *M. Minutius*.

Thus *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us these *Colli*. But *Cuspinian* registers and the Sicilian, surname them *Atratinus* and *Augurinus*. And *Dionysius* nameth them *A. Sempronius* *Rhasinus*, and *M. Minutius* *Augurinus*; albeit he maketh no mention of *Augurinus*, but in the second Consulship of *Minutius*. As for *An. Sempronius* he was so called, who being new born, was nourished and fostered by the gods.

258

An. Posthumus. *T. Virginus*.

These are these *Colli*. Set down by *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. And to them verily the Greek records put to the surnames of *Albus* and *Calimontanus*. But the book of *Cuspinian* ad des *Regillensis* & *Tricostus* besides: so that by him they are thus written, *An. Posthumus* *Albus* *Regillensis*, and *T. Virginus* *Tricostus* *Calimontanus*.

259

App. Claudius and *P. Servilius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* record these for *Colli*, this year. The registers as well of *Cuspinian* as *Sicily*, *Sabinus* and *Priscus*: But *Dionysius* more fully, *App. Claudius* *Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius* *Priscus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, first named, *Attilius* *Claudius*, and afterwards, *App. Claudius*; who from *Regillus*, a City of the *Sabins* (whereupon he was called, *Sabinus* *Regillensis*) came to *Rome* in the two hundred and fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the *Patritii*, as *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius* make report. This man was grandfire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is some difference: whereof ye may see *Onuphrius* and *Marlianus* in their Kalenders.

260

A. Virginus and *T. Vetusius*.

These are thus set down by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, as here they be named. *Dionysius* writeth them, *An. Virginus* *Montanus*, and *T. Vetusius* *Geminus*. The register of *Cuspinian*, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Calimontanus* are both one. *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, calleth these *Consuls*, *An. Virginus* *Tricostus*, and *L. V. Virginius* *Cicorius*: whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames, to wit, the one *Tricostus* *Calimontanus*, and the other, *Geminus* *Cicorius*; for so elsewhere there other writers testifie, *Cuspinian* observeth, that this *Cicorius* is also called *Coturnius* by some writers.

261

261

Sp. Cassius and *Posthumus Cominius*. *Livy* and *Dionysius*. Oftem speaketh *Cicero* also in his Oration for *Cornelius*. But *Cuspinian* his books set forth unto us, *Vicellinus* & *Aureus*, the Sicilian records, *Aureus*, and *Vicellinus*. And that these same were *Consuls* together in this year, and entred upon their government the first of September, sooner then the custom was, as *Dionysius* writeth.

262

T. Geganis and *P. Minutius*.

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh book nameth for *Colli*, this year *T. Geganis* *Macrinus*, and *P. Minutius*. The same doth *Livy* in the second book. *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Enropius*. *Orosius* also in the second book and fifth chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greek records and *Cuspinian* book surname them both, the one *Macrinus*, the other *Augurinus*. And these are ordinary surnames; this to *Minutius*, and the former to the *Geganis*.

263

M. Minutius, and *An. Sempronius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* set them down, omitting their surnames, as also the numerall next II. But *Dionysius* recordeth them fully in this manner, *A. Sempronius* *Atratinus* the second time, and *M. Minutius* *Augurinus* likewise the second time. This year reckoneth *Dionysius* for the nineteenth, after that *Poplicola* the *Col*, published the law of appealing.

264

Sp. Nautius and *Sext. Furius*.

After *An. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* *Colli*, *Dionysius* bringeth in to succeed them, *Q. Sulpitius* *Camerinus*, and *Sp. Lartius* *Flavius* the second time. *Cuspinian* registers; *Cornutus* and *Flavius*, the Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavius*. Moreover, *Cornutus* is an ordinary surname to the *Sulpitii*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of stone. And that these *Colli*, are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitol, or to make up and digest the sum gathered by *Varro*, appeareth by the Triumph of *P. Valerius*, which would not fall to the year 279, if we should deduct these *Colli*, out of the Kalender.

265

T. Sicinius and *C. Aquilius*.

Next after the former *Consuls*, there followed according to *Dionysius*, *C. Iulius* *Iulus* and *P. Pinaris* *Rufus* *Consuls*. *Cuspinian* his records deliver unto us, *Iulus* and *Mamerminus*; But the Greek, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Mamerminus* is a surname to the *Pinaris*, appeareth by another place. These *Consuls* *Livy* over-passeth, like as the other the year before: upon whom, they that undertook the explica-

tion of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want *Consuls* for two years. So that of himself the like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth book of *Piso*, in this manner [These *Consuls*, *Piso* bringeth in immediately after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out two years, whereof we have reported that *Clauianus* and *Volturnus* were *Consuls* in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgot them in the digressing of the Anna's, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of *Consuls*) it is uncertain. Moreover, the surname of *C. Iulius*, was transformed every where into *Tullus* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iulius*, both *Marlianus*, and also after him *Pavanius* sheweth. For this surname *Iulus* is set from *Aeneas* the son of *E. Neas*, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a family; and therefore *Virgilius* saith,

The Iulian house at Rome, first came
From Iulus great, a prince of name.
And *Livy* speaking of the same in this wise saith; which *Iulus*, the house of the *Iuli*, avoucheth for the author of their name.

266

Sp. Cassius. *Proculus Virginus*.

But to leave these things; *Sp. Nautius* and *Sext. Furius*, are by *Dionysius*, *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, ranged *Consuls* in this year. In *Cuspinian* his Annals, there is *Rutilius*, the surname of *Nautius*; and likewise *Vicellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Furius*.

267

Servius Cornelius. *Q. Fabius*.

According to *Livy* the *Consuls* this year were *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*; whom *Dionysius* and *Cassiodorus* name to be *T. Sicinius* & *C. Aquilius*. The surnames of these by the Greek records and *Cuspinian* Kalender, were *Tuscanus* and *Sabinus*. As for *Aquilius*, he was so called (as *Marlianus* observeth) who was *agilis colore*, i. of a dusky black, or brownish colour.

268

L. Emilius. *L. Furius*.

Livy avoucheth *Consuls* for this year, *Sp. Cassius* and *Proculus Virginus*; and *Dionysius*. *Sp. Cassius* the second time, with *Proculus Virginus*. And *Diadorus* in his eleventh book, unto *Virginus* addeth the name *Tricostus*. The Greek records, as also those of *Cuspinian* make mention of *Rutilius* and *Vicellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, somewhat they be to called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *quasi*, *Proculus* *progreffus*, i. far slept in years.

SIII

269

253

Posthumus Cominius. T. Lartius.
Livy, *Dionysius Zonaras* and *Cassiodorus* name these simply thus. But *Cuspinian* Kalender, giveth to *Posthumus* the surname *Auruncus*; & to *Lartius Rufus*. And those whom *Cuspinian* book nameth *Rufi*, the Greek registers by another word, but to the same fence, call *Flavi*.

254

Ser. Sulpitius. M. Tullius.
Livy and *Cassiodorus* allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to *Sulpitius* the addition of *Camerinus*, like as the Kalender of *Cuspinian*; and to *Tullius* of *Longus*; as also doth *Dionysius*, who writeth, that *Manius Tullius* died in the time of his Magistracy; and that in his place there was none substituted, because the year was welnear at an end. Of this *M. Tullius*, *Cicero* speaketh in his *Brutus*, saying, As if I should avouch my self to be descended of *M. Tullius* the Patrician, who in the tenth year after the expulsion of the *KK*, was CoF, with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This surname *Manius*, as *Sext. Pompeius* saith, cometh hereupon that some one was born *manus*, i.e. in the morn, like as *Lucius*, who entered into the world by daylight. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd he) consecrated the field *Nemorensis*, from whom many noble and famous men sprung, and continued many years. Whereupon arose the Proverb, *Mulsi Manii Aricia*, i.e. there be many *Manii* at *Aricia*. Moreover, he was called *Servius*, who came of parents (either both or one at least) whiltes they were in bondage, or else, who when his mother was dead, lived still in her womb; and it was faved.

255

C. Vetusius. T. Ebutius.
The forename of this *Vetusius* or *Veturius* in some Copies of *Livy*, as *Marlian* sheweth in his annals of CoF, is *Caius*; in other *Cneus*; in *Cassiodorus*, *Lucius*; in *Dionysius* *Publius*; who also nameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*; and *T. Ebutius Helius*; and in some place *Uadus*, but faultily: for the Latine writers also affirm his surname to be *Helus*. The Greek Records likewise have *Helus* and *Geminus*. Moreover they that write him *Vetusius*, imitate the ancient manner of putting, i.e. as when they call men *Eufis*, *V. lefi*, and *Papfi*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter usage. Of this matter *Livy* speaketh in the year 292.

256

Q. Cladius. T. Lartius.
Thus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but *Dionysius* nameth *T. Lartius*. *Flavus*; and *Q. Cladius*. *Siculus*: to whom accord the registers both of *Cuspinian* and *Sicily*. This *T. Lartius* is the same, as appeareth by *Dionysius* who before was CoF, and therefore is his surname *Flavus* rightly added. The house of the *Cladii*, as also of the *Julii*. *Ser. M. Geganis*, *Uiratii* and *Q. Uiratii* descended from the Albans first, as *Dionysius* writeth.

257

An. Sempronius. M. Minutius.

Thus *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us these CoF. But *Cuspinian* registers and the Sicilian, surname them *Atracius* and *Augurinus*. And *Dionysius* nameth them *A. Sempronius Rhoetius*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*; albeit he maketh no mention of *Augurinus*, but in the second Consulship of *Minutius*. As for *An. Sempronius* he is called, who being new born, was nourished and fostered by the gods.

258

An. Posthumus. T. Virginius.

Thus are these CoF. set down by *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. And to them verily the Greek records put to the surnames of *Albus* and *Calpurnianus*. But the book of *Cuspinian* addes *Regillensis* & *Tricostus* besides: so that by him they are thus written, *An. Posthumus Albus Regillensis*, and *T. Virginius Tricostus Calpurnianus*.

259

App. Claudius and P. Servilius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* record these for CoF. this year. The registers as well of *Cuspinian* as *Sicily*, *Sabinus* and *Priscus*: But *Dionysius* more fully, *App. Cladius Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius Priscus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, first named, *Atius Claudius*, and afterwards, *App. Claudius*: who from *Regillus*, a City of the Sabins (whereupon he was called, *Sabinus Regillensis*) came to Rome in the two hundred and fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the *Patritii*, as *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius* make report. This man was grandfire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is some difference; whereof ye may see *Onasphorus* and *Marlianus* in their Kalender.

260

A. Virginius and T. Vetusius.

These are thus set down by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, as here they be named. *Dionysius* writeth them, *An. Virginius Montanus*, and *T. Vetusius Geminus*. The register of *Cuspinian*, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. The Sicilian, *Calpurnianus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Calpurnianus* are both one. *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, calleth these Consuls, *An. Virginius Tricostus*, and *L. V. Virginius Cicurinus*: whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames, to wit, the one *Tricostus Calpurnianus*, and the other, *Geminus Cicurinus*; for so elsewhere other writers testifie, *Cuspinianus* observeth, that this *Cicurinus* is also called *Coturnius* by some writers.

261

261

Sp. Cassius and Posthumus Cominius.

So *Livy* and *Dionysius*. Of them speaketh *Cicero* also in his Oration for *Cornelius*. But *Cuspinian* his books set forth unto us, *V. Vellinus* & *Auruncus*. The Sicilian records, *Auruncus* and *Vellinus*. And that these same were Consuls together in this year, and entered upon their government the first of September, sooner then the custom was, as *Dionysius* writeth.

262

T. Geganus and P. Minutius.

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh book nameth for CoF, this year *T. Geganus Macerinus*, and *P. Minutius*. The same doth *Livy* in the second book. *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Eutropius*. *Orosius* also in the second book and fifth chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greek records and *Cuspinian* book surname them both, the one *Macerinus*, the other *Augurinus*. And these are ordinary surnames; this to *Minutius*; and the former to the *Geganis*.

263

M. Minutius, and An. Sempronius.

So *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set them down, omitting their surnames, as also the numeral note II. But *Dionysius* recordeth them fully in this manner, *A. Sempronius Atracius* the second time, and *M. Minutius Augurinus* likewise the second time. This year reckoneth *Dionysius* for the nineteenth, after that *Peplicola* the CoF, published the law of appealing.

264

Sp. Nautius and Sext. Furius.

After *An. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* CoF, *Dionysius* bringeth in to succeed them, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Sp. Lartius Flavius* the second time. *Cuspinian* registers, *Cornutus* and *Flavius*, the Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavius*. Moreover, *Cornutus* is an ordinary surname to the *Sulpitii*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of Itone. And that these CoF. are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitol, or to make up and digest the sum gathered by *Varro*, appeareth by the Triumph of *P. Valerius*, which would not fall to the year 279, if we should deduct these CoF, out of the Kalender.

265

T. Sicinius and C. Aquilius.

Next after the former Consuls, these follow according to *Dionysius*, *C. Julius Iulus* and *P. Pinarus Rufus* Consuls. *Cuspinian* his records deliver unto us, *Iulus* and *Manerminus*: But the Greek, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Manerminus* is a surname to the *Pinaris*, appeareth by another place. These Consuls *Livy* over-passeth, like as the other year before: upon whom, they that undertook the explica-

tion of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want Consuls for two years. So that himself like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth book of *Piso*, in this manner [These Consuls, *Piso* bringeth in immediately after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out two years, whereof we have reported that *Claudius* and *Volturnus* were Consuls in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgot them in the digressing of the Anna's, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of Consuls) it is uncertain. Moreover, the surname of *C. Iulus*, was transformed every where into *Tullus* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iullus*, both *Marlianus*, and also after him *Pavanius* sheweth. For this surname *Iulus* is set from *Aescanius* the son of *Aeneas*, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a family; and therefore *Virgilius* saith,

The Iulian house at Rome, first came
 From Iulus great, a prince of name.
 And *Livy* speaking of the same in this wise saith; which *Iulus*, the house of the *Iuli*, avoucheth for the author of their name.

266

Sp. Cassius. Proculus Virginius.

But to leave these things; *Sp. Nautius* and *Sext. Furius*, are by *Dionysius*, *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, ranged Consuls in this year. In *Cuspinian* his Annals, there is *Rutilius*, the surname of *Nautius*; and likewise *V. Vellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Furius*.

267

Servius Cornelius. Q. Fabius.

According to *Livy* the Consuls this year were *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*; whom *Dionysius* and *Cassiodorus* name to be *T. Sicinius* & *C. Aquilius*. The surnames of these by the Greek records and *Cuspinian* I ken not, were *Tuscanus* and *Sabinus*, as for *Aquilius*, he was so called (as *Marlianus* observeth) who was *agilis colore*, i.e. of a dusky black, or brownish colour.

268

L. Aemilius. L. Furius.

Livy avoucheth Consuls for this year, *Sp. Cassius* and *Proculus Virginius*; and *Dionysius*, *Sp. Cassius* the second time, with *Proculus Virginius*. And *Diadorus* in his eleventh book, unto *Virginius* addeth the name *Tricostus*. The Greek records, as also those of *Cuspinian* make mention of *Rutilius* and *V. Vellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, (somewhat they be so called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *græci*, *Proculus* *progreffi*, i.e. far slept in years).

S III

269

290
L. Lucertius Triptolimus, T. Veitinus Geminus

According to the Capitoline table, *Aulus Posthumus*; out of *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, Pub. *Furius Fusus*, are noted for Consuls this year. *Dionysius* putteth to *Furius* the only gentile surname *Medullinus* (or *Fusus*). This *A. Posthumus* was the son of *A. Posthumus* the Dictator.

291
P. Volumnus, Serv. Sulpicius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write that there followed as Consuls this year, P. *Servilius*; but *Dionysius* nameth L. *Aburnus* and P. *Servilius Priscus*, *Dionysius*, L. *Aburnus Elva* and Pub. *Servilius Structus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Priscus* and *Flavius Cuspianus*, *Elva* and *Priscus*. The Capitol stones exhibit unto us P. *Servilius* the son of Sp. P. N. i. the sons son of *Publius* and surnamed *Priscus*.

292
C. Claudius, son of Appius, P. Valerius Poplicola.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius* represent unto us as Consuls this year, L. *Lucertius Triptolimus*, and T. *Veitinus* (or *Vatinius*) *Geminus*; but *Dionysius*, L. *Lucertius* and T. *Veitinus Cicerinus*, *Cuspianus* his Kalender, *Geminus* and *Triptolimus*. The Sicilian Registers, *Triptolimus* and *Veitinus*: the Capitol monuments L. *Lucertius Triptolimus*.

293
Q. Fabius Vibulanus III, L. Cornelius Maluginensis

Livy and *Cassiodorus* profess for Consuls this year, P. *Volumnus* and Serv. *Sulpicius*. *Dionysius*, P. *Volumnus*, and Serv. *Sulpicius Camerinus*. The Capitol marbles have P. *Volumnus Amintinus Gallus*. Of the same Consul *Valerius* speaketh, in his first book and sixth chapter.

294
L. Minutius, C. Nautius.

Livy and *Dionysius* name, P. *Valerius Poplicola*, and C. *Claudius Sabinus* Consuls for this year: *Dionysius*, P. *Valerius Poplicola*, and C. *Claudius Reginus*. The Sicilian registers & *Cuspianus* call them *Poplicola* and *Sabinus*. The Capitoline marble hath this record, P. *Valerius P. F.* (son of P. *Volumnus* N. i. the sons son of *Volumnus*) surnamed *Poplicola*, but *Livy*, *Dionysius*, *Orosius*, & they that have ranged the Consuls in the Capitol, have reported that P. *Valerius* the Consul was slain in the battle against the bondslaves who this year (under the leading of Ap. *Herodinus* the Sabine) held the Capitol by force, and that in his head L. *Quintius Cincinnatus* was substituted.

295
Q. Minutius, C. Horatius Pulvillus.

Livy, together with *Cassiodorus*, declare for Consuls this year, Q. *Fabius* the third time, and L. *Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Dionysius*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and L. *Cornelius*. *Dionysius*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*, and L. *Cornelius* surnamed. The Sicilian registers, and *Cuspianus* *Vibulanus* and *Maluginensis*. The Capitol marble C. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time.

296
M. Valerius, Sp. Virginius.

Both *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nautius*, *Dionysius*, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nautius* the second time, *Dionysius* *Minutius* surnamed, and C. *Nautius* surnamed. The Capitol stones C. *Nautius* surnamed the second time. What this surname surnamed should mean, *Sigonius* and *Orosius* confesse they know not, and think in stead thereof I we should read *Virginius*, *Valerius Maximus* (3 book 2 chap. Of thankful persons) writeth these Consuls corruptly, Q. for *Nautius*, and *Minutius*.

297
T. Romulus, Sp. Veitinus.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name for Consuls this year, Q. *Minutius* and M. *Horatius Pulvillus*; but herein they do amiss, as *Sigonius* and *Orosius* suppose for the same *Livy* writeth, that *Caius Horatius Pulvillus* died being Augur in the year 302. *Dionysius* nameth L. *Posthumus* and M. *Horatius*. *Dionysius* Q. *Horatius* and Q. *Minutius*. The Capitol records, C. *Horatius Pulvillus*, And the Sicilian registers, *Pulvillus* and *Angurinus*.

298
Sp. Tarpeius, A. Asterius.

In *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, we find Consuls this year, *Valerius* with Sp. *Virginius*. But in the twelfth book of *Dionysius* M. *Valerius Laetia*, and Sp. *Virginius Tricostus*. In *Cuspianus* Kalender *Maximus* and *Calpurnius*. In the Sicilian, *Maximus* and *Virginius*. In that of the Capitol, M. *Valerius* Max. As for *Laetia*, *Plinius* sheweth, that it is a surname of the *Valerii*. Of these Consuls also, *Conferius* maketh mention in his discourse of the plaies called *Seculares*.

299
P. Quinctius, Sext. Quinctilius

According to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, this year *Veitinus* and T. *Romulus* entered upon the Consulship. *Dionysius* delivereth unto us C. *Veitinus Cicerinus*, and T. *Romulus*; *Vatinius*, *Cuspianus* Kalender sheweth *Geminus* and *Vatinius*. The Sicilian, *Romus* and *Veitinus*. The Capitol records, T. *Romulus*, son of T. nephew or sons son of T. *Vatinius*. Of the same *Romulus*, *Plinius* also speaketh also 7 book, chapter 28.

300
T. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Capitolinus.

Spurius Tarpeius son of M. and nephew of M. surnamed *Montanus Capitolinus*, the lender of *Veitinus* *Flaccus* the with unto us for one Consul this year. Of whom, *Dionysius*, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, *Pedanius* upon *Cicero* his oration for *Cornelius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention have only the surnames. *Cuspianus* book, and the Greek records, have *Capitolinus*. As for his colleague, they dissent and disagree. For *Dionysius* would have him to be *Aulus Asterius* *Vontidius*; but *Dionysius* *Aulus Terminus*, *Livy* and *Pliny*, the seventh book, chapter seven and twenty, A. *Asterius*. *Sextus* chapter 4, Gell. 1 book, chapter 11, A. *Thermus*. Lastly, *Cassiodorus*, A. *Asterius*, whom *Sigonius* and *Orosius* follow.

301
App. Claudius, P. Geminus.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* likewise report for this year Consuls, Sext. *Quinctilius* and P. *Curatius*. *Dionysius*, Sext. *Quinctilius* and *Horatius*, *Dionysius*, Sext. *Quinctilius* son of Pub. the Capitol stones name him Sext. *Quinctilius* son of Sex, nephew of Pub. For this surname *Terminus* is common both to the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, but *Sigonius* and *Orosius* allow *Horatius* rather.

302
Sext. Quintilius son of Sextus, nephew of Pub.

To this Consul the Greek records give the surname of *Varnus*. and to the Capitoline tables of stone do represent him. But *Dionysius*, *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* deliver the same man unto us without the surname. Who was his colleague, it is doubtful. For by *Dionysius* it is was P. *Horatius*: by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, Pub. *Curatius*; by *Dionysius* *Terminus*; which is the surname as well of the *Curatii*, as the *Horatii*. *Orosius* rather approveth of *Curatius*.

303
Decemviri Consular.

Livy and *Dionysius*, together with the Capitoline registers (as far forth as may be gathered by the broken fragments of the tables shew that App. *Claudius* and T. *Geminus* were Cof. elect for this year, but they resigned up the place, in regard of creating Decemviri. Now at touching this Decemvirat, the law *Tarentina* brought it into the commonwealth: which law A. *Tarentinus* Arsa, a Tribune of the Commons promulgated as touching five Quinquaginta to be created, who should let down laws to gage the Cof. authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too great and tolerable, and therefore required that it might be abated and made more moderate. Which law, after he had been for six year together hotely canvassed by the Trib. to no effect.

in the end waxed cold again, by reason that the said Trib. obtained a grant to double their own number. But afterwards upon the occasion that *Romulus* and *Veitinus* the Cof. bare themselves too extreme in rigor against the Cof. refusing warfare, the said law was let on foot again, and followed more hotly then before. Whereupon when the L. of the Senat were doubtful what to do, at length they resolved upon this point, whereof the principal adviser was T. *Romulus* to create certain laws, which should let down the rights and privileges of nobles and commons. And lock what ordinances by them were decreed, the same should bind both the one part and the other. The Cof. agreed to this determination, and the Trib. *Postumius*, *Publius*, and *Serv. Sulpicius* *Camertius*, were sent into Greece, to learn the laws of the Grecians, and laws of the Athenians, and other cities of Greece, and the same to bring to them to Rome. There wait then emassage when *Atticus* and *Tarpinus* were Consul, and three years after returned with the said laws whiche *Sextus* *Quinctilius* were Consuls. Now when the Tribunes were instant & called him upon them, to begin once for to make these laws, lawing and now already App. *Claudius* and T. *Geminus* were elected Cof. for this year: they paid assent of the Senat (according to the same law, App. *Claudius*) That other magistracies should forecease, and so Decemviri were created in consular, by roial authority, without liberty of appealing from them to the people: who should enact as well out of their own customs and ordinances as the laws of the Grecians, the best & most profitable to the commonwealth, and let down the rights of the people of Rome. And look what they presented and presented (if the Senat and people of Rome allowed thereof) that should stand in force & bind the whole body of the state for ever. When this act was approved by the Commons, the Consul's reigned and gave over. In which dead, were chosen Decemviri consular, namely, App. *Claudius*, T. *Geminus*, the time that gave up their Consulship: Sp. *Postumius*, Serv. *Sulpicius* *Camertius* (those that were in consular, from the Cof. to Athens) T. *Romulus*, C. *Julius*, P. *Seftius*, Pub. *Horatius*, all men of consular calling, and such as had been Consuls before. *Pedanius* Sp. *Veitinus*, according to *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Dionysius*: although *Therastus* called *Postumius* by the name of *Publius* and not *Spurius* as *Livy*, and *Dionysius* do. Likewise *Livy* forenameth *Pedanius*, *Flaccus*; *Dionysius* *Titus*; but *Dionysius* and the Capitoline stones, *Spurius*. These Decemviri began their government in the 301 year after the foundation of the City, as *Livy* writeth, and after them *Cassiodorus* poeth. But the avouchers of the Capitol records, say it was the year 302, & with this agreeeth *Veitinus*, but *Varro* (who *Orosius* followeth) accounteth the year 303. Therein in judgment and admitted justice to the people by turns every one his tenth day on which day the said chief justice

bare the sovereign port, with his 12 Licitors before him; the other nine had but one sergeant apiece to give attendance: and the singular concord among themselves, which otherwises was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equity to others.

BY this time the Commons, besides that they detested the name of Coss, no less than KK, found no mis of the Tribuns assitants; nor fought once after it. seeing the Decemvirs yeeld one onto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons: there were created for this year also Decemvirs in Consuls authority absolutely without appeal. *Ap. Claudius* the second time. *Q. Fabius* who had been four times Consul, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis* brother of *L. Cornelius*, who had been Consul in the year 295; *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *T. Anthonius Merenda*, *M. Rabuleius*: and three likewise of the Commons, *Q. Petilius*, *K. Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppim Cornicenus*; as witnesseth *Diodorus Dionysius*, and *Livy*; although the gentile names for the most part are by *Diodorus* omitted.

WHen the more part of the former year was past, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to do, (in case the said tables were once in the high court and assembly of the Centuries passed) why the common-weal should have any need of the Decemvirs, inasmuch as the commons expected, that soon after, the solemn court and assembly aforesaid for creation of Consuls should be published: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or assembly, came abroad guarded with whole troops of young gentlemen Patritians, and demeaned themselves more proudly and insolently to every man. But before the year was fully expired, by occasion of the lecherous lust of *Ap. Claudius*, who challenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bond-servant, according as *Livy* more at large writeth: and also of the commons insurrection and departing into the *Aventine*, the foresaid Decemvirs gave over their Magistracy: and when *Q. Furius* the high Pontifex called a general assembly of the tribes, ten Tribuns of the Commons were again chosen: and so at length in another assembly of Centuries for the Consuls, holden by the Interregent, created there were Consuls,

L. Valerius Potitus, *M. Horatius Barbatus*.

THEse Consuls *Onuphris* casteth upon a third year of the Decemvirs (although *Livy* seemeth to dissent) to the end that he might jump with the account of the Capitol, which he supposed to be collected by *Varro*: for by their calculation the triumphs of these Consuls declared in the Capitol records, are engraven upon this very year, 304: so as it appea-

reth evidently, that part of this year was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Consuls. *Tacitus* and *Rufus* write, that the Decemvirs continued but two years.

Livy putteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Herminius* and *T. Virginium Calpurnianus*. *Cassiodorus* saith, *L. Herminius* and *T. Virginium*. *Dionysius* writeth *adon isphidion*. *Tiro* *isphidion*: and *Diodorus* thus *adon isphidion*, *adon isphidion* *isphidion*: the Greek words, *Herminius*, *Tricostrus*: whereby *Onuphris* seareth that he is corruptly written in *Diodorus*, *Servilius* for *Tricostrus*: for *Servilius* was a surname of the *Servilii* and not of the *Virginii*. As for his colleague *Herminius*, that he is to be fore-named *Lars*, besides *Diodorus* and *Dionysius*, *Valerius* also sheweth in his tenth book, where he writeth thus: The fore-name of *Lars* is derived from the *Lares*.

M. Geganus Macerinus, *C. Julius*.

THEse are recorded likewise to be the Consuls this year. The surname *Macerinus* is suppressed by *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, who also nameth the other *L. Julius*. In *Dionysius* certain pages be wanting in this place, *Cassianus* his Kalender hath for *Macerinus*, *Macrinus*.

T. Quintus Capitolinus IIII, *Agrippa Furius*.

Dionysius and *Livy* both, name the Coss, of this year, *T. Quintus Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*. *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* conceal the surname and the numeral note of four. The Greek records have *Furius* and *Capitolinus*, *Onuphris* unto *Furius* addeth the surnames of the grandfire, to wit, *Agrippinus Furius*.

M. Genucius, *C. Curtius*.

Livy delivereth unto us for Coss, this year, *M. Genucius*, and *P. Curtius*. *Cassiodorus* likewise *M. Genucius* and *P. Curtius*: but *Dionysius*, *M. Genucius* and *C. Quintus*: and *Diodorus* hath, *M. Genucius* and *Agrippa Curtius Chilo*. But as *Sigonius*, and after him *Onuphris* have noted, it is falsely read in *Livy*, *Curtius* for *Curtius*: and that is proved by the authority of *Varro de lingua latina*: and therefore in the Sicilian registers written they are, *Genucius* and *Curtius*.

L. Semp. Atratinus, *M. Papius Crassus*.
L. Clodius, *M. Papius Crassus*.
L. Atilius, *M. Papius Crassus*.

L. Papius Mugillanus, *L. Semp. Atratinus*.

WHen *C. Canuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, had the former year published a second

second law, That one of the Consuls should be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignity of the Patritii was empaiied) the nobles leaving left the said law would pa in deed mangle their heads, drew to a point: whereof *C. Claudius* made the first motion and was the adviser, That in stead of Consuls there should be created military Tribuns, three of the Patritii, and as many of the Commons: who being endued with Consular authority, should govern the common-weal. Also, that when their years government was expired, the advice both of Senat and also of people should be once again required. Whether they would have Consuls rather than Tribunes consular? and look which pleased them, they should be created. These points being resolved upon and decreed, three military Tribunes were created only, all Patritii: and well enough were the Commons content therewith, because themselves were eligible and capable of that dignity. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly set up, stood not firmly established. For within 3 months after, by a decree of the Angurs, they resigned up their honourable place, as if there had been some error committed in their election: and then *T. Quintus Barbaus* (nominated Interregent) created Consuls, *L. Papius Mugillanus*, and *L. Semp. Atratinus*. The Consuls are left out in the Sicilian registers. Well saith *Livy* therefore, that these Consuls are found neither in ancient annals and yearly records, nor yet in the Kalender of the Magistrats. But *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his Epistle to *Papirius Pater*.

M. Geganus Macerinus II, *T. Quintus Capitolinus V*.

Dionysius and *Cassiodorus* avouch these for Consuls this year. As for *Dionysius*, he saith that they entred in the month of December, *Cassius* concealeth both their surnames, and *Diodorus* the one, namely, *Capitolinus*. The Greek records have *Macerinus* the second time, and *Capitolinus* the fifth time. *Zonarus* nameth them *Macerinus* and *Barbaus*.

M. Fab. Vibulanus, *Postumus Eburnus Cornicenus*.

Livy saith, that Consuls of this year, were so named, *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* are silent in their surnames. The Greek records have *Vibulanus* and *Helma*. *Diodorus* attributeth to *Eburnus* the surname of *BARC*, but what manner of addition that might be, *Sigonius* knoweth not, and thinketh that it should be read, *BARC*.

C. Furius Pacilus, *M. Papius Crassus*.

THEse Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* are in this wise represented unto us. But by *Diodorus* after this sort, *Q. Furius Fufus*, and *M. Papius Crassus*. And by the Greek records thus, *Pacilus* and *Crassus*.

P. Geganus Macrinus, *L. Menenius Lanatus*.
L. Iunus and *Cassiodorus*, deliver these Consuls thus fully named, *Proculus Geganus Macrinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*. *Diodorus*, *L. Menenius*, and *Proculus Geganus Macrinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Lanatus*.

T. Quintus Capitolinus VI, *A. Menenius Lanatus*.

BY *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, these were the Consuls for this year: but after *Dionysius*, *T. Quintus*, and *T. Menenius*. According to the Sicilian rolls, *Menenius* and *Capitolinus*.

M. Aemilius, *M. Papius Crassus*.
L. Quintus son of *Circumstantis*, *M. Papius Crassus*.
L. Iulius, *M. Papius Crassus*.

THE Tribuns of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there should be an election holden for Tribunes military, rather than Consuls: making no doubt, but in the choosing of six (for so many now by law might be created) some of the commons by making profession that they would be revenged for the death of *Meles*, would step into the place: so wbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribuns with Consular authority, and among them *L. Quintus* the son of *Circumstantis*. In which election, *M. Aemilius*, a right honorable man and of great worth, was by their suffrages preferred before *Quintus* and *Julius* they made the third. In like manner, *Diodorus* nameth three Tribunes military for this year: but in this sort, *M. Aemilius Mamerctus*, *C. Iulius*, and *L. Quintus*.

M. Geganus Macerinus III, *L. Sergius Fidenas*.

WHen the Commons, together with their Tribuns were quiet, and carefully regarded the main state of the Common-weal, no question there was not controversy, but that Coss, were chosen, to wit, *M. Geganus Macrinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, so saith *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* doth the same, but that he setteth down the names of the Coss, only in this wise, *M. Geganus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, without surnames. *Diodorus* likewise, *M. Geganus* and *L. Sergius*, *Cassianus* Kalender, and the Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Fidenas*. For this *Sergius* was surnamed *Fidenas* (as *Livy* reporteth) by occasion of the war which he made against the *Fidenas*.

M. Cornelius Maluginensis, *L. Papius Crassus*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* report these above-named, for this year Consuls, *Diodorus* nameth them, *L. Papius* and *A. Corn. Macerinus*: but doubtless not without error, as *Sigonius* supposed: for both in *Cassianus* Kalender and the rolls of Sicily, we find *Maluginensis* and *Crassus*.

319
C. Julius II. I. Virginis.

These Consuls are found for this year in *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but in *Diodorus* C. Julius and *Proculus* Virginis *Tricipitinus*. In *Capitoline* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Julius* and *Virginis*.

320
C. Julius III. } or M. Manlius.
L. Virginis III. } or Q. Manlius.

I find in *Licinius Macer*, that the same Consuls were chosen again for the year following, to wit, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginis* the second. *Valerius Antias* and *Quintus*. *Tubero* alleged for these years Consuls, M. Manlius, and Q. Sulpicius. But in these so different records of theirs, *Tubero* and *Macer* both profess to go by the linen books; and neither of them dissembleth but that the ancient writers report of military Tribunes that year created. As for *Licinius*, he doubteth not to follow those linen records, and *Tubero* cannot relolve of the truth. But among other things, which by continuance of time are unknown, this also is left uncertain. Thus much *Livy*. But *Diodorus* in stead of Consuls, setteth down three military Tribunes, namely, M. Manlius, Q. Sulpicius *Pretorianus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*. The Greek records (following *Antias* and *Tubero*) have delivered to us Consuls, *Capitolinus* and *Camatinus*.

321
M. Fabius Vibulanus, } Tribunes military
Sergius Eidenas, } in Consuls authority.
Maecius Fostius.

The Tribunes of the Commons in their orations continually forbidd the elections of Consuls: and when they had brought it so about; that the government was at the point of interregency, they wan the mastery in the end, that the military Tribunes might be chosen with Consular authority. But reward of this victory which they thot at, namely, to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for out of the *Patritii*, namely M. Fabius *Vibulanus*, M. Fostius, L. *Sergius Eidenas*. Thus much *Livy*. *Diodorus* likewise nameth three, but corruptly, to wit, M. Fabius, M. *Calpurnius*, and L. *Servilius*. As for *Fostius* in some of the Capitol monuments, he is written *Elicinator* and not *Fostius*, as in the common editions of *Livy*, whom *Diodorus* calleth *pativius*.

322
L. Panarius Mamercus, } Tribunes military
L. Furius Medullinus, } in Consuls authority.
Sp. Posthumus Albus.

No motion was made of Consuls election. So Tribunes military were created in Consuls authority these, *Panarius Mamercus*, L. *Furius Medullinus*, and *Spurius Posthumus Albus*:

as *Livy* writeth. In *Diodorus* they are named thus, L. *Furius Sp.* *Panarius Mamercus*.

323
T. Quintius Cincinnatus, } *Cincinnatus Pennus*
Julius Mento.

An act of the Senat passed, that an election of Consuls should be holder, wherein T. *Quintius*, [son of *Lucius*] *Cincinnatus*, furnished also *Pennus*, and C. *Julius Mento*, were made Consuls, saith *Livy*. The same Cons. *Cassiodorus* also avoucheth. The Greek records have *Pennus* and *Mento*: But *Diodorus* nameth them barely T. *Quintius* and *Cains Julius*.

324
L. Papirius Crassus, L. Julius.

The Tribunes of the Commons made much ado, and kept a convailing in the City that Tribunes military in Consuls authority should be created, but could not prevail. So Consuls were chosen, L. *Papirius Crassus* and L. *Julius*. So saith *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Diodorus* nameth them fallily, *Cains Papirius* and L. *Junius*: the Greek records, *Crassus* and *Julius*.

325
L. Ser. Eidenas II. Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus

The Consuls this year in *Cassiodorus*, are L. *Sergius* and *Hostius Lucretius*: in *Diodorus* *Opter Lucretius* and L. *Sergius Eidenas* in *Livy*. L. *Sergius Eidenas* the second time, and *Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In the Sicilian registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Eidenas*. Of these *Valerius* maketh mention in his Epitome.

326
A. Cornelius Cossus. T. Quintius Pennus II.

These Consuls are named by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* for this year. But *Diodorus* avoucheth as L. *Quintius* and *Sempronius*; but corruptly, as *Siginius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For in the Sicilian records are written, *Cossus* and *Pennus*, the surnames of *Cornelius* and *Quintius*. Of these Consuls *Livy* spake before, in the year 316.

327
C. Servilius Ahala. L. Papirius Mugillanus

Livy and *Cassiodorus*, name Consuls for this year, C. *Servilius Ahala*, and L. *Papirius Mugillanus*. *Diodorus* for *Ahala*, putteth down *Servilius*: for well it may be, that *Servilius* was also called *Ahala*.

328
T. Quintius Pennus, } Tribunes military in
M. Posthumus. } Cons. authority.
C. Furius.
A. Cornelius Cossus.

The Commons carried it clear, that no Consuls this year were created: for four there were elected military Tribunes in Consuls authority, namely, T. *Quintius Pennus* immediately upon his Consulship, M. *Posthumus*, C. *Furius*, & A. *Cornelius Cossus*. Thus writeth *Livy*: and the same *Diodorus* nameth.

329
A. Sempronius Atratinus, } Tribunes Military in
L. Quintius Cincinnatus, } Cons. authority.
L. Furius Medullinus.
L. Herennius Barbatus.

These abovenamed (as *Livy* reporteth) were Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames, and L. *Herennius* full and whole.

330
Ap. Claud, the Decemvirs son, } Tribunes military in Cons.
Sp. Nannius Rusticus, } suls authority.
L. Sergius Eidenas, }
Sext. Julius Julius.

These Tribunes military in Cons. authority *Livy* setteth down for this year. The same doth *Diodorus* also nominate, all but their surnames, and App. *Claudianus* whom he called *Tullus*. *Livy* moreover saith, that there were two *Spurius Nannius Rusticus*. Tribunes in those diest but no doubt, as *Onuphrius* thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the book: the one who is now the first time and a second time shall be in the year 338; the other, who was first in the year 335, and once again in the year 330. The Capitol monuments of stone have the same: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other thrice Tribune.

331
C. Sempronius Atratinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus

The Consuls this year created were according to *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, C. *Sempronius Atratinus* and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* (*Diodorus* overpasseth them) whom *Livy* reporteth to have entered into government, upon the Ides of December. Of C. *Sempronius Atratinus* Consul, *Valerius* writeth six book, cap. 9. whom he forenameth *Lucius*: but in the third book and second chapter, he speaketh of both, although untrue; for Q. *Fabius*, he nameth Q. *Catalus*.

332
L. Manlius Capitolinus, } Tribunes military in
Q. Fabius Arundinus, } Consuls authority.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Servilius Serranus.

The Senat being offended with the very name of Consuls for the hatred they bare to *Sempronius*, commanded Tribunes military to be created with Consuls authority. And these they were, L. *Manlius Capitolinus*, Q. *Antonius Arundinus*, and *Papirius Mugillanus*. Thus much *Livy*, in whose story the name is mistaking of the

fourth, to wit, L. *Servilius Serranus*, who in the year 337, is found engraven in the Capitol stones, Tribunes military the second time. Of these, *Diodorus* saith not a word. In a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the surnames of *Mugillanus*, belonging to L. *Papirius*.

333
T. Quintius Capitolinus. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Not only *Livy*, but *Cassiodorus* also recordeth that the Consuls this year were N. *Fabius Vibulanus* and T. *Quintius Capitolinus*. *Diodorus* overpasseth them; but do not the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitol marbles, we find engraven T. *Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus* and N. *Fabius*. This *Fabius* was the son of Q. *Fabius* the Decemvir, who after the 300 *Fabii* slain in *Cremera*, survived and was the first of all that kindred and family surnamed *Nannius*: as *Valerius Maximus* in his 10 book, and *Sext. Pompeius* do report. As for T. *Quintius* son he was (as *Livy* writeth) to that *Capitolinus* who was Consul six times.

334
An Interregency.

When the greater part of the year was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib. of the Commons and certain Interregents, while the Tribunes one while would not suffer the *Patritii* to go together about the declaring of an interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that he could not passe an act of the Senat for the election of Consuls rat length L. *Papirius Mugillanus* the Interregent, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for chusing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes military with Consuls authority, and all *Patritii*, T. *Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, L. *Furius Medullinus*, M. *Manlius*, L. *Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus much *Livy*.

335
A. Menenius Lanatus, } Trib. military in Cons.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, } authority.
Sp. Nannius.
C. Servilius.

Military Tribunes with Consuls authority for this year, are set down by *Livy* *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, P. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and P. *Nannius*: for the name of the fourth wanting; and that was C. *Servilius*, son of *Quintius* and nephew of *Cains*, forenamed *Axilla*; who the year following, in the Capitol tables is numbered among the Tribunes consular, with the numeral note of II. So as it muil needs be, that he was the first time in the year, for as much as no other fit void place left for him. *Diodorus* nameth Sp. *Veturius*.

Valerius C. Terentius, L. Menenius, C. Sulpitius, T. Papirius, L. Emilius, M. Fabius.

375
P. Manlius, C. Sexilius.
C. Manlius, M. Albinus.
L. Julius, L. Antistius.

After this, was the general assembly holden for the election of military Tribunes in Consuls authority, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the Patritians; namely, P. and C. both Manlius, with L. Julius, Patritians: and out of the Commons, C. Sexilius, M. Albinus, and L. Antistius. But Diodorus exhibiteth eight, and to these above rehearsed, he addeth C. Horencius, and P. Trebonius, Sexilius also he calleth Sextius.

376
Sp. Furius, P. C. Cilius.
Q. Servilius I. M. Horatius.
C. Licinius, L. Geganius.

Livy reporteth these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year: but in Livy, for Lu. Menenius the third time, you must read C. Licinius, as Sigonius hath shewed in his Scholia upon Livy: which Onuphrius also in his Kalender appereth. But Diodorus speaketh of no more than four: Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, L. Furius, P. Cilius.

377
L. Emilius, Ser. Sulpitius.
P. Valerius IV. L. Quintus Cincinnatus.
C. Furius, C. Quintus Cincinnatus.

These Tribunes military, the Consuls (being forced by the might and strong hand of the great men of the City) chose all Patritians, as Livy witnesseth. The same also are named by Diodorus, excepting only C. Quintus, who is called by him C. Cornelius. As for Ser. Sulpitius, he was surname Plautius, Zonaras nameth him Rufus.

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.
C. Licinius Stolo, Tribunes of the Commons five years.
L. Sextius.

In this year hapned the fourth change of the Roman government: for the administration of the weal publicke, tell from Tribunes military in consuls authority, to the Tribunes of the commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as Livy reporteth) C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the commons, who in the former year having promulged three laws in favour of the commons and against the power of the Patritii, the first for redressing of debts: a second for a limit of lands and possessions: & the third, that there should be no more elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the consuls should necessarily be chosen a commoner: seeing they could not go through with these laws, by reason of their

own fellows oppositions (whom of purpose the Nobles had made for themselves) fell into an anger, and would suffer no cruel Magistrates of State to be created, nor any election to be holden, but only of Aediles and Tribunes, both of commons. This desolate estate and want of Magistrates (whiles the commons made the same Tribunes still, who with uncessant and invincible persistence never gave over to cross the election of Tribunes military) continued in the city for the space of five years, as Livy saith. This want of Magistrates Diodorus calleth *anagxia*, and casteth it upon the former year. But Sex. Rufus, Eutropius, C. Cassiodorus, and Zonaras write that they ruled the state not five years, but four only. Sigonius and Onuphrius in his Kalender, follow Livy, & his Annals it seemeth that the Capitoline writers go by Livy also in the sixteenth book, and four and fortieth chapter, maketh mention of the year three hundred seventy nine from the foundation of the city, in which year he saith that at Rome

383
L. Furius, Ser. Cornelius.
A. Manlius, P. Valerius.
Ser. Sulpitius, C. Valerius.

When C. Licinius and L. Sextius the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called and held an assembly for the election of Magistrates, the above-named Tribunes military, were (as Livy saith) created for this year. Diodorus nameth them thus, L. Papirius, L. Menenius, Ser. Cornelius, and Ser. Sulpitius, who writeth also, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpast and gone then were created A. Manlius, L. Furius, Ser. Sulpitius, and Ser. Cornelius. But in his story, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out same, there is a confusion of yearly Magistrates.

384
Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius.
C. Furius, I. I. Q. Quintus.
A. Cornelius, M. Fabius.

This year also, as Livy writeth, had these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. But Diodorus hath Q. Servilius, C. Furius, A. Cornelius, M. Cornelius, and M. Fabius: as for Quintus, Sigonius calleth him rather Cincinnatus than Capitoline. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found Cossus, M. Maluginensis, C. Cincinnatus, M. Fabius Ambustus. This is that M. Fabius Ambustus, who had bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to C. Licinius Stolo, the other to Ser. Sulpitius Plautius, as Livy writeth.

385
L. Quintus, Ser. Cornelius.
Ser. Sulpitius, Sp. Servilius.
L. Papirius, L. Veturius.

Livy declareth these six for Tribunes military this year. Diodorus rehearseth but three, namely, L. Quintus, Servilius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpitius. What surnames all these carried, and with what numerall notes (signifying how often they had born the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they stand thus, Capitoline, M. Maluginensis, I. I. Præstatum, I. I. I. I. Sp. Servilius Strabatus, L. Papirius Crassus, L. Veturius Crassus Cicurius.

386
Two Dictators without any cruel Magistrates of State besides.

Presently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the trial of a small issue, what should become of the foresaid laws proposed by Licinius and Sextius. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindered by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between; the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two last helps and means of refuge, the foreign and absolute government, and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and Marcus Furius Camillus was the man; who took unto him for General of the horsemen, L. Emilius. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against Camillus, he (as Livy writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. Plutarch also testifieth the same: who likewise avoucheth the cause thereof, which Livy goeth about to disprove. But both Livy and Plutarch do affirm, that in the room of Camillus thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created, Livy saith, it was P. Manlius. Plutarch suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that C. Licinius was the General of the horse. Howbeit, they mean not both, one and the self-same man. For Livy saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: But Plutarch nameth him, who was the author of the sedition and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth. For the Captain of the foresaid sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com, the ninth time: but Tribune of the Com, and General of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore Onuphrius thinketh him to have been the son of P. Licinius C. C. military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that Pub. Licinius, who of the Com, was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his Kalender.

387
A. Cornelius I. I. M. Cornelius.
L. Veturius, M. Geganius.
Julius P. Manlius, P. Valerius V. I.

Livy exhibiteth these Trib. military before named for this year, whom Diodorus overspaleth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had born this honourable dignity, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments, Cossus I. I. Maluginensis II. M. Accerius. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurius II. P. Valerius C. C. Poplicola V. I. P. Manlius Capitolinus II.

388
L. Sextius, L. Emilius.

When L. Sextius and C. Licinius Trib. of the Com. now chosen the tenth time, were more and more eager and instant in the publishing of their laws, in the end the authority both of Dictator and Senat, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed, notwithstanding all the Nobility was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by virtue of their laws which they carried clear before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which means, L. Sextius was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, inasmuch as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and ready to leave the City: the discord & dissension was at length taken up and appeased by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobility was content to yield unto the commonalty a Consul, so the Commons granted unto the nobles one Prætor or Lord chief Justice within the City, and him to be created from out of the Nobility. Granted also unto them now first it was, that two Aediles Curule should be chosen out of the Patritii. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon L. Sextius (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government he had L. Emilius Mamercus, thus much Livy and Plutarch: who altogether with Cassiodorus put down for Coss. L. Emilius a Patritian, and L. Sextius a Commoner. The same, Diodorus nameth Lu. Emilius Mamercus, and Lu. Læranus. Now this Læranus is the surname of Sextius, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoli, wherein the consuls are thus to be seen, Mamercus & L. Sextius Sextinus Læranus: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called Mamercus and Læranus. In the book entituled *De viris illustribus* of famous men, we find written that it was not L. Sextius, but C. Licinius Stolo, who was the first consul chosen out of the commonalty.

389
L. Genutius, Q. Servilius.

Diodorus, Livy, and Cassiodorus shew unto us for consuls, L. Genutius and Q. Servilius: Of whom Orosius also and Eutropius make mention. According to the records of the Capitoli, the consular first consularship is thus written. Q. Servilius of Q. nephew of Quintus Albus. Tit. 2 together

together with *L. Genucius*, but in the second, the son of *M. Genucius* of *Cn.* *Amintinus*. In the Sicilian registers they be written *Genucius* and *Curvius*, but corruptly as *Sigonius* thinketh.

390
C. Sulpitius Peticus. *C. Licinius Stolo*.

These be the Consuls reported by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Diodorus* concealth their surnames, *Valerius Max.* in his second book and first cha. maketh mention of them, and so doth *Plutarch* in his problems. But he whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominat *Calvus*: as also the Sicilian, which deliver their surnames *Paticus* and *Calvus*.

391
L. Aemilius Mamercinus II. *Cn. Genucius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare these for Consuls: whom *Diodorus* in his sixteenth book nameth *Cn. Genucius* and *L. Aemilius*. In the Capitol tables in this manner they be set down. . . . *Mamercinus II.* and *Cn. Genucius* son of *M.* and nephew of *M. Amintinus*. But in the Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Stola*.

392
Q. Servilius Ahala II. *L. Genucius II.*

Diodorus nameth the Consuls of this year, *Q. Servilius* and *Q. Genucius*. The Sicilian registers *Ahala* and *Genucius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Q. Servilius Hala* and *L. Genucius*. These are they who three years before were matched together in the same government.

393
C. Sulpitius. *C. Licinius Calvus*.

These are by *Livy* recorded Consuls this year. *Cassiodorus* writeth them thus, *C. Sulpitius II.* and *C. Licinius*. *Diodorus* in this wise, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius*. *Sigonius* supposeth they be the same, who three years before were Collegues. The Sicilian registers give unto *Livinus* the surname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*: and *Sulpitius* their surname *Paticus*.

394
C. Postellus Libo. *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

Livy, and *Cassiodorus* write the Consuls for this year were, *C. Postellus Balbus*: and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. But *Diodorus*, *M. Fabius* and *C. Postellus*, corruptly for *Postellus*. The Capitoline writers give them surnames divers from *Livy*: for they call *Libo*, *Visulus*; but he, *Balbus*. And the Sicilian registers go with those of the Capitol.

395
M. Popilius Lenas. *Cn. Manlius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name this year Consuls in this sort: but *Diodorus* calleth them, *M. Popilius Lenas*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperatorius*. This

was the first man of the *Popili*, surnamed *Lenas*. The reason of which name *Cicero* rendereth in his book *Brutus*, saying, *M. Popilius* being Consul, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called *Lenas*, for that he was *Flaminio Carmentis*, upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and risen in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the assembly: and what with his authority of countenance, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

396
C. Fabius. *C. Plantius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* have these above-named for the Consuls this year: but in *Diodorus* they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plantius*. In the Capitoline records, . . . *Ambustus* and *C. Plantius Proculus*.

397
C. Martius. *Cn. Manlius*.

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name the Consuls of this year, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn. Manlius* was Consul the first time, two years before. *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records have *Rutilius* and *Capitolinus*.

398
M. Fabius Ambustus II. *M. Popilius Lenas II.*

This years Consuls are with these names entituled by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames and the numerall leaveth out their surnames and the numerall records, *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records, set them thus down, *Ambustus II.* and *Lenas*.

399
C. Sulpitius Peticus III. *M. Valerius Poplicola*.

In the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirtieth year after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Consulship, and upon an Interregency, both Coss. of the *Patritii* entred into government, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus III.* *M. Valerius Publicola*, as *Livy* saith. The same Consuls *Diodorus*, *Cassiodorus*, and the Sicilian registers do report. But why the account of time made by *Livy*, disagreeeth from this reckoning, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his Kalender do give a reason.

400
M. Fab. *Ambustus III.* *T. Quint.* or *M. Popilius*.

In this year also, according to *Livy*, both Coss. were *Patritii*, namely, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, with *T. Quintus*: although he writeth, that in some Annals instead of *T. Quintus*, he found *Marcus Popilius Consul*. With *Livy* accordeth *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Solinus* also, who in his forty one chapter out of *Cornelius Nepos* writeth, that *Alexander* was born when *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quintus*

Titus Capitolinus were Consuls. *Cuspinianus* book setteth forth *Ambustus* and *Capitolinus*. But these Consuls and those that follow are in the Sicilian registers concealed.

401
C. Sulpitius Peticus III. *M. Valer.* *Poplicola III.*

Both Consuls created this year were *Patritii*, and namely, those who are heretofore set down, after *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Diodorus* omitteth both their surnames, and also the numerall notes, and setteth after the former Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Sulpitius*.

402
P. Valerius Poplicola. *C. Martius Rutilius*.

To *L. Valerius Poplicola* was given in fellowship of government this year, *C. Martius Rutilius* of the commons, as *Livy* saith. These *Cassiodorus* calleth *P. Valerius* and *C. Martius Rutilius* the second time, *Diodorus* nameth them *M. Fabius* and *P. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers intermingle them confusedly with those of the next year, matching *Rutilius* and *Pennis* together.

403
C. Sulpitius Peticus. *T. or K. or C. Quint. Pennus*.

The Coss. for this year created were *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *T. Quint. Pennus*. Some put to *Quintus* the name *C. also*, others *Caius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* name them thus, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* and *T. Quintus Pennus*: but *Diodorus*, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Quintus*.

404
M. Popilius Lenas. *L. Cornelius Scipio*.

Livy writeth, that for Consuls this year the commons yielded *M. Popilius Lenas*, and the nobles *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Cassiodorus* setteth them forth under the name of *M. Popilius Lenas* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Diodorus* nameth them, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Popilius*: and the Sicilian registers barely *Scipio* and *Lenas*.

405
L. Furius Camillus. *P. Claudius Crassus*.

Livius *Fabius Camillus* the Dictator restored the nobles again to their former possession of the Consulship: and being himself for that good merited created Consul, with the great love and hearty affection of the nobles, nominated for his Colleague, *Publius Claudius Crassus*. Thus saith *Livy*. The same Consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus*, nameth them *Aemilius* and *T. Quintus*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Crassus*. *Cicero* in *Caio* maketh mention of these Consuls, saying, that *Plato* came to *Tarentum*, when *L. Camillus* and *P. Claudius* were Consuls: *Gellius* likewise, in book 11 chapter.

406
M. Valerius Corvus. *M. Popilius Lenas III.*

Marcus *Manlius Torquatus* being Dictator, declared for Consul with the exceeding favour of the people, *M. Valerius Corvus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, and being but three and twenty years old. This *Corvus* had joyned with him in the Consulship from out of the commons, *M. Popilius Lenas* the third time, as saith *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* three years after nominateth *M. Valerius* and *M. Popilius*. In the fragment of the Capitol only it is found, *M. Valerius*, *M. F.* *M. N. Corvus* Consul. In the Sicilian registers *Corvus* and *Lenas*.

407
T. Manlius Torquatus. *C. Plantius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* nameth them for Consuls this year, *Cuspinianus* *Kalender* and the Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Venus*. In a fragment of the Capitol there is to be read the surname of *Manlius Imperatorius Torquatus*.

408
M. Valerius Corvus II. *C. Patellus*.

These are named Consuls by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*: but *Cuspinianus* *Kalender* and the registers of *Sicily* shew for Consuls, *Corvus* and *Libo*. As for the name *C. Patellus*, it is described by his Dictatorship, which (according to the Capitol evidences) he bare in the year 440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consulship) there appeareth no more but one of his surnames, *Visulus*.

409
M. Fabius Dorso. *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*.

These were the Consuls created for this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. *Diodorus* also (although not in the right place) alleateth *M. Fabius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dorso* and *Camerinus*. Both these Consuls were *Patritii*, which *Livy* omitted.

410
C. Mart. *Rutilius III.* *T. Manlius Torquatus II.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* avow these for Coss. This year, *Diodorus* likewise delivereth unto us, *C. Martius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers, *Rutilius* and *Torquatus*. *Frontinus* also in his second book of *Stratagems* speaketh of them.

411
M. Valerius Corvus III. *A. Cornelius Cassus*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* both together report, that these were chosen Coss. for this year. *Diodorus*, *Cicero* in his book of *Divination*, and *Frontinus*, name them, *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Valerius* and *Cassius*: both of them are *Patritii*. But he that hath written of famous men, calleth them, *Valerius Max.* and *Cornelius Cassus*.

412
C. Marius Rutilius IV. Q. Servilius.

Livy and Cassiodorus declare Coss. for this year, C. Marius and Q. Servilius, Diodorus, Q. Servilius and Marius Rutilius. The Sicilian registers, Abala and Rutilius. This is that Q. Servilius Abala who was Master of the horle in the 403 year.

413
C. Plantius II. L. Emilius Mamercinus.

He Consuls that followed, were C. Plantius the second time, and L. Emilius Mamercinus as witness Livy and Cassiodorus; but L. Emilius & C. Plotius, as testifieth Diodorus; and as the Sicilian registers say, Venno and Mamercinus. Cuspinians Kalender set forth for this year, Venno the second time, and Mamercinus.

414
T. Manlius Torquatus III. P. Decius Mus.

Titus Manlius Torquatus the third time, and P. Decius Mus, bare the Consulship this year, as Livy and Cassiodorus report, Diodorus nameth them, T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius. The Sicilian registers, Torquatus and Mus. Zonaras, Torquatus the third time, and Decius. Of the same Consuls Pliny speaketh in his 22 book and 5 chap. Valerius also in his 1 book and 5 chap, besides others.

415
T. Emilius Mamercinus. Q. Publilius Philo.

Titus Emilius Mamercinus, and Q. Publilius Philo, are by Livy reckoned Coss. for this year, Diodorus passeth over their surnames. The Greek records shew unto us, Mamercinus and Philo. As for Philo, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

416
L. Furius Camillus. C. Manius.

Thus say Livy and Cassiodorus. Diodorus hath L. Furius and Camillus, but corruptly The Sicilian registers, Camillus and Menius. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, L. Furius Camillus, and C. Menius. Pliny in his 34 book and 5 cha, maketh mention of Caius Menius, Consul.

417
C. Sulpitius Longus. P. Elvius Pains.

Livy and Cassiodorus write, that these Coss. followed, Diodorus putteth down C. Sulpitius, and L. Pappius. The Sicilian registers, have Longus and Pains.

418
L. Pappius Crassus. K. Dintius.

Lucius Pappius Crassus, and K. Dintius, were this years Coss., as witness Livy, Cassiodorus, and Diodorus also, but for leaving out the sur-

name Crassus. In the Sicilian registers they are named, Crassus and Dintius. As touching these Consuls, Cicero in his Epistle to Pains, writeth thus, L. Pappius Crassus, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with K. Dintius.

419
M. Valerius Corvus III. M. Atilius Regulus.

This year, when the Aulones that inhabited the City Cales, took arms and combined with the Sidicins, M. Valerius Corvus, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his Colleague (as Livy writeth) M. Atilius Regulus. Cassiodorus likewise declareth the same for Consuls; and so doth Diodorus, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian registers.

420
T. Veturius. Sp. Posthumius.

The Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to Livy) these above-named. So say Cassiodorus also and Diodorus. Zonaras nameth them Tiber. Calvinius, and Sp. Posthumius: and right well, as Sigonius thinketh: for Tiberius was the fore-name of the Veturii. The Greek records, and Cuspinians book, have Albinus and Calvinius.

421
Interregens, all one year.

Sigonius and Onuphrius infer this one year without Consuls, besides the account of the years, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in Livy, nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the totall sum collected by Varro. And that the said year should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoline records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, M. Valerius Corvus Consul the fourth time, in the year of the City 419, and again L. Emilius and C. Plantius in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both L. Emilius the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the totall should fall upon in Varro and the Capitoline tables be overthrown. That this odd year was now above all other times to be cast between, Gregory Halaondar (who left in writing a Chronology of the Consuls) saw long before them; for he over-passed this year wholly, noted without Consuls. But Sigonius and Onuphrius are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-weal without Consuls, or other Magistrates of state, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof Livy writeth,

422
A. Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.

Albus Cornelius the second time Coss. with Cn. Domitius is by Livy and Cassiodorus set down

down. Diodorus nameth them A. Cornelius and C. Domitius. The Sicilian registers, Calvinius and Cossus.

423
M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Valerius.

After this, were created Consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Valerius, as Livy and Cassiodorus report. In Diodorus also they be set down by the name of C. Valerius, and M. Clodius. Livy saith, that he findeth in the Annals, the surnames of Valerius diversly put down, namely, Flaccus and Potius. Orofius calleth these Consuls, Claudius Marcellus, and Valerius Flaccus: The Sicilian registers, Potius and Marcellus. Sigonius and Onuphrius retain their surnames, that it may seem, how to the old surname Potius of the House Valeria, this new surname of Flaccus is a later addition.

424
L. Pappius Crassus II. L. Plantius Venno.

These Consuls are by Livy and Cassiodorus recited this year, Diodorus concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers, make them known by the names of Crassus and Venno.

425
L. Emilius Mamercinus. C. Plantius.

Next to them (according to Livy and Cassiodorus) were L. Emilius Mamercinus, and C. Plantius created Consuls, Diodorus nominateth L. Pappius with L. Plotius. The Sicilian registers, Mamercinus and Decianus. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll do evidently shew. These Consuls entred upon their government the first day of July.

426
P. Plautius Proculus. P. Cornelius Scapulus.

Livy and Cassiodorus put down [for Consuls] P. Plautius Proculus, and P. Cornelius Scapulus. Diodorus P. Cornelius and A. Posthumius. The Sicilian registers, Venno and Scipio. Onuphrius thinketh this Plautius ought to be forenamed not Publius but Caius: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with Appius Cacus, was surnamed Venox (as Frontinus supposeth) for finding certain springs and veins of water within the earth.

427
C. Plautius Proculus. Q. Publilius Philo II.

Livy and Cassiodorus match together in the Consulship for this year, L. Cornelius Lentulus, and Q. Publilius Philo. Diodorus L. Cornelius and Q. Publilius. The Sicilian registers, Lentulus and Philo.

428
L. Pappius Magillanus Cursor. C. Paterius.

Caius Paterius and L. Pappius are by Livy, nominated consuls this year, C. Paterius

the third time, and L. Pappius Magillanus, by Cassiodorus. Solinus maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for Pappius, Livy indeed turneth him here Magillanus, but he saith that he findeth him in other Annals by the name of Cursor. In the Greek records they be Libo and Cursor. Now as touching C. Paterius, he is to be written with the numerall note II, and not III, as Sigonius and Onuphrius do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Consul in the 323 year, but his son.

429
L. Furius Camillus II. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Livy and Cassiodorus put down for consuls, L. Furius Camillus the second time, and Junius Brutus Scæva. Diodorus, L. Furius, and D. Junius. The Sicilian registers, Camillus and Brutus.

Lucius Furius, unto whom the charge of Sannius fell by lot, fortun'd by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martial affairs a Dictator; whereupon he pronounced L. Pappius Cursor, the bravest warrior in those daies; by whom Q. Fabius Maximus was named great Master of the horle. Afterwards Cursor turned him out of that Masterhip of horle, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Sannits when himself was out of the way and gone to Rome for to take the Aspicus anew: and in his room he substituted L. Pappius Crassus. Thus write Livy, Eutropius, and Valerius, in the second book.

431
C. Sulpitius Longus II. Q. Emilius [L. Anlus] Cerretanus.

Lucius Pappius the Dictator, before he left his Magistracy, created Consuls, C. Sulpitius Longus II, and Q. Emilius Cerretanus. Some Annals have Anlus. Thus much Livy, in like manner the Sicilian registers have Longus and cerretanus. But Diodorus corruptly for Anlus hath Alins.

432
Q. Fabius. L. Fulvius.

Livy and Cassiodorus deliver unto us for Consuls this year, Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius; whom the Capitoll records of the triumphs name Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, and L. Fulvius Corvus. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers, they are put down, Cursor and Sylla.

433
T. Veturius Calvinius. Sp. Posthumius.

This year Livy and Cassiodorus set forth for Consuls, T. Veturius Calvinius and Sp. Posthumius. Cicero in his third book of Offices writeth, that they were twice Coss. Zonaras collecteth

callest the one of them *T. Calpurnius*, by a familiar forename unto that house and kindred of the *Patulii*. The Greek records exhibit unto us *Calpurnius* and *Atinius*. Of these Consuls as also of the Caudine peace, *Cicero* in his book of old age; *Pliny* also in his book of famous men; *Gellius* in his 17 book and 21 chap. *Florus* in his 1 book and 16 chap. and *Orosius* in his 3 book and 15 chap. do make mention.

434

L. Papirius Cursor II. *C. Publilius Philo*.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* shew for this year Consuls, *Q. Publilius Philo* and *L. Papirius Cursor*, the second time. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Philo*. But that this *Philo* should now be third time Consul, his Consulships do plainly shew.

435

L. Papirius Cursor for *Mugillanus*,
Q. Antius Corretanus II.

L. Ioy saith, there is some doubt, whether *L. Papirius Cursor* were this year created Consul the third time, with *Q. Emilius Corretanus* the second time: and for his good service in war at *Luceria*, continued still in government: or rather *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and so the surname was mistaken. *Cassiodorus* delivereth unto us *L. Papirius* and *Q. Antius Corretanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Papirius* and *corretanus*. The monument of his triumph in the Capitol, alloweth of *Cursor* and not *Mugillanus*. The author of that book which *Cassianus* hath set forth, following other Annals, setteth down *Mugillanus*.

436

M. Fostius Flaccinator. *L. Plautius Vennio*.

Being that fortwelve years next ensuing, we have the Capitoline tables whole and found, the less trouble we need to be at in reforming and redressing the names of the Magistrats. Both they, and also *Ioy* with *Cassiodorus* represent unto us for this years consuls, *M. Fostius Flaccinator* and *L. Plautius Vennio*. *Diodorus* calleth them *L. Plotius* and *Publius*. The Sicilian registers, *Vennio* and *Flaccus*.

437

C. Junius Bubulcus. *Q. Emilius Barbula*.
Cassiodorus putteth down *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius* for Consuls. *Ioy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Quintus Emilius Barbula*. A stone in the Capitol, *Q. Emilius Barbula*, and *C. Junius Bubulcus* Bruns.

438

Sp. Nautius. *M. Popilius*.

Next follow in order *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius* Consuls, according to *Ioy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Rutilius* and *Lenus* their surnames, are by *Sigonius* restored unto them: and the same also are to be seen in the Sicilian books of record.

439

L. Papirius Cursor III. *Q. Publilius Philo* III.

The Consuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth *Livy*'s books, are there left out: namely, *L. Papirius Cursor* the fourth time, and *Q. Publilius Philo* likewise the fourth time: as it is written in *Cassiodorus*; in the Capitoll tables, and in *Cassianus* book, wherein they are named *Cursor* and *Philo*. Howbeit, in the Sicilian registers they are called *Cursor* and *Lenus*.

440

M. Patellus. *C. Sulpitius*.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* report for Consuls this year, *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Patellus*. But *Diodorus* hath *C. Sulpitius* and *Publius*. *Corretanus* corruptly for *cursor*. The Capitoline writers, have *M. Patellus Libo* and *C. Sulpitius Longus* the third time. The Sicilian registers, *Longus* and *cursor*. But there is a fault, as *Sigonius* truly thinketh.

441

L. Papirius Cursor IV. *C. Junius Bubulcus*.

Diodorus putteth down for Consuls this year *L. Papirius* fifth time, and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Bubulcus*. But *Ioy* and *Cassiodorus*, *L. Papirius Cursor* IV. and *C. Junius Bubulcus* II. *Festus* maketh mention also of these Consuls in his 18 book.

442

M. Valerius. *C. Decius*.

L. Ioy writeth that there followed consuls *M. Valerius* *Max*, and *P. Decius*: but *Cassiodorus*, saith *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*. *Examinus* in his book of water-conduits, speaketh of these Consuls: whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnites war. As for *P. Decius*, *Ioy* afterwards calleth *Max*. The Sicilian registers have *Max* and *Max*.

443

C. Junius Bubulcus III. *Q. Emilius Barbula* II.

We find in *Ioy* for Consuls this year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Emilius Barbula* the second time: likewise in *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Bubulcus* and *Barbula*. In the same names are also in the Capitoll monuments, which be in *Ioy*.

444

C. Martius Rutilius. *Q. Fabius*.

C. Martius Rutilius and *Q. Fabius* be this years Consuls in *Ioy*. But in *Cassiodorus*, *C. Martius Rutilius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Diodorus* hath *C. Martius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. The Sicilian registers shew *Rutilius* and

and *Rutilius*. The Capitol monuments, *Q. Fabius*, *Max*, *Rutilianus* the second time, and *C. Martius*, who afterwards in his second Consulship in the 498 year, is surnamed *Conserinus*.

445

A year without Consuls, *P. Papirius Dillator* II.

Verrinus Flaccus interposeth this year also without Consuls, wherein he reporteth *L. Papirius* Dictator the 2 time, with *C. Junius Bubulcus* Bruns, the Master of the horse. This year *Diodorus*, *Ioy*, the Greek records, *Cassianus* book and *Cassiodorus* do overlap. For *Ioy* writeth that *L. Papirius Cursor* was nominated by the consul Dictator, and by him *C. Junius Bubulcus* named Master of the horse: upon occasion that *C. Martius* the Cof, had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in Samnitis. This inserting of one year *Onuphrius* hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by *Varro* might stand in force, which to the Capitoll tables putteth one year, whose judgment we also are willing to follow.

446

Q. Fabius. *P. Decius*.

L. Ioy writeth, that *Fabius* continued Consul this year also, for his singular good service in subduing and taming *Hetruria*: and that he had for his companion in government *Decius*. *Cassiodorus* acknowledgeth for Cof, *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *P. Decius* the second time. *Diodorus*, *P. Decius* and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers *Mus* and *Rullus*. The Capitoline tables, *P. Decius Mus* II. and *Q. Fabius* *Max*. *Rullianus* the third time.

447

App. Claudius. *L. Volumninus*.

L. Ioy saith, that immediately there followed Consuls, *App. Claudius* and *L. Volumninus*. *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, *Appius* and *Volens*. The Sicilian registers, *App. Claudius* *Cacius* and *L. Volumninus*. The Capitoline monuments have *Flaminius* and *Volens*. Now whether one of these Consuls surnames be *Volens* or *Violens*, *Onuphrius* advertiseth us to consider. For the capitoll stone hath it always written *Violens*. But the Greek words have *Appius* and *Rodius*: as if the name were *Violens*.

448

Q. Martius Tremulus. *P. Cornelius Arvina*.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* register for the Consuls of this year, *Q. Martius Tremulus*, with a Colleague adjoined unto him, *Diodorus* saith *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*. The Sicilian records, *Tremulus* and *Arvina*.

449

L. Posthumius. *T. Minutius*.
Decius Posthumius and *T. Minutius* are reported consuls by *Diodorus*, *Ioy* and *Cassiodorus*.

Cassianus book sheweth, *Megellus* and *Angurinus*. These Cof, doth *L. Pij* put down for to succeed *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out those two years wherein we have let down (as *Ioy* writeth) that *claudius* with *Volumninus*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were consuls. Whether his memory failed him in digesting of the annals, or of purpose he supposed that those two couple of Consuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overlapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline stone, which sheweth for this year, *Megellus* to be the surname of *Posthumius*, *Tiberius* the forename of *Minutius*, and *M. of Fabius*. Now the surnames of *Fabius* were *curvus* and *Petrinus*, as it appeareth written in his triumph.

450

P. Sempronius Sophus. *P. Sulpitius Saverrio*.

The Consuls next following were *P. Sulpitius Saverrio* and *P. Sempronius Sophus*, according to *Ioy* and *Cassiodorus*. In *Diodorus* they are written *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Sempronius*. In the Greek registers, they stand *Sempronius* and *Saverrio*. *Pliny* writeth of these Consuls in his 33 book: but *Sempronius* he calleth *Longus*. Both of them are described thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll, for in their Consulship there is no more to be seen but *Sophus* and *Publius*.

451

L. Gennatius. *Ser. Cornelius*.

Diodorus, *Ioy* and *Cassiodorus* report for Cof, this year, *L. Gennatius*, and *Serius Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Aventinensis* and *Lenulus*. The Capitoline writers put unto *Cornelius* the surname of *Lenulus*.

452

M. Livius Denter. *M. Emilius*.

L. Ioy nameth for Consuls this year *M. Livius* and *c. Emilius*. *Cassiodorus*, *M. Livius* and *L. Emilius*. *Diodorus*, *M. Livius* and *M. Emilius*. As for the forename to *Emilius*, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do think that more credit is to be given unto *Diodorus*, than others: especially, seeing that in *Ioy* there is mention made the year following of *M. Emilius Paulus* General of the horsemen, whom they all think to be the same man that this Consul, *M. Livius* is written *Denter* in the Capitoll records, which surname *Ioy* in another place addeth to the *Livy*. *Cassianus* book in like manner setteth down *Denter* and *Pantius* as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Denter* and *Emilius*.

453

Two Dictators, and no Consul.

This year also of two Dictators without Consuls, *Onuphrius* inserteth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of *Varro* might agree in all respects; which,

which, if this year were over-slipped should be wholly overthrow: although *Diadere, Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* dissent therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see *Onuphrius* more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

454
M. Valerius, Q. Apuleius Pansa.

Immediately after *M. Livius* and *M. Aemilius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* lettereth pass the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls. The Greek records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that *Livy* by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that he saith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made Col. Now that *M. Valerius Max.* was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

455
M. Fulvius Patens, T. Manlius Torquatus.

Livy, and *Cassiodorus* declare for Consuls this year, *M. Fulvius Patens* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Patens* and *Torquatus*. *Livy* saith that *Q. Fabius* reitied the Consulship offered unto him without any suit of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against *Hebrus*, which took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entered into the enemies confines, but as he exercised among men of arms, and chanced to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cist from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius Col.* whom the Senat purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much *Livy*. By *M. Valerius* he meaneth *Corvus*, whom *Cicero* writeth in his book of old age, and *Valerius Max.* in his 7 book and 48 chap. to have been Col. now the first time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years, although *Plutarch* in the life of *C. Marius* saith they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456
L. Cornelius Scipio, Cn. Fulvius.

Cn. Fulvius and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by *Cyprianus* book: *Scipio* and *Maximus* by the Greek records.

457
Q. Fabius Max. IV. P. Decius Mus III.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* alledge for Col. this year *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* thrice. The same Col. *Cyprianus* book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, speak of *P. Decius* thrice Consul,

458
L. Valerianus, Appius Claudius.

L. Valerianus a Commoner, and *Appius Claudius* of noble blood, were created Col. this year: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together: as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudianus* and *Valentinus*. Howbeit, *Cicero* in his book entitled *Ca. de re publica*, that between the two Consulships of *App. Claudius* were ten years.

459
Q. Fabius V. P. Decius IV.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* both witness, that the Col. next following, were *Q. Fabius* the fifth time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together already in 2 Consulats and in one Censorship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often; *Valer. Max.* likewise, *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, the author of the book of famous men, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that the Col. *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himself to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victory to the people of Rome.

460
L. Postumius Megellus, M. Atilius Regulus.

The Col. next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461
L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius.

After *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, the Col. this year were *L. Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Cursor* & *Max. A* none in the Capitol maketh mention of *Papirius* the son of *L.* nephew of *P.* (named *Cursor*), whom *Livy* writeth to be the son of *Papirius* 5 times Col. Of these Col. *Pliny* of *Verona* maketh mention in his 7 book and 60 chap. *Val. Max.* likewise in his 7 book and 1 chap. *Pelleus* in his 2 book: and the same *Livy* in the year 456.

462
Q. Fabius Gurgus Max. Decius Junius Brutus, son of Scævola.

The year following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurgus* and *D. Junius Brutus Scævola* as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* *Cyprianus* Kalender, *Maximus* and *Scæva*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. *Livy*, *Pliny* in his 7 book, the Capitol tables, and *Zonaras*, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max. Rullianus*, who had been 5 times Col. before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first 10 books.

463
L. Postumius, C. Junius.

Since that after this Consulship, ten books of *Livy* next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we have had for the most sufficient witness of this story, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy*: from hence forward we will use principally in digetting and reckoning the years by the Consuls, the authority and testimony of *Cassiodorus*, the Sicilian records, and *Cyprianus* book: yet will we not in the mean while reject what help forever shall be ministred unto us by others. For this year therefore *Cassiodorus* writeth, that *L. Postumius* and *C. Junius*, were created Col. whole surnames, *Megellus*, and *Brutus Bubulcus*, have not been left out (so much as in *Cyprianus* Kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. *Livy* also maketh mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus, *Lus. Postumius Megellus* the Interregent, was created Col. with *C. Bubulcus*, by that very court and assembly which himself called and held.

464
P. Cornelius Rufinus, M. Curius Dentatus.

The Col. this year are recorded by *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* for whom in the Sicilian registers appear *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the sixth time. But of those forenamed Col. *Cicero* maketh mention in his book, entitled *Cato*: *Patereculus* in his first book, *Valerius Max.* in his first book and 3 chap. *Pliny* also in his 7 book and 50 chap. Now this *M. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Pliny* writeth in his 6 book and 16 chap. for that he came into the world with teeth.

465
M. Valerius, Q. Cadius.

After *M. Valerius* and *Q. Cadius* were afterwards Col. as saith *Cassiodorus*. The old book of *Cyprianus* putteth to them the surnames of *Corvinus* and *Noctua*: which in the Sicilian registers are overspelled. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerii Corvini*.

466
Q. Marcius, P. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth for Consuls, *Q. Marcius* and *P. Cornelius*, *Cyprianus* book and the Greek records add their surnames, *Tremulus II.* and *Arvinus II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467
M. Marcellus, Sp. Nautius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Nautius*. The Greek records and *Cyprianus* book, have *Marcellus* and *Rutilius*.

468
M. Valerius, C. Aelius.

After *M. Valerius* and *C. Aelius* are ranged in this year for Col. by *Cassiodorus*. *Cyprianus* book putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Pansa*: but the Greek records, *Potius* and *Pansa*. Now you must think, that both *Maximus* and *Pansa* are the surnames of the *Valerii*.

469
C. Claudius, M. Aemilius.

For this years Col. *Cassiodorus* hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Aemilius*. The Greek records and *Cyprianus* book, *Canina* & *Lepidus*: whereof the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Aemilius*.

470
C. Servilius, L. Caecilius.

By *Cassiodorus*, *C. Servilius* and *L. Caecilius* *Merellus* are placed Col. in this year: for whereas in some copies of *Cassiodorus*, instead of *Lus. Caecilius*, is written *Calvus* that is a falsity as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have noted. To *Servilius* this Consul, the Greek records add the surname of *Turca*, whom they put down Col. with *Dento*, they would lay *Denter*, as both *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For *Denter* is a surname also given to the *Caecili*, as appeareth by *Livy*.

471
P. Cornelius Dolabella, Ca. Domitius.

Cassiodorus interreth *P. Corn. Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius* for Col. *Cyprianus* Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella* *Maximus*. And some think that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which he seemeth to have acquired by the honour that he had won in the war against the Gauls.

472
C. Fabricius, Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in for Col. *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Aemilius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscius* and *Papus*. Of them *Cicero* in his book *Lectus*, maketh mention in this manner: We see that *Papus Aemilius* was familiarly acquainted with *C. Luscius*: for so we have heard our fathers say, that they were two Col. together, and companions in the censorship. Moreover, *Valerius* in his chap. where he treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Aemilius P. apus*. This *Aemilius*, *Plutarch* in his Parallels calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473
L. Aemilius, Q. Marcius.

Here following col. as *Cassiodorus* sheweth, *L. Aemilius* & *Q. Marcius*: unto whom *Cyprianus* book and the Greek records give also to their surnames, *Barbula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitol of their triumphs.

480

Serv. Cornelius. M'. Curvius.

P. Valerius. 474
T. Cornucaninus.

Pub. Valerius and Tit. Cornucaninus are by Cassiodorus placed in this year for Coss. The Greek records, Cuspinianus book, Florus, Orosius, and Entropius, give to Valerius the surname of *Lentulus*. And Plutarch hath assigner for *Antistivus*.

475
P. Sulpitius. P. Decius.

Next after those, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Sulpitius Consul with P. Decius. The Sicilian registers, have *Savennius* and *Mus*. Cicero in his 2 book, entituled *De Fin*, and in his Tusculan disputations, saith, That this *Pub. Decius* was the son of that P. Decius who vowed himself to death in the Samnites and Gauls war,

476
C. Fabricius. Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius: whom Cuspinianus book and the Greek records, call *Lustitius* the second time, and *Papus*. That these were fellows together once before in the Consul, Cicero writeth in his book *Latus*. Plutarch in *Pyrrhus*. Gellius 3 book, chap. 8. Entropius, and Zonaras, make report of the same,

477
P. Cornelius. C. Junius.

Pub. Cornelius and C. Junius are rehearsed for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus. Cuspinianus book hath *Rufinus* the second time, and *Brutus*. The Greek records. *Rufinus* and *Bulsius*. Zonaras hath *Rufinus* & *Junius*. Of P. Rufinus twice Coss. in his 2 book Of a perfect Orator *Valer. Max.* in his 3. book, and 4. chap. Gellius in his 4 book, and 8 chap. in his 17 book likewise and 21 chap. and last of all, Frontinus in his book of Stratagems, make mention.

478
Q. Fabius. C. Gennius.

Cassiodorus reporteth Q. Fabius and C. Gennius Consuls. The Sicilian registers have *Gurgus* and *Cleptina*. Of these Coss. *Orosius* maketh mention in this wise: When *Fabius Gurgus* was the second time Coss. with C. Gennius *Cleptina*, a grievous pestilence reigned both in the City, and also in the territory about it.

479
M'. Curvius. L. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus and Entropius deliver unto us for Coss. M'. Curvius and L. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers, *Dematius* and *Lentulus*. This is the third Consul of M'. Curvius, which together with *Lentulus* Consulship, is drawn out of the Capitoll records of triumph this year.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Coss. *Servius Cornelius* and *M'. Curvius Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records, *Merenda*, & *Dematius* the third time. This *M'. Curvius* is now Coss. the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this *Serv. Cornelius Merenda*, Pliny relateth and writeth, that he received a princely coronet of gold at the hands of L. Lentulus the Coss. of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnites.

481
C. Fabricius. C. Claudius.

Cassiodorus setteth down, C. Fabricius and C. Claudius Consuls: the Sicilian records, *Licinius* and *Caninus*. Cuspinianus Kalender, *Licinius* and *Caninus*. Entropius, *Fabius Licinius* and *C. Claudius Canina*. Velleius, *Fabius Dorso* and *Claudius Canina*. Whereby it may be understood, that these Consuls were called, C. Fabius Dorso *Licinius*, and *Caius Claudius Canina*: for Dorso was an old name of the Fabii.

482
L. Papirius Curvor. Sp. Carvilius.

Next after them, Cassiodorus nominateth for Coss. *Sp. Carvilius* and *Lu. Papirius Curvor*. The records both of Sicily and Cuspinian, have *Curvor* and *Maximus*. Both these were now Coss. the second time, as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. Frontinus speaketh of them in his book Of water-conduits, and *Livy* in his 24 book.

483
C. Quintius. L. Gennius.

It is reported by Cassiodorus, that C. Quintius and L. Gennius were Consuls. Cuspinianus book and the Greek records, set to their surnames, *Claudius* and *Cleptina*. *Livy* in his 7 book speaketh of one *Tit. Quintius* lame of one leg, from whom haply this surname is drawn.

484
C. Gennius. Cn. Cornelius.

Reported there are for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus, C. Gennius and Cn. Cornelius: whose surnames were *Cleptina* and *Blasio*, as it appeareth in Cuspinianus book. This *Caius Gennius* is the same, who before-time was Consul. As for C. *Blasio*, he is described by his Consulship standing upon record in the Capitoll. The Greek records over-pass them both.

485
P. Sempronius. or after Q. Ogulphius
App. Claudius. some, Fabius Pictor.

After Cornelius and Gennius Consuls, Cassiodorus bringeth in *Pub. Sempronius*, and *App.*

App. Claudius, and of purpose over-skippeth *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor*. Zonaras, *Q. Gellus* and *C. Fabius*: Of them speaketh Entropius saying: When *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor* were Consuls, the Picenians raised war; and by the Consuls next following, to wit, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, they were vanquished. Pliny also in his 33 book and 3 chap. When *Q. Fabius* (quoth he) was Consul, silver was coined and stamped for money, five years before the (second) Punic war. These Consuls, *Pelleius* also reckoneth in his first book. But *Sigisius* and *Onuphrius* advertise us, that the book of Entropius is very faulty in one of these Consuls, and that in lieu of *Quin. Gulo*, is should be read *Q. Ogulphius*: for of this *Gulo*, there is in no place besides, any mention: so as they would have, that it should be *Q. Ogulphius*, son of *L. Nepheus* of A. surnamed *Gallus*, who a little before was sent in embassy to *Prothomus*. And it falleth out passing well, that they should match *Ogulphius* a commoner, with *Fabius* a Patrician. Altho *Onuphrius* testifieth, that in the most ancient hand-written books of Entropius, the name is found of *Ogulphius*. And, as both the Greek records, and also Zonaras, together with the more ancient and perfect copies of Entropius, agree to this his judgment: so *Hubertus Goltzius* likewise in his Catalogue of Consuls, embraceth the same: and that which maketh most for the purpose, the old antiquities of coin witness as much. But in the mean while this is worth the observation, that oftentimes in the most ancient pieces of money, the letter C is written for G: as for example here, *Ocul. Cal.* for *Ogul. Galbus*.

286
P. Sempronius. App. Claudius.

Seeing that we settle the Consulship of the former year, in *Ogulphius* and *Fabius Pictor*, and that upon the authority of Entropius, the Greek records, Cuspinian, Zonaras, Onuphrius, and others: we will let down for this years Consuls, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, whom Velleius in his first book calleth, *Sempronius Sophus*, and Appian the son of *Cacili*. The Greek records, *Sempronius Rufus Sophus*: and Cuspinianus book *Rufus*. Moreover, this also *Goltzius* giveth us to understand, that the surname of this *Sempronius* is in old peeces of coin found written without an aspiration [*Sopis*]: which is no rare thing to be seen in such antiquities: for we read in others of them, *Philippus*, *Tamphilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Triumphus*, for *Philippus*, *Tamphilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Triumphus*, and such like.

487
M. Attilius. L. Julius Libo.

Entropius putteth down for Consuls, M. Attilius and L. Julius Libo. The Sicilian registers, *Regulus* and *Libo*. Cassiodorus, M. Attilius and *Lulius*. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitol triumphs.

D. Iunius. 488
N. Fabius.

Cassiodorus reporteth for Coss. this year, D. Iunius and N. Fabius: the Sicilian registers, *Pera* and *Pictor*: the capitol records of triumphs, D. Iunius son of D. nephew of D. surnamed *Pera*, and N. Fabius son of C. nephew of M. surnamed *Pictor*. Upon what occasion these *Fabii* took the surname of *Pictor*, Pliny sheweth in his 35 book chap. 4. *Vider. Max.* in his 4 book and 3 chap. seemeth to note and signify, that *Fabius Gurgus* and N. Fab. *Pictor*, lived at one and the same time.

489
Q. Fabius M. Aemilius. L. Mamilius Vitulus.

This year also Cassiodorus passeth over. The Greek records shew, *Maximus* and *Vitulus*. Zonaras, *Q. Fabius*, and *Aemilius* (no doubt) for *Mamilius*, by some error and fault of the copies. Cuspinianus out of some old books delivereth unto us for Consuls, *Q. Fab. Maximus* and *Lu. Mamilius*. Onuphrius thinketh, that *Q. Fab. Maximus* Gurgus was now thrice Consul.

490
Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.

Besides the capitol monuments, Polybius in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls. Gellius also, who calleth them thus, *App. Claudius* brother of *Cacili* surnamed *Caudex*, and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. In like manner *Livy*, *Paterculus*, and Pliny in his book of famous men: as also *Appianus*, *Livy*, *Frontinus* in his 1 book of Stratagems, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

491
M'. Valerius. M'. Otacilius.

Cassiodorus and Entropius shew unto us, that M'. Valerius and M'. Otacilius were Consuls. Zonaras nameth *Valerius Max.* and *Otacilius Crassus*. Cuspinianus Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Max. Messala* and *Crassus*. Of these Consuls, *Ver. Flaccus*, Polybius, Cassiodorus, Entropius, and Macrobius out of *Varro* make report. As for Macrobius, he rendereth a reason, why M'. Valerius was in this government of his named *Messala*: and Pliny likewise, in his first book and five and thirtieth chapter.

492
L. Posthumius. Q. Mamilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for next Consuls, L. Posthumius and Q. Mamilius. Zonaras nameth them, *Posthumius Albinus* and *Quintus Mamilius*. The Sicilian registers *Albinus* and *Vitulus*: but the capitol monuments, L. Posthumius son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, surnamed *Megellus*, and Q. Mamilius son of Q. nephew of M. surnamed *Vitulus*.

L. Valerius. 493 T. Otacilius.

Polybius and Cassiodorus match together in the Consul: for this year L. Valerius and T. Otacilius: the surname of Valerius is Flaccus, and of Otacilius, Crassus, as it appeareth upon the capitol and Sicilian records.

Cn. Cornelius. 494 C. Duilius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras being in for Coss. Cn. Cornelius and C. Duilius. In like manner also Polybius, but only that in lieu of Solinus he hath added. The Sicilian Registers shew Scipio and Duilius. Cn. Cornelius Scipio is surnamed also Asina, by the capital writers Orosius, Eutropius, and Valerius in his first book chap. 10. of which surname Macrobius writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of Asina (qd. he) was given to the Cornelius, for that the first of the House Cornelius having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the solemn manner) he was required to put in good sureties for security, brought into the open market place a she ass laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

C. Aquilius son of M. L. Cornelius son of L.

There are nominated by Cassiodorus for Consuls, C. Aquilius and L. Cornelius. The Sicilian registers, Florus and Scipio. Zonaras, C. Florus and L. Scipio. Eutropius and Orosius, L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Aquilius Florus. Polybius leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of Eutropius and Orosius.

A. Atilius Calatinus. 496 Q. S. Spilius.

Polybius avoucheth for this years Consuls, A. Atilius and C. S. Spilius. Cassiodorus, A. Atilius Calatinus and C. Spilius. The Sicilian Registers and Cassianus Kalender. Calatinus and Paternus. The capitol monuments, A. Atilius Calatinus and C. S. Spilius Paternus. Zonaras Atilius Calatinus and Caius Spilius. Of these Consuls, Polybius, Cicero, Valerius, Florus, Frontinus in his Stratagems, Pliny the younger, Cellus, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus make mention. But concerning the surname of Salpustius Paternus, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another: to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other migrations: for in these latter monuments he is called Quintus. In the former Cassius, whereby Goltzius doth conjecture, that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

Cn. Cornelius. 497 C. Atilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, Cn. Cornelius and L. Atilius Serranus, for Consuls; but Polybius, C. Atilius. The capitol tables, C. Atilius Regulus. Cassianus Kalender, and the Sicilian registers, have Atilius and Blaesius the second time. But how Atilius should come by his surname Serranus, Pliny sheweth in his 8th book, saying: In these dates the field was sowed by the very hands of L. Serranus themselves, and a man easily would believe thereby that the ground joyed an August plough share and a triumphant playman. Him they found a sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname Serranus. As concerning Blaesius, all authors well need besides, approve the judgment of Cassianus: but Goltzius supposeth, that he was not the same man that was Consul before; and therefore he writeth him the son of C. nephew of L., without putting to the numeral note II.

Q. Cadius. 498 L. Manlius.

The next Consuls that succeeded, were (by Cassiodorus his saying) Q. Cadius and L. Manlius. The Sicilian registers name them, Pulso and Cadius. Zonaras, M. Regulus and L. Manlius. Eutropius, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Pulso: and Polybius, M. Atilius and L. Manlius. Inferius in his 41 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But we must understand, that Q. Cadius died whilst he was in office, and M. Atilius was substituted in his room, and made Consul the second time; as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, Lu. Manlius Pulso Longus: and in stead of Q. Cadius, M. Atilius Regulus the second time; as also by Cassianus book, wherein is written, Longus, and Regulus.

M. Aemilius Paulus. 499 Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.

Polybius sheweth for the Coss. this year, Ser. Fulvius and M. Aemilius, Cassianus Kalendar No. 10. and Paulus. The Sicilian registers, Paternus and Paulus. Cassiodorus and Eutropius, together with the Capitoline records have Ser. Fulvius Nobilior, and M. Aemilius Paulus.

Cn. Cornelius. 500 A. Atilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius report for this years Consuls Cn. Cornelius and A. Atilius. The capitol authors write, A. Atilius Calatinus the second time, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio the second time, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio the second time. As touching Cn. Cornelius Scipio twice Consul, thus writeth Valerius in his first book: Cn. Cornelius S. Asina, who being Consul, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at Lipara when he had by the law

law of arms lost whatsoever he had recovered, all again, and was made Consul the second time: so as, of a Consul he became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

Cn. Servilius. 501 C. Sempronius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for Consuls, Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian registers, Capius and Blaesius. Zonaras, Servilius Capius and C. Sempronius. Eutropius and Orosius, Cn. Servilius Capius and Sempronius Blaesius. Of the same Consuls, Sabinus in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitol.

C. Arelia Cotta. 502 P. Servilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in as Coss. C. Arelia Cotta, and P. Geminus. The Sicilian registers, Cotta and Geminus: but those of the Capitol, C. Arelia Cotta, and P. Servilius Geminus. Zonaras, Pub. Servilius and C. Arelia. Cicero in his book, entituled Lucilla writeth, that C. Cotta, together with P. Servilius Geminus, was twice Consul. Frontinus also in his fourth book of Stratagems, and likewise Orosius, make mention of C. Cotta Consul in Sicily.

L. Caecilius Metellus. 503 C. Furius.

Polybius setteth down for Consuls, L. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius. The Sicilian registers, Metellus and Pacilius. Zonaras, Caecilius Metellus, and C. Furius. Cassiodorus, Lu. Caecilius and C. Furius. Eutropius, Orosius, and a capitol stone, L. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius Pacilius. This is that Lu. Metellus, twice Consul and high priest, of whom Pliny writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter.

C. Atilius Regulus. 504 L. Manlius.

Polybius placeth for this years Consuls, C. Atilius and L. Manlius. Cassiodorus, C. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius. Orosius and a capitol stone, have C. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius Pulso, both Coss. the second time. Zonaras, C. Atilius the brother of Regulus, and L. Manlius. The Sicilian records, Regulus and Pulso.

P. Claudius. 505 L. Junius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius infer for Consuls the next year, Pub. Claudius and L. Junius. Zonaras, L. Junius and C. Pulcher. Florus and Suetonius in Tiberius, put to Claudius the surname of Pulcher: and Confortinus to Junius of P. Ilius: which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitoline tables. This P. Claudius, Cicero in his books of Divination and of the nature of gods) calleth the son of App. Cæcilius: but Pliny (in his

seventh book, and three and fortieth chapter) nameth him his nephew or son. The capitol writers take part with Cicero. Pul. Maximus in his first book and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consuls.

P. Servilius. 506 C. Arelia.

For Consuls this year, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Servilius and C. Arelia. Cicero in his book Lucillus, saith that these were twice Consuls. Which also is apparent by the Capitol and Sicilian tables: in which their surnames are to be seen, Geminus II, and Cotta II.

L. Caecilius. 507 N. Fabius.

IT is recorded by C. Cassiodorus, that the Consuls of this year, were L. Caecilius and N. Fabius: but Zonaras nameth them, Caecilius Metellus, and Numerius Fabius. Cassianus Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have them in this manner: Metellus II, and Buteo II. But the capitoline tables shew them thus, L. Caecilius Metellus II, N. Fabius Buteo II. Pliny also reporteth in his seventh book, that Metellus was twice Consul.

M. Fabius. 508 M. C. Servilius.

Cassiodorus setteth down as Consuls, M. Fabius and M. Otacilius. The Sicilian registers, Crassus and Licinius. Gellius in his tenth book and sixth chapter, hath F. Licinius and Otacilius Crassus. The capitol marble stones, M. Fabius Licinius, and M. Otacilius Crassus. Besides, Gellius in the place before alleged, Florus likewise in his 19th Breviary upon Livius maketh mention of these Consuls: as also Suetonius in Tiberius.

M. Fabius. 509 C. Atilius.

Cassiodorus reckoneth M. Fabius, and C. Atilius, Consuls for this year. The Sicilian tables, Buteo and Bulb. But those of the capitol, M. Fabius Buteo, and C. Atilius Bulb. Of Fabius the Consuls shipwreck, Florus speaketh out of the nineteenth book of Livy.

A. Manlius. 510 C. Sempronius.

For this years Consuls, Cassiodorus setteth forth unto us, A. Manlius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian records, Torquatus and Blaesius. Cassianus book hath Atilius and Blaesius. The capitoline tables shew A. Manlius Torquatus Atilius, and C. Sempronius Blaesius II.

C. Fundanius. 511 C. Sulpitius.

Cassiodorus putteth down, C. Fundanius, and C. Sulpitius for Consuls. The Sicilian writers

ters, *Fundulus* and *Gallus*. The Capitol monuments, *C. Fundanius Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. None besides make mention of them.

512
C. Licinius Caninius. *A. Postumius*.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls this year, *C. Licinius* and *A. Postumius*. The Sicilian records, *Caninius* and *Albinus*. *Entropius*, and the Capitol marbles, *C. Licinius Caninius*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*.

513
Q. Lutatius Cerco. *A. Manlius*.

Cassiodorus, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*. shew for consuls this year, *Q. Lutatius*, and *A. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Cerco* and *Torgatus*. They of the Capitol, *Q. Lutatius Cerco*, and *A. Manlius Torgatus Atricus II*. Indeed *C. Lutatius Cerco*, is named for an Embassador by *Livy* in his 42 book.

514
C. Claudius Centho. *M. Sempronius*.

For this year there were Consuls, *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditans*, according to *Cassiodorus* and the Capitol writers. The Sicilian records testify also the same surnames. Of these consuls likewise, besides the Capitol Writers, *Cicero* speaketh in his *Caio and Brutus*, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of *Atricus*, wherto *Varro* also agreeth) the 514 year from the foundation of the city; as also in his first *Tuclian* question. So doth *Gellius* 17 book 21 chap. and *Cassiodorus*.

515
C. Mamilius. *Q. Valerius*.

Next there followed in consuls place, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*, *C. Mamilius* and *Q. Valerius*: but according to the Sicilian registers, *Turrinus* and *Felco*: and after the Capitol records, *C. Mamilius Turrinus*, and *Q. Valerius Felco*. Besides, *Verrinus Flaccus* and *Cassiodorus*, *Gellius* also maketh mention of these Cons. in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth *Cicero* in *Brutus* and the *Tuclian* questions, in which year they say, that *Ennius* the Poet was born.

516
T. Sempronius. *P. Valerius*.

For the year following, *Cassiodorus* hath consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *P. Valerius*. *Gracchus* and *Falco*, in *Cuspinian* Kalender and the Sicilian records. *Zonaras* avoucheth, *Semp. Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius*. The Capitol writers, have *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falco*. *Orosius* speaketh of these consuls.

517
L. Cynelius. *Q. Ennius*.
Next to them, *Cassiodorus* reporteth for consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Ennius*. *Zo-*

narus, *L. Ennius* and *Q. Plautius*. *Entropius*, *L. Cornelius* *Leptinus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The Capitol registers give to *Lentulus*, the surname *Candanus*: and therefore in *Cuspinian* Kalender, they stand by the names of *Candinus* and *Flaccus*. As for the Sicilian registers, they leave them out clean.

518
C. Licinius. *P. Cornelius*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *C. Licinius* and *P. Cornelius*. *Zonaras*, *Leptinus* and *Licinius Varus*. The capitoline writers *C. Licinius Varus*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus Candinus*. In like manner *Confortinus*; who reckoneth this for the 518 year after the cities foundation: following between the computation of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and *Pliny* *Cuspinian* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, name them *Cladius* and *Varus*.

519
T. Manlius Torquatus. *C. Atilius*.

This year had for consuls, as *Cassiodorus* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Atilius*. The Sicilian records, shew *Torquatus* and *Bulbus*: but *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and the Capitol Tables shew, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*: unto *Bulbus* The Capitol records put to the numeral note II. When *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Atilius Bulbus* the second time were coſs, according to *Verrinus Flaccus*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of Rome, the Temple of *Janus* was shut the second time, as *Plutarch* sheweth in *Numerius*; as *Livy* also, *Velleius*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, do testify.

520
L. Postumius. *Sp. Carvilius*.

Cassiodorus nameth for consuls this year, *L. Postumius* and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian Registers have *Albinus* and *Ruga*. *Zonaras*, *Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Capitol writers have *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*. That *Ruga* was a surname to *Carvilius*, appeareth out of *Gellius*, who maketh mention of *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

521
Q. Fabius. *M. Pomponius*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Pomponius*. The Sicilian records *Maximus* and *Matbo*. The capitoline writers have *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Pomponius Matbo*. *Zonaras* hath *Q. Fabius Max*, and *M. Pomponius*. The surname of *Maximus*, this *Fabius* took of his grand-father, and was not himself the first of that name, whatsoever *Polybius* writeth in his third book.

Verrucosus he was called besides of a wart upon his lip, as *Plutarch* witnesseth, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

522
M. Lepidus. *M. Poplicius*.

Arctus Lepidus and *M. Poplicius* are reputed to be Consuls this year by *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lepidus* and *Malleolus*. *Zonaras* hath *M. Malleolus* and *M. Emilius*. The Capitol tables shew *M. Emilius Lepidus*, and *M. Poplicius*.

523
C. Papirius. *M. Pomponius*.

Next after this were created Consuls, *C. Papirius* and *M. Pomponius* according to *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, and *Dionysius* in his second book. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Matbo*. But the Capitol records have *C. Papirius Maso* and *M. Pomponius Matbo*. Of *C. Papirius*, son of *C. surnamed Maso*, a Pontiff or Bishop, *Livy* speaketh in the year 540.

524
M. Emilius. *M. Junius*.

Zonaras and *Cassiodorus* exhibit unto us for Consuls, *M. Emilius* and *M. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitol records, *M. Emilius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera*.

525
L. Postumius. *Cn. Fulvius*.

Cassiodorus setteth down *L. Postumius* and *Cn. Fulvius* as Consuls. The Sicilian records *Albinus* and *Centumalus*. But those of the Capitol, and *Entropius*, present unto us *L. Postumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Polybius* nameth *Cn. Fulvius* and *A. Postumius*.

526
Q. Fabius II. *Sp. Carvilius*.

There are by *Cassiodorus* nominated for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the second time, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers *Maximus* and *Ruga*. The Capitol writers set also unto *Carvilius Maximus* the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. *Cicero* in his book entitled *Cato*, likewise in his second book of *Rhetorical* invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth *Velleius* in his chapter, discoursing of the kindness and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

527
P. Valerius. *M. Atilius*.

These are set down by *Cassiodorus* for Coſs. this year, *P. Valerius* and *M. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Flaccus* and *Regulus*. The

Capitol records represent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. *Gellius* writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

528
L. Apustius. *M. Valerius*.

Next after, *Cassiodorus* putteth *L. Apustius* and *M. Valerius* Consuls. The Sicilian tables *Maximus* and *Apustius*. The Capitol monuments *L. Apustius Fido*, and *M. Valerius Messala*.

529
C. Atilius. *L. Aemilius*.

Immediately followed Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Aemilius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Aemilius Pa-pis*. The Sicilian registers. *Regulus* and *Papys*. *Zonaras*, *Regulus* and *Aemilius*. Of these Consuls also *Orosius* maketh mention: and *Pliny* in his third book and twentieth chapter, where truly men read *Papulus* for *Papis*.

530
T. Manlius. *Q. Fulvius II*.

The year following, had Consuls *T. Manlius* and *Q. Fulvius* the second time, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius*. and as *Orosius* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Cuspinian* tables, together with the Capitoline, have *Torgatus* the second time, and *Flaccus* likewise the second time, shewing the surnames only of these Coſs.

531
G. Flaminius. *P. Furius Philus*.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Coſs, *C. Flaminius* and *P. Furius*. So doth *Polybius*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Flaminius* and *Furius*. *Plutarch* likewise in *Marcellus*. The Sicilian tables name them *Flaminius* and *Philus*. But the Capitol records, *G. Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philus*.

532
M. Marcellus. *Cn. Cornelius*.

Cassiodorus nameth for the next Consuls, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius*. *Polybius*, *M. Claudius* and *Cn. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers *Scipio* and *Marcellus*. *Zonaras*, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Scipio*. *Entropius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. The Capitol tables *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus*. This is that *Marcellus*, who was five times Consul: and this is that *Scipio*, who afterwards with his brother *Scipio* was slain in Spain by *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian.

533
P. Cornelius. *M. Minucius*.

Cassiodorus sheweth for these years Consuls, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Minucius*. So doth *Zonaras*.

ras, The Sicilian registers have Scipio and Rufus. Entropius hath P. Cornelius and M. Minutius Rufus. Cyprianus book A. f. and Rufus. Sigismus and Onophrius both, do think that this P. Cornelius Scipio A. f. was his son, who in the first Punick war was twice consul. And verily Livy, in the year 543 maketh mention of P. Cornelius A. f. as an honorable Senator, and who had been consul.

534 C. Lutatius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras exhibit unto us for consuls, L. Veturius and C. Lutatius. The Sicilian registers Philo and C. Lutatius. Cassiodorus book Philo and Scavola.

535 L. Emilius.

The consuls next following were M. Livius and L. Emilius, as Cassiodorus witnesseth. Cyprianus book and the Greek records these Salinator and Paulus. Zonaras, M. Livius and Emilius Paulus. Pliny maketh mention of these consuls in the 29 book and first chapt.

536 P. Cornelius Scipio, T. Sempronius Longus.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for consuls P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius. Zonaras, Sempronius Longus and P. Scipio. The Sicilian records, Longus and Scipio. Livy, Eurypilus, Probus, Orofius, and Padianus, name them P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus. Whiles these were consuls, the second Punick war arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537 C. Servilius Geminus, C. Flaminius.

Then followed consuls, as Polybius, Cassiodorus, and Livy write, Cn. Servilius, together with C. Flaminius. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian registers, have given to Servilius the surname of Geminus. C. Flaminius now second time consul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracy in the Ides of March: not at Rome but at Ariminum. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the Auspicio or signs of birds, at what time as he made head and went against Amilcar coming into Italy, fought a battel at the lake Trasimene, where his army was wholly defeated and himself lost his life: into whose place M. Atilius Regulus, who had been consul before, was substituted. Thus much out of Livy and Polybius.

538 C. Terentius Varro, L. Emilius Paulus.

Next to them Polybius bringeth in L. Emilius and C. Terentius for consuls. The Sicilian registers, Paulus and Varro. Plutarch in Paulus,

Terentius Varro, and Emilius Paulus. Livy, Cassiodorus, and others, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Emilius Paulus. Galvamus addeth, that the father of C. Terentius Varro, was one Aulus, a thing by others passed over.

539 L. Posthumus Albinus, M. Claudius Marcellus, II. Q. Fabius Maximus, III. T. Sempronius Gracchus, II.

Livy reporteth that the consuls elect for this year, when M. Junius the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, were Lucius Posthumus Albinus the third time, who as then ruled the province of Gaul, and T. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been master of the horse men, and that Posthumus before that he entered into government, was by Hannibal in France, environed and slain, in whose stead M. Marcellus was substituted: consul now the second time, who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, resigned: and commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the Gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen consuls: whereupon in the room of Marcellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus was chosen consul the third time. Thus write Livy and Plutarch. And for this cause it is that Cassiodorus, Orofius, and Emilius do put down for this years consuls, T. Sempronius and Q. Fabius.

540 Q. Fabius, IV. M. Claudius Marcellus, III.

Livy, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus, set out for consuls this year, Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time, and M. Claudius Marcellus the third time. Moreover, Cicero oftentimes and Frontinus in his second book of Strategems, make mention of these consuls.

541 Q. Fabius Max. son of Verrucosus, T. Sempronius Gracchus, II.

Against this year were both the consuls created in their absence, namely, Q. Fab. Max. the son of Verrucosus, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time: as Livy testifieth and Cassiodorus, together with the Sicilian registers. This Fabius had been Pretor the former year: and Gracchus consul two years before. These consuls Gellius nominateth out of Quadrigrarius, the second book and second chapter. Likewise Cicero and Valerius.

542 App. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, III.

The consuls created for this year by the Dictator, were Quintus Appianus Flaccus the third time, who then was master of the horse men, and Appianus Claudius Pulcher, who in

his pretorship was L. deputy in Sicily, as Livy, Plutarch in Fabius, Cassiodorus, and Festus in his 17 book do witness.

543

C. Sulpicius Galba, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Upon the receipt of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that Claudius should hold the election for magistrats and see it finished, whiles Fulvius remained still before Capua. Claudius created for consuls, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, and P. Sulpicius son of Servilius, and surnamed Galba, who before time had born no state-office of the chair. Thus writeth Livius. The same consuls also Cassiodorus doth deliver. Orofius likewise and Festus in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare Galba and Centumalus. As for S. Sulpicius, he is named in his second consularship, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the son of Servilius, nephew of Publius surnamed Galba Maximus.

544

M. Val. Livinius, II. M. Claudius Marcellus, IV.

Livy, Sextus Pompeius, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Florus, Entropius, and Orofius, do present for consuls this year, M. Val. Livinius and M. Valerius Livinius. Now this is Marcellus his fourth consularship, as Plutarch and Livy write: but Cassiodorus saith, that he was but the third time with M. Valerius Livinius leaving out that consularship which he bare not through because of the error in his creation: and yet is it one of the five that he is reported to have born. Livy in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth books, writeth that M. Val. Livius was twice consul. In like manner, the book of Cyprianus hath for this year, Marcellus the fourth time, and Livinius the second time. And therefore Onuphrius supposeth that his first consular was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and his second, now. Of him Polybius and Cicero make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus, V. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, IV.

The consuls for this year created, were Q. Fabius the fifth time, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus the fourth time, the same man who being Dictator, held the assembly for that election: as Livy and Cassiodorus do witness. The Sicilian records set forth Fabius and Flaccus. Whiles these were consuls, Cicero in his Oration against Rullus, saith that Capua was won: and yet Livy hath reported it two years before. Of these consuls Valerius also, together with Plutarch, Entropius, and Orofius have made mention.

546 M. Claudius Marcellus, V. T. Quintus Crispinus.

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, there entered into their consularship, M. Marcellus the fifth time (so ye reckon that consularship which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and T. Quintus Crispinus. So saith Livy. Plutarch also nameth Marcellus the fifth time and Crispinus. But Cassiodorus reckoneth Marcellus but the fourth time with Crispinus, passing over that faulty consular of his. Moreover these consuls are mentioned by Cicero Valerius, Plinius the younger, Probus, Entropius, and Orofius: who also report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by Annib. in so much as Marcellus was presently slain in the place, and Quintus fled sore wounded.

547

C. Claudius Nero, M. Livius Salinator.

When the LL. of the Senat cast about to see whom they should create consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was C. Claudius Nero: unto whom was joined as companion in government M. Livius, who many years before, upon a consular that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned: and almost eight years after his condemnation was by Marcus Marcellus and Marcus Livius then consuls, reduced into the city. In like manner, the Sicilian Registers name for consuls, Nero and Salinator. The capitol records shew C. Claudius Nero, with M. Livius Salinator.

548

Q. Caecilius Metellus, L. P. Veturius Philo.

Livy, Cassiodorus, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for consuls this year, L. P. Veturius Philo, and Q. Caecilius Metellus. The Sicilian registers, Metellus and Philo. Over and besides, of these consuls Cicero many a time and often, Valerius Plutarch in Africanus, Appianus in Ibericus, Pliny in his 7 book 43 chap, do make mention.

549

P. Cornelius Scipio, P. Licinius Crassus.

Lucius Veturius Philo held the assembly for creation of Magistrats, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated Publius Scipio for consul, and to him was joined in government, P. Licinius Crassus, the supreme pontiff. Thus saith Livy. The Sicilian tables have Scipio with Crassus. The capitol records shew P. Cornelius Scipio.

Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with *P. Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do speak.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus, *P. Sempr. Tudianus*, *L. Iov. Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year; *P. Sempronius Tudianus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, the Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tudianus*; of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Entropius*, and *Cassiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year *P. Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame *Idah*.

551
Cn. Servilius Capio, *C. Servilius*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put us to us for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius Capio* and *C. Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Annibal* with a sad cheer and heavy heart departed out of Italy into *Africa* by commandment of certain delegate Embassadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punick war.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero, *M. Servilius Geminus*.

M. Servilius Geminus, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Consuls this year according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex*, *Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africa* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Entropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Aelius Paetus*.

A gainst this year were created Consuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Paetus*. So faith *Cassiodorus* also and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius* in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Paetus*. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

P. Sulpicius Galba, *C. Aurelius Cotta*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus put down for Consuls, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpicius* in the year 542 was first Consul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitol tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian,

555
L. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Villius Tappulus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Consul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintus*.

556
T. Quintius Flaminius, *Sex. Aelius Paetus*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintus*, report unto us for consuls this year, *T. Quintius Flaminius* and *Sex. Aelius Paetus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Paetus*; *Pliny* in his book of famous men, faith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminius* was the son of that *C. Flaminius* who was slain at *Thrasymene*. Whereas in deed this man was descended of the noble Patrician house of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminiis*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Aelius Paetus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

This *Sexus Aelius* in records, *Catus* surnamed *ye* set.
A worthy might for wisdom sake a discreet man was he.

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Paetus Catus*.

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus, *Q. Minutius Rufus*.

In this year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were consuls, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their surnames only appear in the Sicilian registers: And *Cicero* speaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

L. Furius Purpureo, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyreus* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Porcius Cato, *L. Valerius Flaccus*.

M. Aulus Porcius Cato and *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this year, by *Ferrus* *Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, *II*.
T. Sempronius Longinus.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus, the monuments both of the capitol and Sicily, match Consuls together this year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the (second

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Padianus*.

561

L. Cornelius Merula, *Q. Minutius Thermus*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records, *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontinus* in his book of stratagems.

562

L. Quintius Flaminius, *C. Domitius Ahenobarbus*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus, and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

M. Acilius Glabrio, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*.

The Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, son of *C.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintus*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report that the war against *Antiochus* King of Syria, and against the *Atians*, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Pauculus* and *Macrobium*, is called the *Asiatic* war, but by *Livy* and *Pliny* the younger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobium* writeth in his first book of *Saturndals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio, *C. Laelius*.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Laelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Laelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth *C. Laelius* son of *C.* and *L. Scipio*, son of *P.* To *Laelius* *Cassiodorus* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Africanus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*.

C. Natus Manlius Vulso, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicily. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator, *M. Valerius Messala*.

The Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, as

Livy and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567

M. Aemilius Lepidus, *C. Flaminius*.

The next Consuls, were *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*; as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Serabo* in his fifth book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus*, who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat fix times chosen by the Censors. And this is that *C. Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disinherited.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus, *Q. Martius Philippus*.

L. Iov. Cassiodorus, *Entropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year. *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixth book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569

Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *M. Sempronius Tudianus*.

For these years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & *M. Sempronius Tudianus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tudianus*.

570

P. Claudius Pulcher, *L. Porcius Cicerius*.

The Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Porcius Cicerius* & *P. Claudius Pulcher*: witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Labeo, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

A gainst this year were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whilst these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

L. Aemilius Paulus, *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*.

C. Natus Babius Tamphilus and *L. Aemilius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, year and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Aemilius* is the son of that *L. Aemilius*, who was slain at *Cannae*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

P. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Babius Tampilus

Publius Cornelius Cethegus and **M. Babius Tampilus**, succeeded Consuls this year, after **Livy, Cassiodorus** and the capitol tables. **Cethegus** and **Tampilus** they be called in the Sicilian records. Of **P. Cornelius** and **M. Babius** consuls **Plutarch** made mention in *Numa*. Of **P. Cornelius** and **M. Babius Tampilus**, **Valerius** speaketh in his first book and fifth chapter. Of **P. Cornelius Lentulus**, and **M. Babius Tampilus** in 11 book and fifth chapter. But **Pliny** in his 12 Book and 13 chapter calleth the one **P. Cornelius Cethegus**, son of **Lucius**; and the other **M. Babius** son of **Q.** (turned **Tampilus**).

A. Posthumus Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso

Livy, Cassiodorus, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this year Consuls **A. Posthumus Albinus**, and **C. Calpurnius Piso**. The Sicilian tables, **Albinus** and **Piso**. **Piso** was Pretor in the year 567. And **Albinus** anno 568. But when as a pestilence had reigned now three years, so as it dispeopled the City of *Rome* and all *Italy*, it hapned that **C. Calpurnius** died, not without suspicion that he was murdered by **Q. Hostilius**: in whole room **Q. Fulvius Flaccus** his father in law or mother's husband, was declared Consul.

L. Manlius Acidinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus

Livy, Cassiodorus, and the capitol records shew for Consuls this year, **L. Manlius Acidinus** and **Q. Fulvius Flaccus**. The Sicilian tables, **Acidinus** with **Flaccus**. **Cicero** maketh mention of **Acidinus** a Consul, in his second book of a perfect orator. Also observed it is in the capitol monuments, that these Consuls were german brethren: and the same hath **Velleius** in his second book reported. And thereby it cometh to pass, that in the capitol tables **L. Manlius Acidinus**, is surnamed also **Fulvianus** after the manner of those that are adopted.

M. Junius Brutus, A. Manlius Vulso

Next Consuls created, were **M. Junius Brutus** and **A. Manlius Vulso**: as **Livy, Cassiodorus**, and the capitol records do testify. **Brutus** and **Vulso** they be named in the Sicilian monuments. This **Brutus** was Pretor in the year 562, and **Vulso** in 571.

C. Claudius Pulcher, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus

C. Claudius Pulcher and **Tib. Sempronius Gracchus**, are matched Consuls this year by **Vir. Placcus**, **Livy**, and **Cassiodorus**. Of this **Tib. Gracchus** **Cicero** speaketh in his first book of divination, and **Frontinus** in his first of strangers,

C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, Q. Petilius Spathinus

Livy, Cassiodorus, and the capitol records exhibit unto us for Consuls, **C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus**, and **Q. Petilius Spathinus**. The Sicilian Registers, **Scipio** and **Petilius**. But when as **Scipio** returning out of the mount **Albanus**, fell into a fit of Apoplexy, and so into a dead palsy, whereupon he went to the bath at *Coma*, whereby, by reason that his disease grew upon him he departed this life; **Q. Petilius** the other Consul, created for his companion to enter presently upon the government, **C. Valerius Lavinius**. Thus saith **Livy**.

P. Mutius Scaevola, M. Aemilius Lepidus II.

Q. Rosius putteth down for Consuls **Lepidus** and **Mutius**, **Cassiodorus** and **Obsequens**. **M. Lepidus** and **P. Mutius**. The Sicilian tables, **Lepidus** and **Scaevola**. The capitol monuments, **P. Mutius Scaevola** and **M. Aemilius Lepidus II.** The election of the Consuls this year is lost in **Livy**. **Cicero** likewise writeth in his discourse of Provinces, **Valerius** also in his first book and six chapter, that this **M. Aemilius Lepidus** was twice Consul.

Sp. Posthumus Albinus, Q. Mutius Scaevola

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, **Sp. Posthumus Albinus** and **Q. Mutius**. The capitol records, **Sp. Posthumus Albinus** and **Q. Mutius Scaevola**. **C. Spathinus** book hath **Paulus** and **Scaevola**. **Pliny** maketh mention of these in his second book and 31 chapter. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in **Livy**.

L. Posthumus Albinus, M. Popilius Lanatus

The Cons. for this year created, were **L. Posthumus Albinus** and **M. Popilius Lanatus**, as **Livy, Cassiodorus**, and the capitol monuments do testify. **Albinus** and **Lanatus** are put down in the Sicilian records. Whiles these were consuls, the feast *Floralia* was instituted first, as **Ovid** sheweth in his first book of his Kalender,

C. Popilius Lanatus, P. Aelius Liguri

This year had for consuls, **C. Popilius Lanatus**, and **P. Aelius Liguri**, as **Livy, Cassiodorus**, and the capitol records do testify. The Sicilian registers name them **Lanatus** and **Aelius**. To this day had no Cons. in one year been matched together both commoners: and this was the first time, that both consuls were created out of the commons, as is observed in the capitol monuments. After this, you shall never find the consuls both Patricii: commoners yet shall have them both twain, many a time and often: but most of all, a commoner and a Patrician, one with another.

583

P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus

The Consuls next ensuing for this year, were **P. Licinius Crassus**, and **C. Cassius Longinus**, as it appeareth in **Livy, Cassiodorus, Orosius**, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than **Crassus** and **Longus**. Of the very same Consuls **Pliny** maketh mention in his seventh book. **Gellius** also in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls the people of *Rome began war against *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, son of **Philip**: which **T. Lornus** and **Entropius**, together with **Orosius**, call the second Macedonian war: whereof **Livy** and **Plutarch** write more at large.*

A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. At. L. Serranus

Cassiodorus setteth next after for Consuls, **C. Hostilius Mancinus**, and **C. Atilius**. The Sicilian registers, **Mancinus** and **Serranus**. The capitol monuments, **A. Atilius Mancinus**, and **Au. Atilius Serranus**. As well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annals of **Livy**.

Q. Marcius Philippus, II. Cn. Servilius Capio

Livy, Cassiodorus and the capitol tables match together in the Consulship of this year **Q. Marcius Philippus** the second time, and **Cn. Servilius Capio**. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely **Philp** and **Capio**. **Cicero** in his books entituled *Brutus* and *Cato*, writeth that **Ennius** the Poet died in their Consulship.

L. Aemilius Paulus, II. C. Licinius Crassus

The Consuls that next succeeded were **L. Aemilius Paulus** the second time (seventeen years after his first Consulship) and **Cn. Licinius Crassus**: witness **Livy, Cassiodorus**, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian registers. **Paulus** and **Crassus**. As touching this second Consulship of **L. Paulus, Plutarch, Velleius, Orosius, Entropius, Florus**, and **Jesimus** in his 33 book do write. **Plutarch** addeth thus much and saith, That **Paulus** was threecore years of age, when he was chosen Consul the second time.

Q. Aelius Paetus, M. Junius

Livy bringeth in for Consuls next after, **Q. Aemilius** and **M. Junius**. The Sicilian records **Paetus** and **Pennus**. **Obsequens** and **Cassiodorus** **Q. Aelius Paetus**, and **M. Junius Pennus**. **Cicero** likewise in *Brutus* speaketh of **Mar. Junius Pennus** Consul with **Q. Aelius**. Now from this year forward, we want the compleat story penned by **Livy**.

M. Marcellus, C. Scipinius

Livy and the capitol monuments shew for this years Consuls, **M. Claudius Marcellus**, and **C. Scipinius**. **Gallus Obsequens**, and the title prefixed before the comedy *Andria* in *Terence*, exhibit **Mar. Marcellus** and **C. Scipinius**. This is that **Marcellus**, who after he had been thrice Consul, perished in the sea. Nephew he was of that **M. Marcellus**, who had been five times Consul, as **Pedanius** reporteth. Of these Consuls, **Jesimus**, **Pliny** in his second book, and many other have made mention.

Cn. Octavius, T. Manlius

Cassiodorus and **Obsequens** infer Consuls this year, **Cn. Octavius** and **T. Manlius**. The Sicilian tables, **Octavius** and **Torquatus**. The capitol stones, **Cn. Octavius** and **T. Manlius Torquatus**. Mention there is made of these consuls in the title before *Hegeia* in *Terence*. **Cicero** in his first book of *Final ends*, and likewise in many other places, speaketh of **T. Torquatus**, Consul with **Cn. Octavius**.

A. Manlius, Q. C. C. C.

Cassiodorus matcheth together consuls in this year, **A. Manlius** and **Q. C. C. C.** The Sicilian catalogue hath **Torquatus** and **Longinus**. The capitol records **A. Manlius Torquatus** and **Q. C. C. C. Longinus**, who died in his consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretorship, anno 586, as **Livy** bareth witness.

T. Sempronius, M. Lucius

Cassiodorus saith, that the consuls this year were **T. Sempronius** and **M. Lucius**. **Obsequens** nameth them, **T. Gracchus**, and **M. Lucius**. The capitol monuments shew **T. Sempronius Gracchus** the second time and **M. Lucius Tiberius**. In the Sicilian registers, **Dolabella** and **Thalva**. But not well as it is to be doubted. **Cicero, Valerius**, and **Plutarch** have made mention of **Tib. Gracchus** twice consul. And that **M. Lucius** died whiles he was consul, **Pliny** in his seventh book, and **Valerius** also do report.

P. Cornilius Scipio Nasica, C. Marius

Cicero in his first and second book of the nature of Gods, *Scipio Nasica*, *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*, report for consuls **P. Cornilius Scipio Nasica** and **C. Marius**. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they religned up their place, as the fore said authors witness together with **Valerius, Plutarch** and **Pliny**. **P. Cornilius Nasica**, and **Cn. Domitius Enobarbus**, entered in their stead.

589

593 M. Messala, C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, M. Messala and C. Fannius. The Sicilian Catalogue Messala and Strabo. The Capitol records, and the title before Phormio in Terence represent unto us, M. Valerius Messala, and Caius Fannius Strabo. Of these Consuls Suetonius maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewise in Cicero in *Brutus*, Pliny in his ninth book and fiftieth chapter, and Gellius in his second book.

594 L. Anicius, M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Cassiodorus and the title set before the Comedy *Adelphi* in Terence avouch for Coss. L. Anicius and M. Cornelius. The Sicilian and Capitol records put surnames unto them, Gallus and Cethegus. Of Anicius the Consul, Cicero speaketh in *Brutus*; and of Cethegus, the six and fortieth Epitome or Breviary of Florus. In their year, it is for certain held, that L. Paulus who conquered Perseus, died.

595 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, M. Fulvius.

The year next following had Consuls, as witnesseth Cassiodorus, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers shew Dolabella and Fulvius. The Capitol monuments, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and Mar. Fulvius Nobilior. The same is to be seen in the life of Terence the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

596 N. Aemilius, C. Popilius.

The Consuls next succeeding, were Marcus Aemilius and C. Popilius, as Cassiodorus saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Lepidus and Lanas. The Capitol records have M. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lanas the second time. Of the same, *Censorinus* maketh mention in his chapter of diffinition of ages.

597 Sex. Julius, L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus reporteth, that the next Consuls were Sex. Julius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian and Capitol tables yield surnames unto them, *Casus* to Julius, and *Orestes* to Aurelius. Pliny writeth of them in his 33 book.

598 L. Lentulus, C. Martius.

Obesquens and Cassiodorus record for this years Consuls L. Lentulus and C. Martius. The Sicilian catalogue *Lentulus* and *Figulus*. The Capitol monuments, L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, and C. Martius Figulus the second time.

Cicero in *Brutus* speaketh of them both. And as touching *Figulus* twice Consul, *Valerius* writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599 P. Scipio Nasica, M. Claudius.

Publius Scipio and M. Claudius are by Cassiodorus set down for Coss. The Sicilian registers have *Nasica* and *Marcellus*. The Capitol records, P. Cornelius Scipio *Nasica* the second time, and M. Claudius *M. Acellus* likewise the second time. *Padianus* writeth, that this *Marcellus* was thrice Consul. And that *Pub. Scipio Nasica*, surnamed also *Corculum*, was twice Consul and Cenfor besides, Cicero writeth in his *Brutus*.

600 L. Posthumus, Q. Opimius.

This year had Consuls, L. Posthumus and Q. Opimius as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do witness. The Sicilian tables shew *Opimius* and *Albinus*. But the Capitol records Q. Opimius, and L. Posthumus *Albinus*. Mention there is made of this Q. Opimius, Consul, by Cicero in his *Brutus*; also in the Epitome of the seven and fortieth book. Moreover, that Posthumus died in his magistracy, besides *Verrius Flaccus*, *Obsequens* also sheweth: in whose stead *Mar. Acellus Glabrio* was chosen.

601 Q. Fulvius, T. Annius.

The Consuls next following, as Cassiodorus writeth, were Q. Fulvius and T. Annius. In the Capitol fragments they are named *Nobilior* and *Lusens*. Cicero in his *Brutus* saith, that Q. *Nobilior* son of Marcus, and T. Annius *Lusens* were Consuls. The Greek records and *Culpiantius* book shew *Nobilior* and *Lusens*.

602 M. Marcellus, L. Valerius.

This year had for Consuls, M. Marcellus and L. Valerius as Cassiodorus witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue representeth *Marcellus* and *Flaccus*. *Obsequens* exhibiteth unto us M. Claudius *Marcellus* and L. Valerius *Flaccus*. This *Marcellus* was thrice Consul, as *Padian* saith upon the Oration for *Scavrus*; and Cicero in his book of divination and destiny.

603 L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, L. Lucullus and A. Postumius. The Sicilian tables, *Lucullus* and *Albinus*. The broken marbles of the Capitol, *Lucullus* and *Alb. Postumius* son of *Antus*, *Orestes* and the Epitome 48, shew L. Licinius *Lucullus* and A. Post. *Albinus*. Cicero in his *Brutus*, and *Lucullus* both, maketh mention of the same.

604 T. Quintius, M. Acellus.

This year had for Consuls, T. Quintius and M. Acellus, as Cassiodorus witnesseth upon Pliny in his 7 book & 36 chap. calleth C. Quintius and M. Acellus. Cicero in his book *Cato*, and the 12. book of his *Epistles* to *Atticus* nameth T. *Flaminius* and M. Acellus, and saith that they were created Consuls in the 19 year after the death of *Ennius*. The Sicilian tables have *Flaminius* and *Albinus*. The Capitol fragments, *Flaminius* and M. Acellus *Balbus*.

605 L. Martius, M. Manilius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth for the Consuls of this year, L. Martius and M. Manilius: likewise the 49. Epitome. Cicero in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Censorinus* and M. Manilius: book of *Censorinus* and Manilius in his twelfth book of epistles to *Atticus*. The same Consuls, *Appianus* in *Libys* nameth L. Martius *Censorinus* and M. Manilius. In like sort *Censorinus* in his treatise of Nativity or Birth-day. The Sicilian tables have *Censorinus* and Manilius. The Capitol fragments shew *Censorinus* and M. Manilius, son of *Publius*, nephew of Pub. While there were Consuls, there arose a third war between the State of Rome and the Carthaginians, as Florus in the 49 Epitome, besides *Verrius Flaccus* do testify: likewise *Salmus*, but that he saith with *Verrius Flaccus*, that it was the year 64, Cicero also in his eleventh Philippick, and lastly *Entropius*, with *Orestes*.

606 Sp. Posthumus, L. Piso.

Then were Consuls created, Sp. Posthumus and L. Piso, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In the Capitol fragments they are named A. Magnus, and L. Calpurnius, son of *Caius*, nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Piso* *Casinius*. In *Culpiantius* Kalender, *Magnus* and *Casinius*, in the Sicilian catalogue *Albinus* and *Piso*. As for *Magnus* and *Albinus*, they be the surnames of Postumius: like as *Casinius* and *Piso*, of Calpurnius. In this year the people of Rome entered into arms against *Andrisens*, otherwise termed *Pseudo-Philippus*, which they call the third Macedonian war, after *Florus* and *Entropius*.

607 P. Africanus, C. Livius.

Obesquens and Cassiodorus set forth for consuls this year P. Africanus and C. Livius. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registred *Scipio* and *Drusus*: in the Capitol fragments *Africanus* *Aemilianus*, and C. Livius: the one son of M. Aemilianus, nephew of Marcus, the other surnamed *Drusus*. This Pub. Cornilius was the natural son of that *Pamilius* that vanquished *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, and adopted

by P. Cornilius the son of Scipio Africanus. Whereupon he was called Pub. Cornilius, son of *Publius*, nephew of P. Scipio Africanus the younger, and *Aemilianus*, as *Valerius* and others do witness. His two last surnames are in the Capitol records, out of which, the complete name of M. Livius *Drusus*, with his addition, was framed. Of these Consuls Cicero speaketh after: likewise *Valerius*, *Anturventis*, *Appian*, *Plutarchus*, *Florus*, both *Rhinius*, *Entropius* and *Orestes*.

608 C. Cornelius, L. Munimius.

Next consuls following, were Cn. Cornilius and L. Munimius, as witnesseth Cassiodorus: and according to *Orestes*, *Valerius*, *Censorinus*, and Cicero in the thirteenth book of epistles to *Atticus*. Cn. Cornelius *Lentulus* and L. Munimius they are named. In the Sicilian registers *Lentulus* and *Munimius*. In the fragments of the Capitol, *Lentulus* and *Munimius*, nephew of *Lentulus*. L. Munimius in this magistracy acquired the surname of *Achonus*, upon a victory achieved by him in *Achaia*, as *Plutarch* in *Marius*, and *Valerius* do testify.

609 Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Hostilius.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth unto us for Consuls Q. Fabius Maximus, together with L. Hostilius. Cicero in *Lectus*, and Pliny in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, nameth them Q. Maximus, brother of Scipio, and L. Mancinus. Othius Q. *Fabius Maximus* *Aemilianus*, *Valerius* writeth in his second book and first chapter. This Q. Fabius was the son of P. Aemilius, adopted by Q. Fab. Max. the son of *Verrius*, as *Appianus* writeth in *Hispanicus*: and therefore in the fragment of a Capitol table there is to be seen the second surname *Aemilianus*. Pliny was deceived, who in his 31 book 11 chapter calleth him Q. *Allobrogicus*, brother of Scipio, who was the son of this Fabius.

610 Ser. Galba, L. Aurelius.

This year had for Consuls, Ser. Galba and L. Aurelius, according to Cassiodorus: those, *Valerius* in his six book nameth S. *Supplicius* Galba, and L. Aurelius *Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of Galba and Cotta. But the Capitol fragments have Galba and L. Valerius *Cotta*. This is that *Snip. Galba*, who being Pretor, as *Suetonius* writeth, stirred up the war before against *Varrus*, for he was a vehement Orator, of whom Cicero speaketh many times. And as for L. Cotta, he it was whom afterwards being accused by *Africanus*, Q. *Metellus* Macedonius defended. Cicero in *Brutus*, for *Marcus* and against *Verres*, maketh mention of him. Likewise *Frontinus* of them both, in his first book of water-conduits.

611

Cn. Claudius, Q. Metellus

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls *App. Claudius* and *Q. Metellus*. *Origins*, *App. Claudius* and *Q. Metellus*. The Sicilian registers have *Claudius* and *Metellus*. The capitol fragments shew *Pulcher* and *Q. Caecilius Macedonicus*. Of the same, *Frontinus* speaketh in his book of water-conduits, and *Valerius* in his seventh book. Now this *Metellus* is he who being Pretor, subdued the Macedonians and Achaeans, whereupon he was (named *Macedonicus*: whom *Plinius* 7 book sheweth to be the son of *L.* and nephew of *Quintus*.

612

L. Metellus, Q. Maximus

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *L. Metellus* and *Q. Maximus*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Maximus*. *Orosius*, *L. Caecilius Metellus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus Servilius*. In like manner the capitol fragments *Calvus* and *Servilius*. This *Servilius* is the brother german of *Q. Servilius Capius*, the Consul two years after (as witnesseth *Appian*) and the adopted son of *Q. Fabius Emilianus* for they were both adopted by *Q. Fabius Max.* the son of *Verrucius*, the one out of the house *Emilia*, the other of *Servilia*. *L. Metellus* is the brother of *Q. Metellus Macedonicus*, as writeth *Valerius* in his treatise of Witnesses.

613

Cn. Capius, Q. Pompeius

Cicero *Capius* and *Q. Pompeius* are recounted Consuls by *Cassiodorus*. *Velleius* in his second book saith thus: Whether there were two or three houles of the *Pompeii*, the first of that name was Consul with *Cn. Servilius*. Of this *Q. Pompeius*, *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes, writing that he was of base and obicure parentage. Him *Valerius* in his chapter of witnesses nameth *Aulus*, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in stead of *A. F.*, the son of *Aulus*. In the same sort *Appian* in *Hispanensis* nameth him *Qu. Pompeius Aulus* for *A. Filius*. *Cicero* in his Orations against *Verrus*, and in that for *Ponticus*, *Valerius* also in his chapter of Witnesses, sheweth that there were two brethren named *Cneus* and *Quintus*, both *Servilii Capiones*.

614

Q. Capius, C. Lelius

After this were Consuls made, *Qu. Capius* and *C. Lelius*, my authors are *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* together with the Sicilian tables, and *Frontinus* in his treatise of water-conduits. This *Lelius* as *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippic*, and *Velleius* do report, was the son of *Lelius* the Consul, anno 564, whom as *Cicero* in his second book of Duties and in *Lelius*, was the first that was named *Wife*, whereof *Plutarch* in *Gracchi* yeeldeth a reason,

Cn. Piso

615 M. Popilius

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, *Cn. Piso* with *M. Popilius*. *Appian* and the Epitome have *M. Popilius* *Darius*: but they be named *M. Popilius Lelius* and *L. Calpurnius* by *Velleius* in his fifth book, "writeth thus: That *Consul* *Hispanus*, Lord chief justice for strangers; when *M. Popilius Lelius* and *L. Calpurnius* were Consuls; by an edict commanded all the Chaldeans [Astrologers] to depart out of Rome and Italy within ten dates next ensuing.

616

P. Scipio, D. Brutus

Publius *Scipio* and *D. Brutus* are named for this years Consuls by *Cassiodorus*, *Florus* in his 55 Epitome; *P. Cornelius Nasica* (named *Serapius* in mockery by *C. Curius* a Trib. of the Com.) and *D. Junius Brutus* *Cass.* *Obsequens* and *Frontinus* saith, that *Nasica* who was named *Cornelius*, and twice was he Consul and Censor also, nephew to that *Nasica* who by the Senat was deemed the best man in the City, and father to him that warred upon *Angustulus*, as *Velleius* saith: This *Decius Brutus* *Cassiodorus* with *Brutus* calleth the son of *Marcius*, who bare the Consulship in the year five hundred ninety seven, and in the capitol tables is called *Pennus*. Moreover, of these Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very oft. *Valerius* also in his 3 book, chap. 7, 3 book, chap. 3, 9 book, chap. 15: Likewise, *Pliny* in his 21 book, and lastly, *Frontinus*.

617

M. Emilius, C. Hostilius Mancinus

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* match together in the consulship this year, *M. Emilius*, and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. The Sicilian registers *Leptidus* and *Mancinus*. *Orosius* and *Appian*, *M. Emilius Lepidus* and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. Of this Consul *Mancinus* there remain yet some tokens to be seen in broken marbles of the capitol. *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewise, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his treatise of Famous men.

618

P. Furius, Sex. Attilius Serranus

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *P. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius Serranus*. *Cicero* in his third book of Duties, *L. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius*. *Obsequens*, *L. Furius* and *Attilius Serranus*. The Sicilian registers *Philus* and *Serranus*. Of this *Furius*, *Cicero* writeth thus in his *Brutus*: *L. Furius Philus*, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have spoken more learnedly than others. In the capitol fragments there appeareth yet some shew of *Serranus* the Consul.

619

Sext. Furius, C. Calpurnius

The next consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *Sext. Furius* and *C. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Flaccus* and *Piso*, *Orosius* nameth *S. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Q. Calpurnius Piso*. The capitol fragments shew *Piso*: as for *Fulvius Flaccus* the Consul, mention there is made of him in the Epitome 36. *Appian* also in his *Ilyrica* speaks of him, and in *Hispanensis* of *Calp. Piso*.

620

P. Africanus, C. Fulvius Flaccus

The year following had *P. Africanus* and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* for Consuls, as it is written in *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. But *Sextus* and *Flaccus* in the Sicilian catalogue. The same *Flaccus* the capitol fragments do shew. Of this *C. Fulvius*, mention there is made also in the 56 Epitome; and of *Africanus* twice consul by *Appian* in *Hispanensis*, by *Orosius*, *Florus*, and *Valerius* in his eight book.

P. Mucius

621 L. Calpurnius

This year had consuls, *P. Mucius*, and *L. Calpurnius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Scævola* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* nameth *P. Mucius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius*. Of these Consuls *Pedanius* upon the Orations against *Verrus*, maketh mention in these words: *Scævola* a right learned man in the Laws, was consul with *L. Piso*, that year wherein *Tib. Oracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitol he standeth by the name of *L. Calpurnius Piso*, named also *Frugi*, and that truly. For *Cicero* in one Oration against *Verrus* and in another for *Ponticus* writeth, that he was the first of the Piones, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provost of the Commons, made a law against the extortion of magistrates, when *Martius* and *Manlius* were consuls: he wrote also the annals of Rome, as *Cicero* testifieth in his book *Brutus*.

622

P. Popilius, P. Rupilius

Against this year were consuls created, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, *P. Popilius* and *P. Rupilius*: after the Sicilian records *Lacus* and *Rupilius*, *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his 13 book of Epistles to *Atticus*, and against *Verrus*. Also in the capitol fragments we read of *P. Popilius*, son of *Cains*, and *P. Rupilius* son of *P.* and nephew of *Publius Velleius* in his second book, nameth the consuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*. *Cicero* in *Lelius* speaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lacus*. And of *P. Rupilius* there is mention made in the Epitome or Breviary 59.

623

P. Crassus, L. Velleius

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, *P. Crassus* and *L. Velleius*. *Cicero* and *Flaccus* the Sicilian catalogue, *L. Velleius*, *Flaccus* and *P. Crassus*. *Obsequens*, *Crassus* and *P. Crassus*. *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippic* against *Antony*. Of this consul *P. Crassus* all they have spoken, who wrote of the war of *Antony*. This *P. Crassus* I named *Dives*, by *Cicero* in his book of a per. Orator, and in *Brutus* is called the brother of *Scævola*: whereupon *Velleius* in his second book nameth him *Antony*, betokening thereby that he was adopted out of the house of *Marcius* into the family of the *Crassi*. This man *Gellius* writeth in his 8th book and 23 chap. to have been at all other, the richest man, the noblest person, and the most eloquent Orator, the deepest lawyer, and the first stream Bishop of Italy.

624

C. Claudius, M. Perperna

Appius *Claudius* and *M. Perperna* are matched in the Consul together this year by *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*. *Calpurnius* book, and the Greek records, shew *Leptinus* and *Pompeius*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the family of the *Cornelii*. Moreover, *Cicero* in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for *Plancius*, calleth this man *C. Claudius*. This also is confirmed by an old table oftentimes commonly known, wherein is to be seen this inscription, *C. Claudius* and *M. Perperna* Consul. Which evidence *Sigonius* and *Omphacius* following, named him *C. Claudius* and not *Appius*. Of this *M. Perperna* as many as wrote the war of *Antony*, have made mention, and namely, *Velleius* in his 3 book and 4 chap. *Velleius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*, and *Exuperius*.

625

C. Sempronius, M. Aquilius

This year had consuls, *M. Aquilius* and *C. Sempronius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. But *Aquilius* and *Traditarius* according to the Sicilian registers, *C. Sempronius Traditarius*, and *M. Aquilius*, after *Orosius*. *Cicero* speaketh of them in his book of the nature of gods: and to his brother *Quintus*, *Paterculus* also in his second book. *Strabo* in his 14 book, *Appian* in his fifth book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

626

Cn. Octavius, T. Annius

Next followed as consuls *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth and none but he. For *Calpurnius* book and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavius* and *Rufus*. *Plutarch* also writeth, that one *T. Annius* contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a sedition. As for this *C. Octavius*

XXXX 2

vims, son he was to that *Cneus* who was Consul in the year five hundred eighty nine.

L. Cassius, 627 L. Cinna.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, L. Cassius and L. Cinna. The Sicilian records *Longinus* and *Cinna*. *Cassiodorus* books set out *Rulla*, corruptly for *Ravilla*, and *Cinna*. This *L. Cassius* was his son who bare the consulship in the year 590, and he was afterwards Censor in the year 629 furnished *Ravilla* by *Frontinus*.

M. Emilius, 618 L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* reckon for Coss. this year, *Mar. Emilius* and *Lu. Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Orestes*. *Censorius* hath *M. Emilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aurelius Orestes*. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Mar. Lepidus*, and *L. Orestes*.

M. Plautius, 629 M. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* avouch Consuls this year, *M. Plautius* and *M. Fulvius*. The Sicilian registers, *Hyppens* and *Flaccus*. *Orosius* and *Frontinus* in his treatise of water-conduits, *M. Plautius Hyppens* and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Valerius* also in his discourse of *Pride* maketh mention of them.

C. Cassius Longinus, 630 C. Sextius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* report, that the consuls following were *C. Cassius Longinus*, and *C. Sextius*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Longinus* and *Calvinus*. *Velleius* writeth, that the colony *Fabrateria* was planted by *Cassius* and *Calvinus*. *Cicero* in *Brutus* speaketh of *C. Sextius Calvinus*. *Entropius* declareth for consuls, *C. Cassius Longinus*, and *S. Domitius Calvinus*, not without suspicion of a fault or error.

Q. Caecilius, 631 T. Quimius.

Cassiodorus nominateth for consuls this year, *Q. Caecilius* and *T. Quimius*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Flaminius*. *Entropius* and *Orosius*. *Q. Caecilius Metellus* and *T. Quimius Flaminius*. *Cicero* in his Oration pleading for his house, calleth them *T. Flaminius* and *Q. Metellus*. This *Q. Metellus* was the eldest of the four sons of *Macedonius*, whom *Plutarch* in his treatise of the Romans fortune, calleth *Q. Metellus Balearicus*, of the Balears whom in this magistracy he conquered.

Cn. Domitius, 632 C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* join in fellowship of the consulate this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius*. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and

Fannius. *Cicero* writeth of them in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his second book and 32 chapter. Three moons (qd. i.e.) appeared when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius* were Coss, which most men called the night-stars.

L. Opimius, 633 Q. Maximus.

This year had for consuls, *Lu. Opimius* and *Q. Maximus*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Opimius* and *Maximus*. But *Obsequens*, *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. *Pliny* speaketh of them in his second book, laying, About the sun there appeared an arch or bow, when *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius* were consuls. This *Q. Fabius Maximus* is by *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Florus* in his Epitome, *Velleius* in his 2 book, and *Pedanius* upon the Orations against *Verres*, rightly named the nephew of *Paulus*, and son of *F. Emilius*. And so may *Syrabo*, *Appian*, and *Pliny* be well reprov'd, for making him and his father *Emilianus*, all one. The same man, as *Cicero* and *Pliny* testify, was surnamed *Allobrogicus*, upon a victory over the *Allobroges*. Of this *L. Opimius* consul, after whose name there was a wine called *Opimianum*. *Pliny* maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chap. *Plutarch* also in *C. Gracchus*, and *Velleius* in his second book.

P. Manlius, 634 C. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus inferreth for this years consuls, *P. Manlius* and *C. Papyrius*. The Sicilian records *Manlius* and *Carbo*. This is that *Cn. Papyrius Carbo*, who being a Tribune of the commons when *Claudius* and *Perpenna* were Coss, was afterwards by *C. Gracchus* appointed for one of the *Triumvirs* to divide lands: who first took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom *Cicero* in many other places, and namely, in his second book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

L. Caecilius, 635 L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* put down for consuls, *Lu. Caecilius* and *Lu. Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue, *Metellus* and *Cotta*. *Plutarch* in *Marius* speaketh of *C. Metellus* and *Cotta* consuls. Which *Marius* he writeth to have born the Tribuneship of the commons, when there were consuls, and to have cast *Metellus* the consul into prison. This is that *Cotta*, in whose consular room *Velleius* reporteth, that *C. Caesar* *Flamin* of *Jupiter*, was created.

M. Cato, 636 Q. Martius.

This year had for consuls *Mar. Cato* and *Q. Martius*: witnesseth *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. *Cato* and *Martius*, according to the Sicilian registers. But *Entropius* nameth them *M. Porcius Cato* and *Q. Martius*. *Valerius* speaketh of

of them in his fifth book, and *Pliny* in his second book 31 chap. *Gellius* also in his 13 book and 19 chap.

L. Lucilius, 637 Q. Mutius.

Consuls next ensuing by *Cassiodorus* his saying, were *L. Lucilius* and *Q. Mutius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Scævola*, it ye go by *Entropius*, *L. Lucilius Metellus* and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. Now is this that *L. Lucilius* *Plutarch* in *Coriolanus* and in his book of the Roman fortune, nameth *Diadematus*, for that a long time he bound up his forehead with a frontlet or wreath which they cal a diadem, to hide an ulcer that he had there. Hereupon, when *Pompeius* bound up his leg with a white band or garter, it makes no matter, qd. *Favonius*, in what part of the body a man weareth the diadem: upbraiding and reproaching him for his Kinglike power, in terming a small clout or peece of cloth by that name. This is that *Q. Mutius Scævola* the Augur, of whom *Cicero* in his book *Lulus*, and in the first book of an Orator maketh mention.

C. Licinius Geta, 638 Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus completh together in society of Consulship this year, *C. Licinius* and *Q. Maximus*. The Sicilian registers name them *Geta* and *Eburinus*. Of this *Q. Maximus* *Cicero* speaketh in his Oration for *Murena*. That this man was of the house of the *Fabii*, his surname *Eburinus* sheweth, of whom writeth *L. Iustus* in this manner: *Q. Fabius* was called *Pullus*, *Jovis*, surnamed *Eburinus*, of whiteness, for that his buttock was blighted with lightning. *Q. Iustus* in his third Declaration reporteth that this *Fab. Eburinus* had a son unchaft of his body, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man *Velleius* calleth *Q. Fabius Servilianus*. As for the name of this *Licinius* his father, obscure and unknown heretofore, *Goltzius* out of an old antiquity of coin hath restored it, wherein, as he saith, was written plainly, *C. Licinius Geta*, son of *Publius*.

M. Metellus, 639 M. Scævus.

The consuls next following by *Cassiodorus* his report, were *M. Metellus* and *M. Scævus*. As for *Metellus*, the third son he was of *Macedonius*. But as touching *M. Scævus*, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous persons, calleth *M. Scævus*, *Scævus*, thus writeth *Pedanius*, *M. Scævus* (qd. he) was a Patritian indeed and of noble blood, but so, as the gentry of this house, for those descents before him lay obscure, neither father, nor grandire, by reason of their poor estate, and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to

dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for *Murena* and in *Brutus*. *Velleius* also in his 5 book and 8 chap. and *Pliny* likewise in his 2 book and 36 chap.

M. Atilius Balbus, 640 C. Cato.

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, *M. Atilius Balbus*, and *C. Cato*. The Sicilian catalogue *Balbus* and *Cato*. *Obsequens* *M. Atilius* and *C. Portius*. Of the same consuls *Pliny* speaketh in the 2 book, chap. 29, and 58. *Plutarch* in *Marius* giveth to *Atilius* the surname *Mannus*. This *C. Cato* is the brother of that *M. Cato*, who four years before was Consul, nephew to *M. Cato Censorinus*, and *Africanus* sitters son, as saith *Velleius*, *Cicero* against *Verres*, and in *Brutus*.

C. Caecilius, 641 Cn. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* set down for next Consuls, *C. Caecilius* and *Cn. Papyrius*. The Sicilian registers *Metellus* and *Cn. Carbo*. *Entropius*, *C. Caecilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Carbo*. The same man *Tacitus* in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Consulship, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome: in which year, both he and *Obsequens* do report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutones*. This *C. Metellus* was the fourth son of *C. Metellus* the son of *Macedonius*: whom, when he died, he left a son of Pretors calling, and in suit and election way to be Consul. This man gat a surname by force of reproach, as *Cicero* testifieth in his second book of a perfect Orator. Now surnamed was he *Capitarius*, as *Plutarch* saith in the Life of the Romans.

M. Livius Drusus, 642 L. Piso.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for this years Consuls, *M. Livius Drusus* and *L. Piso*. The Sicilian catalogue *Drusus* and *Piso*. *L. Piso* surnamed *Cassinus* a man of Consular degree, was slain after by the *Tigurins*, when *Lu. Cassius* was Consul, as *Orosius* testifieth.

P. Scipio, 643 L. Calpurnius Bestia.

Cassiodorus nameth this year for Consuls, *P. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. The Sicilian records *Nasica* and *Bestia*. *Obsequens*, *Pub. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius*. *S. J. B. Entropius*, and *Orosius*. *P. Scipio Nasica* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. Of these Consuls, *P. Nasica* *Scipio* and *L. Bestia*, *Valerius* likewise maketh report, lib. 1. chap. 6. Moreover, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth that *P. Scipio* the son of *P. Scipio* surnamed *Serapion* and fellow Consul to *L. Bestia*, died in his Consulship. Of this *P. Scipio* there is some mention to be seen in a Capitol fragment.

644
Sp. Posthumius, M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, Sp. Posthumius and M. Minutius. The Sicilian registers Albinus and Rufus, Salust, Sp. Albinus and Q. Minutius Rufus. Of M. Minutius, Velletius and the threecore and seventh Epitome make mention.

645
Q. Metellus, M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus saith that the Consuls next following were Q. Metellus and M. Silanus. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Metellus and Silanus, Padianus and Eutropius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, and M. Junius Silanus. Of them also Cicero speaketh in Brutus. This Metellus was surnamed Numidicus for the conquest of Numidia, as witnesseth Velletius.

646
Ser. Galba, M. Scaurus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens deliver for the Consuls of this year, Servius Galba and M. Scaurus. The Sicilian evidences, Salustius and Scaurus, Cicero in the Oration for Rabirius, saith that S. Galba was a man of Consular degree, when Marius was the sixt time Consul. Of M. Scaurus the Consul, Velletius and Tacitus make mention. This is that M. Aurelius Scaurus, who being afterwards in embassage was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threecore and seventh Epitome.

647
L. Cassius, C. Marius.

Cassiodorus joineith in the consulship this year, L. Cassius and C. Marius. Cuspinianus book and the Sicilian records, Longinus and Marius, Pliny also maketh mention of them in his 10 book and 13 chap. Cicero in his oration for Plancius: Plutarch in Marius and Cicero again in his third book of Duties, writeth, that C. Marius having taken the repulse twice for the office of Adileship, was created consul.

648
Q. Servilius Capio, C. Atilius.

Obsequens and Cassiodorus match consuls together this year, Q. Servilius Capio and C. Atilius Serranus. The Sicilian monuments Capio and Serranus. In this year upon the third day of January, M. Tullius Cicero was born, as Gellius in his fifteenth book and eight and twentieth chap. hath left written. Much mention there is made of these consuls in Cicero and other ancient writers.

649
P. Rutilius Rufus, C. Manilius.

Put down by Obsequens and Cassiodorus for this years consuls. This P. Rutilius, Cicero in Brutus, calleth the son of Marcus. About the other consul the Annals do vary and disagree: some forename him C. others Cæus. Some name him M. Manilius, others Mallius or Manilius. But all this controversy is decided by an old antiquity in stone at Puteoli: the inscription whereof testifieth that P. Rutilius and Cn. Mallius were Consuls; as also the evidence of the Sicilian registers, wherein written it is Rufus and Mallius. Of this Mallius, mention there is made in Cicero's Orations for Plancius and Muræna: likewise in Valerius, Salust, Tacitus, Florus, Eutropius and Orosius. That he was not only a bafe man and of low birth, but also without all vertue and wit, in the course of his life also vile and contemptible, Cicero writeth in his Oration for Plancius. Whereby it easily appeareth, that the Mallius were a kindred different from the Manlii, For of Cn. Manlius a Patritian, and that of a most noble house, Cicero would never have spoken in such terms.

650
C. Marius II, C. Flavius Fimbria.

The next Consuls are set down by Cassiodorus, C. Marius the second time, and C. Flavius Fimbria: by Obsequens, C. Marius and C. Flavius. By the Sicilian registers Marius and Fimbria: by Padianus upon the Oration for Cornelius, C. Marius the second time, and C. Fimbria: Item, C. Marius and Caius Flavius. Besides, Cicero, Velletius, Valerius, Plutarch, and others speak often of these Cons.

651
C. Marius III, L. Aurelius Orestes.

Cassiodorus reporteth for this years Consuls, C. Marius the third time, and L. Aurelius Orestes. The Sicilian catalogue Marius and Orestes. Moreover, Marius even in his absence was elected Consul the third time, for fear of the Cimbrian war which was defeated, as Velletius, Eutropius, the Breviary, and Cicero in his Oration concerning Provinces, do testify.

652
C. Marius IV, Q. Lutatius.

Next after them are put down for Consuls by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, C. Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lutatius. The Sicilian registers exhibit unto us Marius and Catulus. Plutarch and Eutropius, Caius Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lutatius Catulus. Of these Consuls, Cicero and Pliny oftentimes make mention.

653

653
C. Marius V, M. Aquilius.

Then succeeded in the Consulship by the testimony of Cassiodorus, C. Marius the fifth time, and M. Aquilius. Of this C. Marius five times now Consul, Plutarch and Florus give report. And Cicero in his second book of a perfect Orator, nameth M. Aquilius for the companion of C. Marius in his fifth consulship. Of whom Plutarch in Marius speaketh and calleth him *patre et avunculo*, as also Appian in *Mithridatica*. Now this Marius Aquilius a Consular man, is the same who afterwards being an Ambassador, was by King Mithridates taken prisoner, and most villanously tormented and mangled.

654
C. Marius VI, L. Valerius Flaccus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens shew unto us for this years consuls, C. Marius the sixt time, and L. Valerius Flaccus. The Sicilian records, Marius and Flaccus. This L. Flaccus (afterwards Censor) was President of the Senat, and master of the horsemen under Sylla Dictator. Of these consuls Cicero speaketh very often, and namely, in his Brutus, in his oration for Rabirius, against Catiline and Antonia: and also in the defence of Plancius. Pliny likewise in his second book, Velletius, and Padianus upon the oration against Piso. Moreover, Plutarch, and many authors besides. In this year (upon the twelfth day of July, then called Quintilis, as Macrobinus witnesseth) was C. Caesar born, who afterwards was surnamed Dictator.

655
M. Antonius, A. Postumius.

Reported it is by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, that M. Antonius and A. Postumius were Consuls this year. The Sicilian registers, shew Albinus and Antonius. In a fragment also of the capitol marbles, mention there is of An. Postumius. Cuspinianus book and the Greek records, have Antonius and Albinus. Of these Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his oration to the citizens of Rome, after his return out of exile. Likewise, Pliny in his 8 book and 7 chap. where he noteth this the 655 year. Also Gellius in his 4 book and 6 chap.

656
Q. Metellus, T. Didius.

Quintus Metellus and T. Didius succeeded Consuls next in this year, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do write. And Padianus upon the oration for Cornelius, nameth them: Curio (saith he) accused Q. Metellus Nepos, son of Balearicus, and nephew of Macedonius, who was Consul with T. Didius. Cicero speaketh of the same man in his oration after his return.

657
Cn. Lentulus, P. Crassus.

Not only Cassiodorus, but the Sicilian registers also, do testify, that Cn. Lentulus and P. Crassus were Consuls this year: and Obsequens nameth them, Cn. Cornelius and P. Licinius. Pliny writeth of them in his tenth book and first chap. also in his 33 book and second chap.

658
Cn. Domitius, C. Cossus.

This year had for Consuls, Cn. Domitius and C. Cossus, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do witness. Cuspinianus annals and the Greek registers, shew Enobarbus and Longinus. A fragment of Per. Flaccus his marbles, Enobarbus and C. Cossus son of Lucius, Padianus speaketh of them upon the oration for Cornelius.

659
L. Crassus, Q. Scævola.

Lucius Crassus and Q. Scævola were consuls next following, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In a fragment of the capitol records as touching Consuls, is to be seen Crassus and Martius. In Censorinus, we find Lu. Licinius son of Lucius, Cicero in his Brutus writeth, that Crassus the orator bare all dignities of magistracy, together with Scævola the high-priest, except the Tribunal of commons and the Censorship: also that whiles they two were Consuls, Q. Hortensius pleaded the first cause that ever he undertook, at the bar. Padianus upon the oration of Cicero for Cornelius, maketh mention of L. Licinius Crassus the Orator, and Q. Martius Scævola the arch-bishop, an orator besides and a professed lawyer, both Consuls together.

660
C. Calpurnius, L. Domitius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens declare for this years Consuls, C. Calpurnius and L. Domitius. The Sicilian registers, Calpurnius and Enobarbus. In a capitol fragment, they are Calpurnius and Lu. Domitius son of Cn. As for Calpurnius, it is the surname of Calpurnius. For Velletius maketh mention of one C. Calpurnius under Augustus. In like manner Cicero in his book entuled, The suing for a Consulship, and in his oration for Marcellus. Also Padianus upon the Oration for Cornelius. Again, Cicero in his Brutus, nameth them next before Herennius.

661
C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius.

There are matched by Cassiodorus and Obsequens for consuls this year, C. Valerius Flaccus and M. Herennius. The Sicilian records, Flaccus and Herennius. A broken stone of the capitol, hath Flaccus and M. Herennius, Pliny in his 29 book and 3 chap. Cicero also in his Oration for Marcellus, and in Brutus, speaketh of them.

662

662

C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perpenna.

Consuls this year, were C. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Perpenna, as witnesses Cassiodorus and Obsequens. Likewise in a capital broken monument, and in the Sicilian register. It is Pulcher and M. Perpenna. Cicero maketh mention of this Claudius as Pretor of Sicily in the fourth Oration against Verres: and as Edile Curule in his second book of Offices. So doth Pliny in his 8 book.

663

L. Martius. Sext. Julius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens name for consuls this year, L. Martius and Sext. Julius. The Sicilian records, Philip and Caesar, Eutropius and Orofius, Sex. Julius Caesar, and L. Martius Philippus. A capital fragment, Philip and Sex. Julius son of Caius. Pliny speaketh of them in his 2 book 8 chap. also in the 33 book and 3 chap. In like manner Cicero many times, and Valerius.

664

L. Julius Caesar. P. Rutilius Lupus.

According to Cassiodorus and Obsequens the Consuls this year were L. Julius Caesar, and P. Rutilius Lupus. And so it is in Padianus Velleius, and the 73 Epitome: as also in other authors who have written of the Marian war. In a fragment of the Capitol, they are seen written, Caesar, and P. Rutilius son of Rufus. In the Sicilian records, Caesar and Lupus. Cicero in his book of Divination, speaketh of them both: and in his oration for Plancius he writeth, that L. Caesar missing of an Edileship became a Consul.

665

L. Portius. Cn. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, L. Portius and Cn. Pompeius. Padianus upon the Oration for Cornelius (surnamed Cn. Pompeius) Verrius and L. Porcius, Cato. The Capitol fragment shew no more but Servius and Cato. Appian hath made mention of these consuls: so have Orofius and others that have penned the Marian war. This Cn. Pompeius was father to that Cn. Pompey the Great: as Appianus witnesseth, and Padian upon the Oration against Piso.

666

L. Sylla. Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius: and the same is written in Obsequens, Velleius, Eutropius, Orofius, Appian, Plutarch, and others. The Sicilian records have Sylla and Rutilius, Sylla after his victory in the civil war, would needs have himself surnamed Felix: and therefore Padian and the avouchers of the Capitol monuments, in report-

ing this consulat, write thus; L. Sylla, who afterwards was called Felix. The same man in his second Consulship, (which appeareth upon record in the Capitol) is named the son of Lucius, and nephew of P. Sestius. Moreover, of Q. Pompeius Rufus, Cicero maketh mention in his Brutus.

667

L. Cornelius Cinna. Cn. Octavius.

Reported there are by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers for Consuls this year L. Cinna and Cn. Octavius. Appian Velleius, and the rest, who have recorded the history of this time, name them L. Corn. Cinna, and Cn. Octavius. Plutarch writeth, that L. Cinna being of the adverse faction to L. Sylla: was by him made consul, upon condition, that he should not cross nor stand against the proceeding of the said L. Sylla: and so soon as he was entered into place of government, he began to trouble and disquiet the present state of the common-wealth, yea, intended an action against Sylla, by the means of Virginus a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit Sylla contemning Virginus, made an expedition against Mithridates.

668

L. Cinna II. C. Marius VII.

After this, were Consuls, C. Marius the seventh time, and L. Cinna the second time, according to the records of Sicily, Cassiodorus, and those that wrote of the civil war. Plutarch saith, that Marius was the first man that was seven times consul of Rome. Moreover, as it is to be read in Appian, and in the Breviaries, L. Cinna and C. Marius, without any lawful assembly for Election, declared themselves Consuls against this year, and the very same day that they entered into their magistracy Marius commanded Sext. Lteinius a Senator, to be thrown down from the rock Tarpeia: who after he had committed many heinous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of January: in whose room was subordinated, L. Vell. Placcus, even he (as men think) who before-time was colleague to C. Marius in his first Consulship: of whom Cicero maketh mention in his Oration for his son Flaccus.

669

L. Cinna III. Cn. Papirius.

Cassiodorus witnesseth, that the Consuls succeeding in this year, were L. Cinna the third time, and Cn. Papirius. The Sicilian records, have Cinna and Carbo. In the 83 Breviary it is written, that L. Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo, for two years together usurped the Consulship. Also in the book entituled Of famous persons, we read that Cinna made himself Consul a second and third time. Of these Consuls Plutarch speaketh in Sylla. Appian in Mithridatica, and in the first book of civil wars.

670

L. Cinna IV. Cn. Papirius II.

Next were Consuls, after Cassiodorus and the Epitomis, L. Cinna the fourth time, and

and Cn. Papirius the second time. Cicero in his Tusculan questions mentioneth Cinna four times Consul: so doth Suetonius in Caesar. And of Cn. Papirius Carbo twice Consul, the Capitol tables do yield testimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put down for consul (not without suspicion of error) Carbo and Scribonius.

671

L. Scipio. C. Norbanus.

Besides the Sicilian tables, Cassiodorus, Obsequens, Appian, Eutropius, Florus, and Lactantius in his ninth book do witness that L. Scipio, and C. Norbanus were Consuls. In the Capitol fragments it is written, L. Cornelius son of Lucius, nephew of L. Scipio Africanus.

672

M. C. Marius. Cn. Carbo III.

I find in Cassiodorus, Appianus, Velleius, and others, the next consuls to have been C. Marius and Cn. Carbo the third time. This C. Marius was the brothers son of C. Marius seven times consul, according to Appian: but Velleius, Paterculus, Plutarch, Eutropius and others, say, that he was the son of that C. Marius: and haply indeed he was adopted by C. Marius. Certainly, in the Capitol tables, he is called C. Marius, son of C. and nephew of Caius. Cicero speaketh of these Consuls against Rullus: Pliny also in his 17 book, and they who have set down in writing the civil wars of Sylla.

673

M. Tullius. Cn. Dolabella.

Next to those, Cassiodorus bringeth in for consuls, M. Tullius and Cn. Dolabella. The Sicilian records, have Decula and Dolabella. Appian also reporteth that Sylla Dictator, to the end that the state and common-wealth might seem to retain some shew yet of her ancient dignity, permitted M. Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella to be created consuls, whilst himself after the manner of King sat aloft in a throne above them. Cicero in his oration against Rullus, and Gellius in his 15 book and 33 chap. maketh mention of M. Tullius and Cn. Cornelius consuls. In a capital fragment, this M. Tullius, son of M. nephew of A. is surnamed Decula.

674

L. Sylla II. Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers, set down for Consuls, L. Sylla the second time, and Q. Metellus. Appian saith moreover, that Sylla Dictator though he was, yet stood content and willing to be declared consul with Q. Metellus Fimbrius, to the end that the common-wealth might seem to have some likeness yet of a free state. Of these consuls, Cicero maketh mention in his Oration against Verres, and elsewhere. Gellius likewise in his 15 book and 28 chapter, together with Cassiodorus. This Metellus was surnamed Pius. He it is, who was by lot ap-

pointed to manage the wars in Spain and against Sertorius: and soon he was to Nardinius.

675

P. Servilius. App. Claudius.

The next consuls were P. Servilius and App. Claudius, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their surnames were, Servius and Pulcher: of whom Appian writeth thus: that people of Rome in common manner to court S. the Dictator, requested of him that he would continue consul still another year: but S. would none of that: and took order, that Sex. If. Servius and Claudius Pulcher, should be declared Consuls. In a fragment of the Capitol he is thus written: Pub. Servilius Pulcher, called also by the name of S. Pulcher, whom he took of the Laurentians, a nation in Lucania whom he subdued. My authors are Padianus upon the Oration of Cicero against Verres: Suetonius in his 14 book: Macrobius likewise in his 14 book, with others.

676

M. Lepidus. Q. Catulus.

M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus, are by Cassiodorus named Consuls for this year. Plutarch reporteth, that when L. Sylla had given up his Dictatorship and restored again to the people of Rome the free liberty to dispose of consular dignities in their solemn assemblies for elections: M. Lepidus an enemy to Sylla, and an audacious person, was declared Consul before Catulus, and had the preeminence above him, by the earnest endeavour of Cn. Pompeius. Of these Consuls, Pliny maketh mention in his 26 book, wherein he saith, that they governed in the year 676. Likewise, Cicero in his Oration for Cornelius Flaccus: and Livy in his Oration 2 book 3 chap. and Eutropius.

677

M. Aemilius. D. Brutus.

This year had for Consuls, by the testimony of Cassiodorus and Obsequens, M. Aemilius and D. Brutus. Maecius, a Tribune of the commons, speaketh of them in Sallust, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppressed. In like sort, Cicero in Brutus, and in his second book of Duties, as also Valerius in the 7 book and 7 chap. This M. Aemilius was surnamed Lepidus and Livianus: for out of the family of Livius he was adopted by M. Lepidus, and therefore right well he is called, son of M. Maecius.

678

Cn. Octavius. C. Curia.

Verrius Flaccus setteth down for Consuls, Cn. Octavius son of M. nephew of C. and C. Scribonius Curia. The same doth Cicero report in Brutus. So do Sallust. Obsequens. Lactantius in his first book, and Pliny in his second book and

and 35 chapter. *Cic.* in his *Brutus* and *Pliny* in his 7 book and 41 chapt, make report of three *Cato* *Curion*, all Orators to wit, the father, the son, and the sons son or nephew.

679

L. Octavius, C. Cotta.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, L. Octavius and C. Cotta, *Obsequens*, C. Anselmus and L. Octavius, *Pliny* in his second book and 35 chapter, *Cicero* likewise in his third and fifth Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention of L. Octavius, and C. Anselmus consuls. Upon the broken marbles of the capitol, they stand to be seen, L. Octavius son of Cn. nephew of Cn. and C. Anselmus. This year the Sicilian registers over-skip, *Padianus* writeth, that there were at this time three *Cotta*'s brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, Caius, Marcus and Lucius.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Cotta.

For this years consuls, *Cassiodorus* registreth L. Lucullus, and M. Cotta, The Sicilian records, Lucullus and Cotta, *Entropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatic*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, L. Licinius Lucullus, and M. Aurelius Cotta. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* against *Verres*; and by *Pliny* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This L. Lucullus had for his grand-father that Lucullus, who was consul with A. Albinius, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* do testify.

681

M. Lucullus, C. Cassius.

This year (by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*) had for consuls, M. Lucullus, and C. Cassius: but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Cassius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration against *Verres*, nameth M. Terentius and C. Cassius; saying that the laws *Terentia* and *Cassia*, were by them promulged. For, so far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, M. Licinius Lucullus, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and therefore called M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call L. Lucullus and M. Lucullus brethren, whom *Entropius* nameth cousin Germans by two sisters. That the surname of *Cassius* was Varus, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterpout of lead found in *Rome*, and also for that *Appian* in his fourth book, writeth that C. Cassius Varus, a man who had been Consul, was condemned and outlawed by the Triumvirs.

682

L. Gellius, Cn. Lentulus.

The consuls next following, by the report of *Cassiodorus*, were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus. In like sort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and elsewhere. *Plutarch* also in *Craffus*, with *Entropius* and *Orestes*, *Cassiodorus* book sheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the surname of L. Gellius was *Poplicola*, as witnesseth *Omphrius*.

Cn. Aufidius, P. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, Cn. Aufidius, and P. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers have *Lentulus* and *Orestes*. *Entropius*, C. Lentulus and Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*. This Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*, when he went beside a Tribuneship of the commons, was chosen consul, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Plautius*. This is that P. Lentulus surnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of consular calling, and who had been twice Pretor, was hanged and strangled to death when *Cicero* was consul, for that he had conspired with *Caesar*: whose grand-father was P. Lentulus President of the Senat, as *Cicero* saith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against *Caesar*: as also *Padianus*.

684

M. Craffus, Cn. Pompeius.

Next to them were Coss. M. Craffus and Cn. Pompeius, according to *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the Sicilian records, they surnames for certain, were *Dives* and *Magnus*. All the old writers speak much of this their first Consulship. *Plutarch* reporteth that L. Craffus attained to the Consular dignity, by the means of *Pompeius* the consul. Besides, *Cicero*, *Salust*, *Padian* writing upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and all other authors speak of these consuls.

685

Q. Metellus, Q. Hortensius.

Then followed consuls, Q. Metellus and Q. Hortensius, as *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian catalogue do testify. *Padianus* matcheth Q. Metellus *Creticus* with Q. Hortensius that great Orator. Likewise, *Josephus* in his fourteenth book of Jewish antiquities, *Cicero* in *Brutus* calleth this Q. Hortensius, the son of Lucius, Q. Metellus afterwards upon the conquest made of *Crete* surnamed *Creticus*, was the son of L. Dalmatius, as may be gathered out of *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Tully* [called *Devinatio*] against *Verres*.

686

L. Metellus, Q. Marcius.

Padianus writing upon *Tully*'s Oration against *Piso*; *Dio* likewise and *Cassiodorus*, join together in the consulship this year, L. Metellus and Q. Marcius. The Greek records, Marcius Rex and Metellus. This Metellus, *Dio* writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracy: that he who was substituted in his room, left this life before he entered into the government: and thereupon it was not thought good to subleed any more; and by that means Q. Marcius bare that dignity alone; and him *Salust* entitleth with the surname of Rex. This L. Metellus was brother to Q. Creticus, as *Padian* witnesseth.

687

C. Piso, M. Glabrio.

These succeeded Consuls, C. Piso and M. Glabrio, witness *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian records. And in this they follow immediately by the name of *Manius Aquilius* and C. Piso, *Cicero* in his twelfth book of Epistles to *Atticus*, speaketh of C. Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, men of Consular place and calling. *Padian* in his commentaries upon the oration for *Cornelius* maketh mention of C. Piso and the law *Calpurnia* by him made, as touching inordinate and indirect suite after dignities of state. Moreover, of them *Valerius* in his fourth book writeth.

688

M. Lepidus, L. Volcatius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him L. Torquatus, but untruly, The Greek records have, *Volcatius Tullus*, *Dio*, *L. Tullus*, and *Emilius Lepidus*, *Salust* in *Castrina*, L. Tullus and M. Lepidus. *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, M. Lepidus and L. Volcatius. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla* hath L. Volcatius Tullus: so as it appeareth it should be, M. Emilius Lepidus, and L. Volcatius Tullus.

689

L. Cotta, L. Torquatus.

The Consuls elect, were L. Antonius *Pamphili* (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not Antonius, as commonly it is read), and P. Cornelius *Sulla*: who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered condign punishment, their accusers stepped into their place of government, namely, L. Aurelius son of Marcus, surnamed Cotta; and L. Manlius son of Lucius, surnamed also Torquatus: as testifieth *Salust*, *Dio*, *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and that which he made in his white robe: and lastly, *Tranquillus* in *Caesar*.

690

L. Caesar, C. Figulus.

The year next ensuing had for Consuls, by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*, *Padianus*, and the Sicilian records, L. Caesar and C. Figulus, whom *Dio* calleth *Lucius Caesar*, and *Lucius Marcius* son of *Caius*, surnamed *Figulus*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla*, nameth them L. Julius and C. Figulus: so doth *Salust* in *Castrina*. This L. Julius Caesar is his son who was Consul in the Marston war.

691

M. Cicero, C. Antonius.

The Consuls this year, were M. Tullius son of M. surnamed *Cicero*, and C. Antonius son of M. as testifieth *Dio* in his seven and thirtieth book, *Cassiodorus*, *Salust* in his *Castrina* oration, *Vellius* in his second book, *Joseph* in his

Jewish antiquities 14 book 8 chapter, *Pliny* in his eight book and three and fiftieth chapter, *Tranquillus* in the life of A. *gustus*, *Appian*, *Entropius*, *Padian*, and others.

692

D. Silanus, L. Murana.

There followed consuls next, D. Silanus, and L. Murana, as *Cassiodorus*, *Salust*, and the Sicilian records do witness. *Dio* calleth them D. Junius son of M. surnamed *Silanus*; and L. Lucius son of L. surnamed *Murana*. *Entropius* nameth them D. Junius *Silanus*, and L. Lucius, son of that L. Murana who in quality of Pro-pretor triumphed over *Mithridates* (as *Cicero* saith) pleading for *Murana* himself, being accused and in trouble for unlawful seeking to be Cof. In this assembly for election of Cof. L. *Sergius* *Castrina* suffered the second repulse: for anger whereof, in a melancholy he brake out into a conspiracy, and practised against the state: and likewise *Seranus* *Sulpicius* Rufus the lawyer, who afterwards accused *Murana* for the crime aforesaid.

693

M. Pupius, M. Valerius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, M. Pupius and M. Valerius, The Sicilian registers, *Piso* and *Messala*. *Dio*, M. Pupius, son of M. surnamed *Piso*; and M. Valerius son of M. surnamed *Messala Niger*. Of this *Messala Niger*, there is also mention made by *Padian* upon the oration for *Scawrus*, also of M. *Messala* and M. *Piso*, in *Plinius* seventh book, and six and twentieth chapter, seven and thirtieth book, cap. second, and the eight book, chap. six and twenty. And in *Caesar* first book of the Gauls war, Of M. *Piso* *Padian* likewise speaketh writing upon the oration against *Piso*.

694

Q. Metellus, Q. Afranius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers nominate for this years Consuls, Q. Metellus and L. Afranius. The like doth *Obsequens* and *Cicero* in his first book of Epistles to *Atticus*. *Dio* nameth them L. Afranius son of L. and Q. *Caecilius* son of Q. surnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Consulate (as *Dio* witnesseth) by the means of *Pompeius*, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants serving under him in *Africa*.

695

C. Caesar, M. Bibulus.

Cassiodorus, *Suetonius*, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do match together for consuls this year, C. Caesar and M. Bibulus. *Dio*, C. Julius son of C. Caesar, and M. Calpurnius, *Plutarch* and *Appian*, C. Julius Caesar, and C. Bibulus. Albeit *Appian* as also *Entropius* and *Orestes* give *Bibulus* the forename of Lucius. Of Caesar and Bibulus, *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of Epistles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

896
L. Piso, A. Gabinus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records shew for Consuls this year; L. Piso and A. Gabinus. Dio, L. Calpurnius son of L. Piso and A. Gabinus son of Aulus. Caesar, Cicero, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus, L. Piso, and A. Gabinus. Caesar speaketh of them in his first book of the Gauls war, and Plutarch in the life of Cato the younger. Cicero also in his oration against Piso and for Sextus. This Piso the Consul Cicerus and Padian surname Cassiodorus, for so his grandfather before him was called, as appeareth in the capitoll records for the year 606.

697
P. Lentulus, Q. Metellus.

The Consuls following for this year, were by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus. By Dio, Pub. Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caelius son of Q. Metellus Nepos. Of them speaketh Valerius in his ninth book. Lentulus (qd. he) and Metellus companions in the consularship were beheld and seen both upon the stage like players; but the one of them took the surname of Spinther. One of the second sort of actors; the other, but that he had gotten the name of. Nepos already for his lewd behaviour, should have been called Pamphilus, after the name of one of a third sort, whom for all the world he resembled. Of the same men, Orosius in his first book of Epistles, and in very many of his orations. Dio also in his seventh book and second chapter, Plutarch in the life of Cicero, and all other writers make much mention.

698
Cn. Lentulus, L. Philippus.

Cassiodorus putheth down for Consuls, Cn. Lentulus and L. Philippus. The Sicilian records, Marcellus and Philippus. Dio, Cn. Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Marcellus; and L. Mureius son of Lucius Philippus. Of Lentulus and Marcellus Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his Epistles to Lentulus. Plutarch also in the life of Cato, maketh mention of Marcus Philippus now Consul. This Cn. Lentulus was the son of that P. Lentulus, as Cicero saith in his *Brevium*. And surname he was Marcellus, and not Claudius; that it might be known, of what family of the Claudii he was descended.

696
Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus.

When as by the obstinate persistence of C. Cato Tribun of the commons, (who ever interpreted his negative) there could be no ordinary assembly holden for the creation of magistrats, the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of grief: so as upon an Interregency between Cn. Pompeius was chosen Consul, and with him M. Crassus the

second time, as Plutarch, Dio, and Appian do witness. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom Cato and all good men accompanied and presented, was in the common place by violence throughly beaten; and Cato himself wounded. These Cons. Dio calleth Cn. Pompeius, son of Cn. Magnus the second time, and M. Crassus son of Publius Crassus, the second time. Of them Padian, Plutarch, the Sicilian records, and others make mention.

700
Cn. Claudius, L. Domitius.

Dio in his nine and thirtieth book, for the year after the cities foundation 700, following the computation of Varro, avoucheth Consuls, Appius Claudius, son of Appius Pulcher; and L. Domitius son of Cn. Ahenobarbus. Cassiodorus and Orosius, name them, App. Claudius and L. Domitius, whom the Sicilian records call Pulcher and Ahenobarbus; and Padian upon the Oration for Scævius; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher. Of this L. Domitius, son of Cn. Ahenobarbus, Cicero speaketh in the eight book of Cicero's Epistles.

701
Cn. Domitius, M. Messala.

Against this year there stood in election and laboured with much earnestness and ambitious desire to be Consuls, Cn. Minucius, Cn. Domitius M. Messala and M. Scævius, as Cicero writeth to his brother Quintus. But at the last, even in the seventh month of this year there were created by means of an Interregency, M. Messala and Cn. Domitius. Neither had they been chosen then; but that Q. Pompeius Rufus a Tribun of the commons, who still opposed himself to hinder and defer all election, and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the rest as many as went about to cross the said election. This much Dio, But Appian saith, that the common-weal continued for eight months space in Anarchy without any sovereign magistrats of state. Plutarch writeth, that in this so great extremity of danger, Lucius a Tribun of the commons; preferred a bill for the creating of Cn. Pompeius Dictator, who should redress all enormities; and set upright the state again; but Cato gainstaid it, and so nothing was effected. Dio saith moreover, that the Tribuns of the commons moved for the choosing not of a Dictator only, but also of military Tribuns in consular authority; but through the earnest labour of Pompeius, Consuls were created, Messala and Calpurnius, which surnames stand to be seen upon the Sicilian records. Also in the capitoll monuments, written it is thus. Cn. Domitius Mureius, son of M. nephew of Marcus, anno 708 and 707.

702

702
Cn. Pompeius, Q. Metellus.

When by reason of the contentions among so mighty competitors, the Consuls could not be created by the Calends of January: there passed an Act of the Senat, according to the mind and advice of Bibulus, by vertue whereof Cn. Pompeius was by the Interregency Serv. Sulpicius created Consul the third time, upon the five and twentieth of February, without a Collegue first, and presently entred upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might arise thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the year behind, Q. Caelius Pius Metellus Scipio, his Wives father. Thus writeth Padian upon the Oration of Cicero in defence of Milo; Plutarch likewise, Appianus and Dio. This Metellus Pius Scipio was also called P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son of Nasica Scipio, who being adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, is called by Calvus in the familiar Epistles of Cicero, Q. Caelius son of Q. nephew of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio.

703
M. Marcellus, Ser. Sulpicius.

Against this year were Consuls created, M. Marcellus, and Ser. Sulpicius, as Cassiodorus, Plutarch, and Appian witness. The Sicilian records call them Rufus and Marcellus. Dio nameth them Servius Sulpicius son of Q. surname Rufus, and M. Claudius son of M. surname also Marcellus. Of these Consuls Suetonius also maketh mention in Caesar: likewise Cicero in his Epistles, and the Epitome 118. This Marcellus was the cousin german of that Marcellus who the year next following was Consul: and brother german to him who two years after bare the Consulship, as may be collected out of Ferrinus, Flaccus, Dio, and Suetonius.

704
L. Paulus, C. Marcellus.

There succeeded Consuls, L. Paulus, and C. Marcellus: witness Cassiodorus, Dio Suetonius, Horius in his 8 book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of these is by Dio named L. Aemilius, son of Marcus, surname Paulus; the other by Cicero in his Epistles, C. Claudius son of Cn. Marcellus. Dio writeth, that this man by some was reported to be *adversus*, i.e. the brothers son, others *advocatus*, i.e. the brother of Mar. Marcellus. But S. Iovius saith plainly, he was the brothers son.

705
L. Lentulus, C. Marcellus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus, as also Appian, Plutarch, Horius, Florus, and Cicero in his Epistles do testify. Dio calleth these Consuls

L. Cornelius, son of Publius Lentulus; and C. Claudius son of Marcus Marcellus. In the broken marbles of the Capitoll it is to be leen thus, C. Claudius son of Marcus, nephew of Marcus Marcellus. This is that Lucius Lentulus Cris, who as Calvus testifieth in the former election took a repulse, and by Cicero is called in the Oration against Vatinius, Flamen Martialis.

706
C. Caesar, P. Servilius.

When Cn. Caesar the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election in the latter end of the former year, Consuls there were created Cn. Julius, son of Cn. Caesar, and Pub. Servilius, son of Publius Isauricus. For now was the year come, when as Caesar by the laws might be chosen Consul: for so in the third book of his own Commentaries he saith himself, and so Dio in his one and fortieth book, Plutarch, Tranquillus, Appianus and Cassiodorus do testify of him. But he meant that law which expressly forbad and debarred, that no man might be within ten years space chosen Cons. twice. As for Publius Servilius, he was the son of that Publius Servilius that first took the surname Isauricus, who this year bare his Consulship at Rome, while Caesar warred in Macedonia.

707
Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Vatinius.

Dio saith, That the people of Rome having intelligence that Pompeius was murdered, endeavoured earnestly that there might pass as honourable decrees for Caesar the Conqueror as possible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Consul five years together, and Dictator not for six months as before-time, but a whole year; and ended with the Tribunes authority for ever. Now Caesar, albe it he was without *Id. Id.* immediately entred upon his Dictatorship, having sub-ordained under him for his General of the horse, Mar. Antonius, a man who yet had not been Prætor. This appeareth by the Capitoll records, Dio, Plutarch, and Cicero in his second Philippica. But under what pretence and colour Caesar took upon him this Dictatorship and the rest following, Marcus Antonius sheweth in his Oration of Caesar's praise in Dio: wherein he saith, that Caesar was created Dictator to make head against the enemies, and therefore the troubles and dissensions of war was the cause of this creation. But certain it is that Caesar became Dictator for another cause, namely that by the means of that sovereign power, he might draw unto himself alone the whole managing and government of the State, which beforetime had been administered by many persons. But Dio addeth moreover and saith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Prætors nor Consuls created. For Marcus Antonius General of the horse, arrayed in his purple robes, with six Lictors, making way before him, resembled a

Y y y certain

certain shew of the ancient liberty. But within a while after he departed forth of the City, and that which never was before done by any Master of the horse, he left *Lu. Caesar* an aged man, Provost and governor of *Rome*. Howbeit, in the end of the year, after the recovery and conquest of *Egypt*, when King *Ptolemeus* was slain, and *Pharnaces* K. of *Pontus* vanquished: Consuls were created, *Q. Ensius*, son of *Quintus*, *Calenus* and *Pub. Vatinius*, son of *Publius*. And these the Capitoll tables do shew, and *Cassiodorus* also. Of *Publius Vatinius* Consul, *Macrobius* in his second book maketh mention,

708

C. Caesar. M. Lepidus.

Verrins in his capitoll tables setteth forth Consuls of this year, only without ever a Dictator. The stone record of *Colonia*, whereof *Onuphrius* speaketh here, nameth *C. Julius Caesar* the third time, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*. But *Dio* in his three and fortieth book, The next year following (quoth he) he bare the Dictatorship and the Consul both, the third time, and took unto him for his Colleague in both Magistracies, *M. Emilius Lepidus*. Of the same mind seemeth *Tranquillus* to be in *Caesar*, chap. seventy six. Likewise *Hirtius* in the fit book, But *Onuphrius* suppoeth that both *Tranquillus* and *Dio*, yea, and *Hirtius* also was in an error. For with the capitoll records, *Plutarch* and *Enriprius* agree: who write that *Caesar* this year was Consul the third time with *M. Lepidus*, and Dictator the second time.

709

C. Caesar. Q. Maximus.

They who cut the capitoll marbles, do shew unto us that *Caesar* this year was third time Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horse. From whom *Dio* differeth: who doth report that this year *Caesar* was Dictator the 4 time, and *Lepidus* second time Master of the horse: also that *Lepidus* tellow Consul with *Caesar*, declared himself against all law, Generall of the horse. Thus much of the Dictator. But as touching the Consuls this year, there is to be seen written in the Index or table of *Dio*, that the same year *Caesar* bare his fourth Dictatorship, and likewise his fourth Consul with out Colleague. In that history also it appeareth, that *Caesar* presently entred upon his fourth Consul. But bare it not throughout the whole year: and that so soon as he was returned to *Rome* out of *Spain*, he resigned and substituted in his place for the rest of the year, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Cn. Trebonius*. With *Dio*, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments: wherein it appeareth that *Caesar* was the fourth time Consul, and that without a Colleague: as *Sigonius* maketh interpretation. For *Cyprianus* Kalender. together with the Sicilian registers, do shew that *Caesar* was Consul now alone the fourth time. In like

manner, *Appian* and *Plutarch* make mention of *Caesar*, who being Consul elect from the fourth time led an army into *Spain*. As for *Q. Fabius*, *Suetonius* calleth him a three months Consul. *Dio* saith moreover, that *Caesar* upon the death of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, declared the very last day of the year, *C. Caninius* to be the Consul for those few hours that were behind. Whereof *Cicero* in his seventh book of Epistles, writing to *Curius*, *Macrobius* in his second book of *Saturallia*, *Tacitus* in his eighteenth book, *Pliny* in his seventh, and *Suetonius* in *Caesar* do make report.

710

C. Caesar. M. Antonius.

Dio setteth down for this year *Caesar* Dictator the fifth time, together with *M. Emilius Lepidus* Master of the horse. But the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time. *Dio* and *Appian* write that he created himself Consul together with *M. Antonius*. Likewise *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers give records that *Caesar* was this year Consul the fifth time, together with *M. Antonius*. And *Macrobius* in his first book speaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the capitoll and Colotian tables, that *C. Caesar* was Consul the fifth time, with *M. Antonius* son of *M.* and that in the room of *Caesar* there was chosen *P. Cornelius* son of *Publius*. And this was *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom *Caesar* himself (if he had lived) meant to have substituted in his own room. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Caesar* Consul now the fifth time took unto him for his companion in government *M. Antonius*. And when as he would have subordained *Dolabella* in his own stead, *Antonius* grained it in an oration: and afterwards, when *Caesar* a second time would have had *Dolabella* to be declared Consul, and still *Antonius* crossed and withstood it, *Caesar* gave over his enterprise. But after *Caesar* was murdered, *Antonius* (as *Dio* writeth) fearing some insurrection and commotion if he should have rejected *Dolabella*, took him into the fellowship of government. *Appian* saith, that immediately after *Caesar* was killed, *Dolabella* entred into the Magistracy. So saith *Velleius* also. And this verily was the year, in which the conspiracy was contrived against *Caesar*, whereof the captains were *M. and Decimus* both *Brutus*, *C. Trebonius* & *C. Cassius*: and upon the fiftenth day of *March*, when he sat in Council together with the Senat in the court of *Pompey*, he was was stabbed, and received in his body three and twenty wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat seized the capitoll. And *C. Octavius* his nephew, or fifters son, whom *Caesar* had made in his will his half-her, and adopted to bear his own name, came out of *Epirus*, whither *Caesar* had sent him before, minding to make war upon the *Parthians*, and after all lucky and happy proceedings, took up on him the name of *Caesar*, according to his last will and testament.

711

711
C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Dio *Cassiodorus*, and the rest, nominate Consuls for this year, *C. Vibius Pansa* *Capronianus*, and *A. Hirtius*, son of *Julius*. *Cyprianus* book sheweth *Cretonius* and *Hirtius*. Whereby it may be understood, that *Cretonius* was the surname of *Pansa*, but peradventure written for *Capronianus*. In the Colotian table they are named *C. Vibius*, son of *Caius*, and *A. Hirtius*, son of *Hirtius*. This *Hirtius* was one of their sons who were out-lawed by *Sulla*, and whom *Caesar* (as *Dio* reporteth) advanced to honorable dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the year following, were by *Caesar* elected and defined thereto, before he was slain. *Dio*, *Appian*, and others report, that of these two Consuls, *Hirtius* in the time of the civil war, in a battell before *Modena* against *Antonius* was slain: and *Pansio* some daies after, upon a hurt received in the same fight, died at *Bononia*. In the room of *Pansa*, *C. Octavius* was sub-elected Consul, the nineteenth of *August* in the same year, and he instead of *Hirtius*, took unto him for his Colleague *Q. Papius*.

712

M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records put down for Consuls, *M. Lepidus* and *L. Plancus*. *Dio*, *M. Emilius* son of *Lucius* surnamed *Plancus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* speaketh in *Tiberius*, saying, That *Tiberius* was born after the battell of *Philippi*: when *Mar. Emilius* *Lepidus* was the second time Consul with *Manatius* *Plancus*. Now had there been before appointed Consuls against this year by *Caesar*, *D. Brutus* and *Lu. Plancus*. But by reason that *Brutus* the year before was by the law *Pedus* condemned and after killed, and so the three *Triumvirs* usurped the rule of the common-weal: agreed it was, that *M. Lepidus* one of the *Triumvirs* who before time also had been Consul with *Caesar* in his third Consulship, should together with *Plancus*, (who also taking part and siding with *Antonius*, had revolted from the Common-weal) administer the Consul. Moreover, this *Brutus* was by *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dio*, and *Zonaras* called *Albinus*: I suppose, for that out of the race of the *Bruti* he was adopted and incorporated into the house of the *Albini*. In this year, during the civil war, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slain in battell before *Philippi*; as *Dio*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and others write.

713

P. Servilius II. L. Antonius.

The Colotian tables, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* match Consuls together for this year, *Lu. Antonius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Pietas*, and *P. Servilius* son of *Publius*, surnamed *Isternicus*, the second time. Of these Consuls, *Suetonius* writeth in

Tiberius, This *P. Servilius* was first Consul with *Caesar* in his second Consulship: whose latter *Isternicus* died a little before, as *Dio* and *Ensebius* report. As for *L. Antonius*, named here by *Dio* *Pietas*, for that being Consul, he together with *Fulvia* the wife of his brother *Maximus* managed the affairs of it with that mind, as if his whole care had been for his brother the *Triumvir*, in regard of which brotherly and affectionate conduct, he challenged the surname of *Pietas*.

714

Cn. Domitius. C. A. Antonius.

A Colotian table, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* joyne in the Consulship of this year, *Cn. Domitius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Calvus*, the second time; and *C. A. Antonius* son of *Caius*, surnamed *Pietas*. Of these *Josephus* speaketh in his fourteenth book of the *Jews* antiquities and three and twenty chapter. Toward the end of this year, *Dio* writeth, that these Consuls gave up their place, and that other Consuls were substituted for those few daies that were to come: and one of them was *L. Cornilius* *Ballus* surnamed *Gadus*. And therefore in the Colotian table these subordained Consuls stand under their names, *L. Cornilius* son of *Lucius*, and *P. Canidius* son of *Lucius*. Of *Pub. Cornelius* *Ballus* Consul, *Plutarch* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter, and *Velleius* in his second book.

715

L. Cornificius. L. Calpurnius.

Cassiodorus inquired for the next Consuls, *L. Cornificius* and *Cn. C. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian records have *Cornificius* and *Sabinus*. *Dio*, *L. Martius* and *C. S. Brutus*. *C. S.* surnamed *Calvus* is named by *Dio* in the common-weal table, *Sabinus*, although it be read there commonly, but amiss, *Asinius*.

716

Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanus.

Consuls that follow, were *Ap. Claudius* and *C. Norbanus* as *Cyprianus* saith. But as the Sicilian registers purport, *C. Serranus* and *Sabinus*: as *Dio* writeth, *Ap. Claudius* son of *Caius*, *Pulcher*; and *C. Norbanus*, son of *C. Sabinus* *Plancus*. As touching *L. Aemilius* the Consul elect, and substitute in the room of another, who before he entred into government being terrified with the minatory threats of *C. Caesar*, threw himself down headlong, and to brake his neck, see *Tranquillus* in *Augustus*.

717

M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Lu. Caninius*. The Sicilian registers *Agrippa* and *Gallus*. *Dio*, *M. P. P. P.* son of *Lucius*, *Gallus*, *Josephus* in his fiftenth book of Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls, *Mar. Agrippa* and *C. Caninius* *Gallus*. *Neppi* also in the life of *Atticus*, calleth *Vipsianus* *Agrippa*. In the capitoll
Y y y y marbles

marbles and in other old monuments of Rome his gentle name is passed over, and namely, in the forefront of the Temple, called *Pantheon*, wherein is engraven *M. Agrippa* son of *Lucius*, Consul the third time. *Tacitus* also in his first book mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718
L. Gellius, M. Cocceius.

Agrippodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *L. Gellius* and *M. Cocceius*. The Sicilian records shew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: *Dio* hath *Lu. Gellius* son of *Lucius Popiculus*, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*. Out of the capitoll fragments it appeareth, that *L. Gellius* was the son of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of *Dionysius*, *Gellius* was brother to *M. Valerius Messala*. For it is the time man who was pardoned before by *M. Brutus* whereby it may be understood, that *Popiculus* was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellii* but the *Valerii*; that carried the surname of *Publicola*. The same fragments do shew, that the said *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his room. And happily it was *L. Munatius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Plancus*: whom *Pliny* in his thirteenth book and third chapter, saith to have been twice Consul: but in what year he was the second time a man cannot find, unless it were in this.

719
Sext. Pompeius, L. Cornificius.

Agrippodorus and the Sicilian records testifie, that this years Consuls were *Sext. Pompeius* and *L. Cornificius*. *Dio* *L. Cornificius* son of *Lucius*, and *Sextus Pompeius* son of *Sextus*. This year *Sext. Pompeius* son of *Cicero* was slain.

720
M. Antonius, L. Scribonius Libo.

Agrippodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Lu. Scribonius* and *Lu. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue *Antonius* and *Libo*. *Dio*, *M. Antonius* son of *Marcus* the second time, and *L. Scribonius* son of *Lucius Libo*. The same *Dio* saith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, presently upon the very Calends of January gave over the Magistracy and substituted in his own self *Lu. Scribonius Atratinus*: and therefore may there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Consul this year with *Libo*. That Consuls also were sub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in some authors that have set forth the Municipal Annals. And verily *Dio* maketh mention of *Paulus Aemilius* Consul, for one part of the year; and that he built a stately porch or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Consulship.

721
C. Caesar, L. Volcatius.

Agrippodorus exhibiteth unto us for Consuls, *C. Caesar* and *L. Volcatius*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the

second time, and *L. Volcatius* son of *Lucius Tullus*. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very unjustly set down *Caesar* and *Cicero* for this years Consuls. Of this Consulship of *Caesar*, *Suetonius* and *Dio* speak, saying, that he held it very few hours, as *Antonius* also beforetime. Instead of *Caesar* was *Lu. Antonius* subrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book entituled, *Old inscriptions*, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor *Caesar II.* *L. Volcatius*,
Kal. Januarii, *L. Antonius*,
Kal. Maii, *L. Flavius*,
Kal. Iulii, *M. Atilius*,
C. Fontius,
Kal. Sept. *L. Vinicius*,
Kal. Octob. *L. Lenonius*,
Of *L. Flavius* made Consul by *M. Antonius*,
and deposed *Dio* likewise maketh mention.

722
Cn. Domitius, C. Sossus.

Agrippodorus nominateth for Consuls this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sossus*. The Sicilian records, *Exobarbus* and *Sossus*. *Dio* *Cn. Domitius* son of *Cn. Domitius*, nephew of *Cn. Exobarbus*; and *C. Sossus* son of *C. Sossus*, nephew of *Cn. Nepos* writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sossus* were Consuls.

723
C. Caesar II., M. Messala.

Agrippodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *C. Caesar* the second time, and *M. Messala*. The Sicilian registers, *Othavians* and *Corvinus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the third time, and *M. Valerius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Messala Corvinus*; and that right truly. For *C. Agrippodorus* maketh no reckoning of that Consulship of *Caesar* which he bare with *Pedius*, because he was subordinated in the place with another. But *Dio* and *Appian* do witness that *Caesar* and *Antony* were married together this year, both of them in their second Consulship, at what time as upon peace made with *Sextus Pompeius*, they were appointed Consuls beforehand for eight years next ensuing: howbeit, in the first year the people turned *Antony* out of his Consulship, and proclaimed war against him and *Cleopatra*, and so in his place was *Mar. Messala* declared Consul. As touching the Consuls this year subordinated, thus we find written in the ancient inscriptions:

Emperor *Caesar III.* *M. Valerius*,
Kal. Maii, *M. Titus*,
Kal. Octobris, *Cn. Pompeius*.

724
C. Caesar III., M. Crassus.

Agrippodorus nameth for this years Consuls, *C. Caesar* the third time, and *M. Crassus*. The Sicilian records *Othavians* and *Crassus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius* son of *Marcus Crassus*. He added moreover, and saith, *Caesar* in the midst of that water crossed the seas out

of Macedonia into Italy, wherein he was the fourth time Consul with *M. Crassus*. *Orosius* likewise noteth, that *Caesar* called Emperor, was Consul the fourth time with *M. Licinius Crassus*. Of other Consuls substituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inscriptions,

Emperor *Caesar IV.* *M. Licinius*,
Kal. Jul. *C. Antistius*,
Ibid. Septembr. *M. Tullius*,
Kal. Novembr. *L. Senius*.

Of *M. Tullius* Consul with *Augustus*, *Dio* maketh mention in his story of this years acts. *Pliny* also in his 22 book and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Velleius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antistius* had for addition the surname of *Vetus* and *Senius* of *Sevinius*.

725
C. Caesar III., Sex. Apuleius.

In *Agrippodorus* the Consuls be *C. Caesar* the fourth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. In *Dio*, *Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius* son of *Sext.* In the Sicilian records, *Othavians* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inscriptions, Emperor *Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. *Dio* saith, this was the year 725 from the foundation of the City. Of *Caesar* five times Consul, there is to be seen an old Epigram or inscription in this manner.

Senatus Populusque Romanus,
Imp. C. Divi Julii Fil. C. C. Quinte,
C. C. Desig. Sext. Imp. Sept.
Resp. conferuere.

That is,
The Senat and people of Rome. By Emperor *Caesar*, son of *Julius* of famous memory, Consul five times, elect Consul the sixth time, and Emperor the seventh, the Commonwealth saved.

726
C. Caesar V., M. Agrippa II.

Agrippodorus declareth for Consuls this year, *Caesar* the fifth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time. *Orosius* and the Sicilian records, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *Agrippa* the second time. *Dio*, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *M. Agrippa* the third time: but it is to be read the second time, as *Sigonius* advertiseth, so as the next year it should be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the superscription of that Temple (which he erected and named *Pantheon*) in this form, [*M. Agrippa* son of *L. third time Consul built it.*] For *Dio* saith, that this Temple was finished two years after that he was Consul with *Agrippa* the seventh time Consul, in which year himself bare his third Consulship, and not the fourth. For otherwise in the front of the said Temple, he would have written, [*Consul the fourth time.*]

727
C. Caesar VI., M. Agrippa III.

Agrippodorus saith, that the next Consuls were *Caesar* the sixth time, and *Mar. Agrippa* the

third time. But *Dio*, *Caesar* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written *Othavians* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728
C. Augustus Caesar VII., T. Statilius.

Agrippodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the seventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments, *Othavians* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. *Dio*, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the second time. For he had been Consul first, for a part of the year, anno 727 and now is the second time: of whom *Suetonius* writeth thus in *Nero*; *Nero* took to wife *Statilia Messalina*, daughter (in the fourth descent) of *Taurus*, one who had been twice Consul, and also triumphant: he writeth also, that *Augustus* entered upon his eighth and ninth Consul at *Tarraco*.

729
C. Caesar Augustus VIII., M. Silvanus.

Agrippodorus sheweth for Consuls next, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *M. Silvanus*. *Dio* and the Sicilian records, *Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Silvanus*. A fragment of the capitoll, Emperor *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Junius Silvanus*. This year *Augustus* *Caesar* was Emperor the eighth time, and shut up the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time now that ever it was shut: which he had let open before in regard of certain wars, as *Dio* reporteth.

730
C. Caesar Augustus IX., C. Norbanus.

Agrippodorus putteth down for this years Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. *Dio* and a fragment of the capitoll make *Augustus* the tenth time and *C. Norbanus* Florent. This *Norbanus* seemeth to be the son of *C. Norbanus* the Consul, anno 716, for he had not the numerical note testifying a second Consulship.

731
C. Caesar Augustus X., Cn. Piso.

Agrippodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the tenth time, and *Cn. Piso*. The Sicilian records, *Augustus* the eleventh time, and *Piso*. And *Dio*, *Augustus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius* son of *Cn. Piso*. By a fragment of the capitoll stone it appeareth that *Augustus* entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with *Aulus Terentius Varro Murena*: also that *Murena* died in his Magistracy, in whose stead was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*; of which matter *Dio* thus writeth: *Augustus* went to the Alban hill, and there resigned up

the Consulship. For whereas both he himself and many others, ever since the time that the C.W. was set in frame and established, had born the yearly Magistracy, he thought that from thence forwards he was to forbear the same; to the end, that the honourable dignity of Consuls should be open to as many as might be. And this did he without the City, because he would not be hindered and letted in the actions; and therewith substituted in his place *Lucius Sestius*, a man that of all others most affected and loved *Brutus*; who also wrote of his praises and commendable parts.

732

M. Marcellus, L. Arminius.

This year had for Consuls, as faith *Castellodorus*, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Arminius*; as *Dio*, *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Agrrippinus* son of *Lucius*. In the Capitoll table these Consuls are thus set down, *L. Arminius* son of *L.*, nephew of *L.*, and *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to understand, that in the Sicilian records the Consuls are not well put down to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, and *Arminius*. In this year, the conspiracy of *Pannius Capio* and *Varro Marviana* against *Augustus* was discovered; and the Temple of thundering *Jupiter* was dedicated, witness *Dio*.

733

M. Lollius, Q. Lepidus.

The Colotian stone and *Castellodorus* shew for this year Consuls, *Q. Aemilius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*. *Dio* writeth, when *Augustus* was in *Sicily*, and the people of *Rome* at the assembly for Consuls election, there arose a sedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* only entered upon the government, by reason that the other place was reserved and kept for *Augustus*; but when he made refusal, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of these Consuls *Horace* in his first book of Epistles writeth thus:

*Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.*

Know he, that 40 winters old and four, I was this year,
At *Rome* when Consul *Lollius*, chose *Lepidus* his peer.

734

M. Apuleius, P. Silius.

After *Castellodorus*, the Consuls that followed for this year, were *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in *Dio*, *M. Apuleius* son of *Sex-tus*, and *Publius Silius* son of *Publius Nerva*. In the Sicilian records, *Apuleius* and *Nerva*.

735

C. Sentius, Q. Lucretius.

The Colotian stone, *Ensebin* in his treatise of Times, *Dio* and *Castellodorus* set forth as Consuls this year, *Caius Sentius*, son of *Caius*,

Saturninus and *Quintus Lucretius* son of *Quintus Pispillo*. Of this years consuls thus writeth *Dio*, *Caius Sentius* was declared Consul: but for that there was to be given him a companion, and *Augustus* refused the second place of Consulship reserved for him, there arose a sedition, until *Augustus* pronounced Consul *Quintus Lucretius* one of the Embassadors, whom the Senat had sent unto him about the appeasing of the foresaid sedition; notwithstanding he was a man in times past proscribed and outlawed. The same writeth *Velleius* in the second book. In the broken Colotian stone it is to be read, that the Consul elected instead of *Sentius Saturninus*, was *Mar. Vinicius* son of *Marcus*, *Velleius*, unto *Vinicius* adjoyneth as Colleague, *Agrippa*. In this year, after the first ten years were expired, for which space *Augustus* together with *Agrippa* at the first received the Censorial authority and dignity, he was created a second time by the people over-seer of mens behaviour for the term of five years; and resumed the Censors power for the same time, and the Consular authority for ever. So as, at all times, and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and be allowed to take his place and sit with the Consuls.

736

Cn. Lentulus, P. Lentulus.

Publius Cornelius son of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellinus* and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Lucius* are set down for Consuls by the Colotian stone table; by *Dio* also and *Castellodorus*. In this year *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authority of the Emperour *Caesar Augustus*, obtained of the Senat and people of *Rome* the Tribunian power for five years.

737

C. Furnius, C. Silanus.

Here succeeded Consuls next, according to *Castellodorus*, *C. Furnius* and *C. Silanus*. After *Dio*, *C. Furnius* son of *C.* and *C. Junius* son of *Caius Silanus*. But in the Colotian fragment, *C. Furnius* son of *Caius*, and *C. Junius*. Whiles *C. Furnius* and *C. Junius Silanus* were Consuls, the solemn plaies, called *Seculares* were now the first time let out by *Augustus*, as *Comperinus* and *Dio* affirm.

738

L. Domitius, P. Scipio.

Castellodorus nameth for Consuls, *Lucius Domitius* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and *Cornelius*. *Dio*, *L. Domitius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, *Enobarbus*; and *P. Cornelius* son of *P.*, nephew of *Publius Scipio*. In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it standeth, that for *P. Cornelius* there was substituted *L. T.*, i.e. *Tiberius*; of whom *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and seventh chapter writeth thus, *L. Tiberius Rufus*, a man most able for his

parentage,

parentage, deserved a Consul under *Augustus Caesar* of happy memory, only for his military service. In this Consuls year was the Quinquennial solemnity performed, as writeth *Dio*, in memoriall of the Empire of *Augustus* and *Agrippa* one of the Quindecemvirs, had the ordering and setting out thereof.

M. Valerius, M.F.,
C. Volgius, C.F.,
Suff. C. Caninius.

Likewise in *Cuspinian* his Calender, these Consuls are written with their surnames:

M. Vala Quirinus,
Rebula Saturninus,
Maximus Tubero.

M. Drusus, L. Piso.

The Consuls next following, were *M. Drusus* and *L. Piso*, as *Castellodorus* faith. The Sicilian registers name them *Libo* and *Piso*. *Dio*, *M. Livius* son of *Lucius*, *Drusus Libo*; and *L. Calphurnius* son of *Lucius Piso*, *M. Drusus* son of *Marcus*. L. according to the Colotian fragment.

740

Cn. Lentulus, M. Crassus.

This year next following had for Consuls, after *Castellodorus*, and the Sicilian monuments, *Cn. Lentulus* and *M. Crassus* whom *Dio* calleth, *M. Licinius* son of *Marcus Crassus*; and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Cnatus Lentulus*. The Colotian fragment sheweth *Marcus Licinius* son of *Marcus*.

T. Nero, P. Quintilius

Tiberius Nero, and *P. Quintilius* were Consuls this year, as *Castellodorus* reporteth. They are named *Nero* and *Varus* in the Sicilian Catalogue, and *Dio* calleth them *Titus Claudius* son of *Tiberius Nero*; and *P. Quintilius*, son of *Sexsus Varus*. The Colotian fragment, *Tiberius Claudius* son of *T.* *Suetonius* writeth, that *Tiberius* bare his first Consulship but a few daies. For this is that *Tiberius Nero*, *Augustus Caesars* wives son, who after the death of *Augustus*, attained to the Empire, having been first by him adopted.

742

M. Messala, P. Sulpitius.

Castellodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Messala* and *P. Sulpitius*. The Sicilian records, *Messala* and *Quirinus*. *Dio*, *M. Valerius* son of *Marcus*, *Messala Barbatus*; and *P. Sulpitius* son of *Publius Quirinus*: of whom *Suetonius* in *Claudius*, and *Tacitus* in his second book write. Moreover, this is that *Sulpitius Quirinus*, who by *Josephus* in the seventeenth book of antiquities and first chapter, is said to have born the Consular dignity, and was Lieutenant in *Syria*. At which time, our Lord *Jesus Christ* the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, was born: of whom *Saint Luke* maketh mention, saying, This was the first enrolment or taxation which was made by *Quirinus* President and governour of *Syria*. After these Consuls, others were substituted in their place, as the Colotian stone sheweth, wherein it is thus read:

By which it appeareth that *Rebula* and *Saturninus* were the surnames of *Caninius* & *Volgius*. By a fragment of the capitoll marble it is evident, that the surnames of *Valerius* was *Aemilianus*; of *Volgius*, *Rufus*; and *Rebula* of *Caninius*; and that as *Rufus* was put in the place of *Valerius*, so *Rebula* instead of *Rufus*. There remaineth also the memoriall of *Rebula* and *Saturninus* in the Sicilian records. In this year, *Dio* reporteth, that *Augustus* was a second time made over-seer for mens manners and demeanours five years more; and that he resumed still the same authority by times; as also the Empire, and therein *Agrippa* died.

743

P. Fabius, Q. Aelius.

Castellodorus exhibiteth for this years Consuls, *Paulus Fabius* and *Q. Aelius*. *Dio*, *Paulus Fabius*, son of *Quintus Maximus* and *Tubero*. Of *Q. Aelius Tubero*, and *P. Fabius Maximus* Consuls, *Frontinus* speaketh of in his book of water-conduits; and *Pliny* in his eighth book and seventh chapter, where he writeth, that the Theater of *Marcellus* was dedicated when *Quintus Tubero* and *Fabius Max.* were Consuls.

744

Julius Antonius, Q. Fabius.

Castellodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *Julius Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dio*, *Jul. Antonius Africanus*, and *Q. Fabius* son of *Quintus Maximus*. The Sicilian Catalogue and Calender of *Cuspinian*, shew *Africanus* and *Maximus*. *Dio* nameth *Julius*, the son of *Antonius*. Unto him *Horace* writeth in this manner:

*Pindarum quisquis studet amulari
Iule, cerat is ope Dadalus,
Nictur pennis &c.*

With wings devis'd by *Dadalus*
And glew'd with wax, they flee:
Who strive (O *Iule*) with *Pindarus*
To match his Poetry.

And after,
Tendis (Anton) quates in alas
Nubium trahis.

— O *Antonius*, so swift
As he doth mount the clouds aloft.

745
Drusus Nero, Titus Quintus.

Here succeeded Coss. according to *Cassiodorus*, *Drusus Nero*, and *T. Quintus*; but after *Dionysius*, *Nero Claudius*, son of *Tiberius Drusus* and *T. Quintus*, son of *Titus Crispinus*, *Drusus* and *Crispinus*, by *Culpinian* Calender and the Sicili-

an registers. This *Drusus* brother of *Tiberius Nero* was *Augustus Caesar's* wives son; who being Consul, died in *Germany*, and both he and his children had the surname of *Germanicus*, as *Dio* writeth; which addition the Senat gave him first of that Province, as *Ensepius* saith. With the death of this *Drusus* endeth *Livy's* histories: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Look in the said Breviary.

To the Reader.

I doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the Roman story above-written, will presently grow into a liking of the very place, which hath afforded so worthy persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to Rome, only to see the river *Tyberis*, these seven hills, and the monuments remaining of that famous City. The journey they have found, for way long and tedious; for expense of money heavy and chargeable; for hazard of religion, conscience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: for degenerate are the inhabitants now from that ancient people so devout, so virtuous and incorrupt, in oldtime. To satisfy the Readers in this behalf, and to avoid the perill of that travell, I thought it not amiss to bring Rome (as it were) home to them, even to represent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to say, the description of the places, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruins of those antique buildings, mentioned in the story aforesaid. And forasmuch as *Bartholomew Marlianus* hath herein taken pains, and made a Treatise thereof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memory, *Francis the French King*, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that those learned men, who last set *Livy* forth in print, have thought good to adorn thereto, as a necessary dependant, the foresaid Treatise: I for my part, having struggled with the difficulties of the Alps, and in some sort overcome them; crossed Rhine, and the *Pois* passed over the hills *Olympus* and *Æmus*, and forwaded through the rough freights of *Thetis* and *Tempe*, seem now I would not at my return to stick at the pleasant mount, *Palatine*, *Capitol*, *Aventin*, &c. with the plains and valleys between, or the river *Tyber* and *Mars* field underneath, beautified especially with such flatly Temples, triumphal Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Circuses, Columns, and Colosses, wonders of the world. And albeit I found *Marlian* far unlike himself, and the book that goeth in his name much corrupt in the print, yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the faults, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latine.

A Summary collected by *John Bartholomew Marlianus*, a Gentleman of *Millan*, touching the Topography of Rome in ancient time.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the City.

Before we enterprise to shew the edifices and buildings of the City of Rome, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortal gods; with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult work, to lay their first ground and make their entrance.

The Capitol hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 800 foot in length; it lyeth out toward the Northwest 150. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle; and in compais containeth well-near seven furlongs.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the *Palatine* hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with four angles of unequal sides, containing 1500 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the *Capitoline* hill: a second of seven hundred foot, bendeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount *Calvus*: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the lists or show-place, called *Circus Maximus*, directly regardeth the *Aventine*. On the second side thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the *Forum Rom.* to the utmost skirt of the hill *Quirinalis*, which bendeth toward the *Subura*, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lieth out in length almost a mile from both sides, between the *Capitol*, the *Forum Nove*, and the mount *Calvus*: in like manner from the said mount *Calvus* and *Palatine*, *Subura* and the *Esquilina*, as far as to the Church of *Saint Marcelline*. A second plain there is, under

under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of *Marcellus*, which stretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it self, as far as to the *Tyber*; and anon over-against the valley from the crooked reach and confluence of the river, and the nook whereby the *Aventine* is divided from the *Palatine*, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards between the said hills it groweth narrow, until it come to *Cololus* and the very gate *Capena*, where the *Aventine* is parted from *Calvus* only by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, *Tyber* and the *Aventine*; on the left, *Capitoline* mount, the *Palatine*, and *Calvus*.

Then followeth the mount *Calvus* (separate from the *Palatine* by a plain) resembling a pyramidal form of a spire, so as the base thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the time it is by the street *Appia*, fast by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate *Capena*, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, between *Calvus* and *Cololus* lying out in length 4 *Stadia* and within a while to the wals which joyn close to the mount *Calvus* as far as to the gate *Agnaria*. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 *Stadia*, toward the Northeast. From hence the wals meet afront for the space of two *Stadia*, even to the gate *Navia*: from whence as they turn to the Northeast, it is parted from the *Esquilina* by the street *Labicana*: and anon shewing it self afront near *S. Marcelline*, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover the *Calvus* is enclosed within the said valley, the street *Appia*, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the City wals: and hath in compais well-near a mile.

The *Aventine* seemeth to contain two hills: the broader part whereof toward the *Tyber*, and in like manner in length from *Tyber* along the wals, and anon near the gate *Hofstensis*, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque and the mount *Calvus*: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount *Calvus* by the street *Appia*, until you come to the gate *Capena*. It had in compais 18 *Stadia*, as *Dionysius* also testifieth; and on the Southeast, a most spacious and large plain of 4 unequal sides: toward the South containing almost 6 *Stadia*, Westward five, somewhat less Eastward, but toward the *Tyber* not above four.

The *Esquilina* on the South part is divided with the street *Labicana*; on the Northwest, with the valley lying between *Calvus*, *Palatine*, and it self: on the North the *Subura*; and from the *Viminal* hill, the street called *Patricius* parteth it, until a man come to the bath of *Diocles*. In circuit it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form: inasmuch as *Farrus* (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and cutteth it into many parts.

The *Viminal* hill on the West side regardeth the *Quirinal*, having about a furlong space the plain *Subura* lying between: on the North it hath the valley *Quirinalis*. Between the same hills there lyeth as it were 4 *ingera* in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the *Quirinal* and *Esquilina* along the wall of the City, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby these mountains are made even. The compais thereof taketh up two miles and an half: the form thereof is longwise, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The *Quirinal* mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [*Militarium*] for the space of 4 *Stadia*, over-looketh the level plot of the City which lieth Westward: but on the right hand (as clearly appeareth by that which we have said) it is opposite to the *Viminalis* on the third side Northward, for the space of 6 *Stadia*, it lieth to the hill called [*Hortulorum*]. It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 *ingera*, reaching near to the gate *Salaria*: and in the whole compais it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill *Hortulorum*, although it standeth without the old pomary of the city: for the space of 3 *Stadia* it beareth over the valley *Martia* lying between it and *Tyber*. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate *Flaminiana* to *Collina*, a full mile more than any other hill. The circumference thereof is much about 18 *Stadia*.

There remaineth now the mount *Janiculum*, on the other side of *Tyber*: the one half thereof and not above is contained within the wals: from the *Vatican* plain, for the space of 3 *Stadia*, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the wals, for the compais of five *Stadia*.

Moreover, above the *Vatican* plain, there is a little hill of the same nature which purrth forth two points like horns: the one toward *Janiculum*, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexity or outward compais whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and base plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate *Flaminia* at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almost of 8 *Stadia*, environed with the hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*: but on the West side, the *Tyber* runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a straight and direct line being drawn for two *Stadia* from the hill *Hortulorum*, and namely, where it over-looketh the *Pierre of Domitian* called *Nymphaea*: along the bank of *Tyberis*, over-against the *Pile Hadriani*, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is let the valley *Martia*, namely as much as lieth between the hill *Hortulorum*, the wall of the City, and *Tyberis*: so as the breadth draweth narrower still unto the gate *Flaminia*.

There resteth yet the Transtiberin region, which together with the *Janiculum*, taketh in compais about three miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channel of

Tyberis; which entering into the city, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate *Flaminia* through the vale *Martia*, and soon after by little and little turneth from the North, Westward, and representeth the form of a semicircle, in the convexity whereof is the *Vatican*, and within the concavity, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the *Moles* or pile (*Hadrian*) returning to his former course, as far as to the utmost foot of the *Aventine*, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not far from the gate *Portuensis* it runneth forth of the city.

Thus much concerning the situation and form of *Rome*, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so far changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memorial of it, as it was in old time.

CHAP. II.

Of the founders of the City of Rome, the KK, and Inhabitants thereof.

The region (on which *Rome* was after built) West of *Tyber*, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the *Sicilians* (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the *Aborigines* leaving *Arcadia*, by the conduct of *Oenonymus* the son of *Lycanor*, came into the laid quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof, they expelled the *Sicilians*, and held it for their own use. In process of time the *Pelagians*, a people of *Greece*, together with the *Thessalians*, who came to aid the *Aborigines* against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said *Aborigines*) until the Trojan war: but they all retained the name of the *Aborigines*, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that feignory and kingdom. Long time after, *Saturn* being chased out of *Crete* by *Jupiter* his son, fled into *Italy*: where he taught *Janus* the King of the *Aborigines* the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely scotfed by *Janus* in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of *Janus* enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the *Arcadians*, who forsook the city *Palantium* (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now *Rome* standeth: received of *Faunus* the K. of the *Aborigines*, a portion of ground: built a fort upon a little hill not far from *Tyber*, and named it *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the *Peloponnesians*, *Phanetians*, and *Epians*, by reason that *Elys* their native country was wasted before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into *Italy*, and they planted themselves upon the mount *Saturnine*. These men lived along time according to their own laws and customs, until they being vanquished and subdued by the *Aborigines*, were incorporated by them into one commonly. Then reigned *Latinus* the son of *Faunus*, until such time as *Evander* the son of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and final ruin of *Ilium*, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the Trojans his companions, came by the instinct of the destinies to K. *Latinus*. Whose daughter *Lavinia* he took to wife, and so was by *Latinus* admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the *Aborigines* and the Trojans were thus linked and joynted together, he called both nations by the name of *Latines*. Then was *Eneas* wored upon by *Turnus*: for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused and affianced to him before. But *Eneas* won the victory, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinus* died, and left his son in law *Eneas* heir to the crown. certain years after was *Eneas* killed by *Meczentius* K. of the *Tuscan*; and *Ascanius* his son succeeded in the kingdom. He built the towns *Lavinium* and *Alba*: and when he departed this life, made over the crown to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed Kings, *Eneas Sylvius*, *Latinus Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Carys*, *Capetus*, *Tyberinus*, *Agrippas*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Numitor*. This *Numitor* usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of elderhood was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for fear lest there might arise from his brothers off-spring, some one to make claim and recover the royal seat, and thereby himself be thrust out of his place, he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to be a professed Nun, she being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetual virginity, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Numitor* advertised hereof, commanded both the babes to be cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Faustulus* a shepherd upon the bank of the river *Tyber*, and by his wife *Fauslula* fostered and brought up among other shepherds, *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to K. *Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. Whereupon delivered he was to *Numitor* for to be punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Fauslulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they entered into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandfere *Numitor*. In the second year of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the City of *Rome*, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of *Troy*, and the twelfth day before the calends of *May*. Afterwards in a fray that arose between *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the sovereignty, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the City and Citizens also of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The form and bigness of the City of *Romulus*.

Romulus set out the City four square, as *Plutarch* witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called *Quadrata*. Others affirm, that the form and compass thereof is uncertain and by reason of *An* was brought up: at the foot thereof began the *Pomerium*. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman Forum were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the beast-market: from whence in certain places were stories pitched and set between, along the bottom of the mount *Palatine*, as to the altar of *Consius*: and so within a while to the old *Curia*: then, to the Chappel of the *Ves*, and the Roman Forum the bounds were extended, until a place was assigned for the walls, and a spacious plot to build the City upon.

Thus *Latinus* began the wall from the rock *Carmenalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not far from *Tyber*. From thence Southward unto the farthest part of the grand Circus: and so Northward he ranged it into the Forum of *Nerva*, and in the end joynted it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compassed both the Capitol itself, and also the *Palatine*. And finally, to enlarge the City, he set to it the hills *Quirinalis* and *Capit*.

CHAP. IIII.

The gates of *Romulus* his City.

Romulus when he died, left the City of *Rome* with three gates, namely, *Carmenalis*, *Romana*, and *Pandana*. Others add a fourth thereto to wit *Janialis*.

Carmenalis took the name of *Carmen* the mother of *Evander*, whose Chappel *Carmenalis* stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitol on the right hand. Between the cliff *Tarp* and the *Tyber*, over against the Church now of S. *Katherine*, toward the sheew-place of *Minu*. This was afterwards named *Sclerata*, for that without this gate, in the Temple of *Janus*, the act of Senat passed, for the sending of the three hundred *Fabi* to *Crem*, who went forth at this gate, and were slain every one at *Crem*.

Romana was so called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of S. *Mary*, not far from the angle of the mount *Palatine*, in the bottom of the cliff of *Ves*. Some affirm, that this gate was afterwards called *Magonia*, of the loving of king and ex. no others name it *Trigonia*, of three corners that it had.

Pandana was so named, because it stood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The same also was called *Libera* or *Romulida*. The place to it they assigne, where the gate *Sau* stood, bearing the name of the old City so called and after destroyed.

Janialis carried the name of the Temple *Janus*, which is not far off. It stood sometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

CHAP. V.

The variety of the compass and walls of the City.

When the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of *Italy*, and others while defended themselves against their violence, it hapned for the most part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them under their subjection, in the end made them Citizens of *Rome*: by which occasion, the City built by *Romulus*, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. *Tullius* therefore after his conquest of the *Sabins* and *Albans* laid to the City the mountain *Capitol* and the *Esguine*, and so enlarged it. Afterwards when *Politorium* was won, and a number of the inhabitants translated to *Rome*, *An* made a second enlargement of the City, and granted these new comers the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. The old Romans therefore dwelt in *Palatine*; the *Sabins* in *Capitolium*; the *Albans* in *Capitol*; and this new-come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the *Latines* also were received into the City, they joynted *Janiculus* also to the city by a wooden bridge made over the *Tyber*: and call a trench called *Fossa Quiritum* about the low and level places of the city. So the Trans-tyberine quarter was united to the city, and made it more spacious and stately: last of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoining the hills *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the city. And as before it was mounded about with rubbish, and the same rudely laid. *Tullius* the prond was the first that enclosed it with a wall of good ashler stone. And the very same wall which stand at this day, were by the posterity that followed, repaired and redified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when as it flourished in greatest glory, extended far more in bounds and compass, For in *Plinius* time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in these daies hardly 12. And the whole compass of the city, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they spread far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) in the said *Plinius* time, was 50 miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.
The Pomery of the City.

THAT void space of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called *Pomery*. And sometime it is put for the circuit of the whole City. This *Pomery* was oftentimes let out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted so to do, save only they that either conquered somewhat to the Roman dominion, or endowed the City with some singular and especial benefit; as the Emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, so no set bounds confined either the City or the *Pomery*.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, which at this day are not to be seen: those also that are now extant.

EVEN as the bounds of the City and *Pomeryum* were many times altered, so the gates also; some were left within the City, by occasion that the walls were farther set out and lost their names; others in time were so old, that they fell down; and albeit their name remain, yet the place wherethey stood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or else kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were some that had two names; and others, more. And these in manner were all the names of the gates:

Flumentana, or *Flaminia*.
Nomentana, or *Viminalis*.
Esquilina, or *Taurina*.
Capena, or *Appia*.
Tergemina, or *Hofstensis*.
Ratumena, or *Vientana*.
Carmentalis, *Magonia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduscula*, *Saginalis*, *Sanchalis*, *Collatina*, *Intergeres*, *Tiburina*, *Gabinia*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Calatoria*, *Laurentis*, *Fontinalis*, *Lovernalis*, *Ferentina*, *Minutina*, *Salutaria*, *Mutia*, *Picaculata*, *Preneftina*, *Liburnensis*, *Aleria*, and *Tarpeia*.

Flumentana took name of the river *Tyberis*; for it stood at the first upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridge of *Xystus*, in the end of the Broad Street, and at the head of the way or street *Flaminia*; but afterwards, translated it more to the place where now it standeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cauley of *Flaminus*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is situate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

Collatina bare the name of *Collatia*, a town not far from *Rome*: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a senator, whose name it keepeth. This also standeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile space.

Quirinalis took name of the Chappel of *Quirinus*; or because in old time the way lay through it, for them that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It seemeth to be called *Agonensis*, quasi *Agon*, i.e. without a corner; afterwards, *Collina*: and at the last, *Salutaria*; for that by it salt was carried into the City. This name it holdeth still and standeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

Viminalis is from *Quirinalis* distant 5 *Stadia*; so named, as they say, of a wood of *Ofers*, which (as it is supposed) sometime grew thereby; or else, of a Chappel of *Jup. Viminis*. This also men called *Figulensis*, of the potters works made without it: but now they name it the gate of *S. Agnes* and *Nomentana*.

Intergeres standeth in the Plain *Viminalis*, between the gate *Viminalis* and *Esquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinius* his mires and banks, among which it was built. *Tiburina* stood between *Esquilina* and *Nomentana*, so as it was 12 *Stadia* distant from *Esquilina*, upon the plain of *Esquilina* in the very place where the conduit is of the *Mary* water.

Esquilina took that name of the hill *Esquilina*, the same in ancient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulls head there found: for many a day after was the said bulls head seen painted in the inner front of the said gate. At this day, *S. Lawrence* gate.

Navia drew the name of certain groves or woods near adjoining. In times past *Laticana*, and now *Major*. An arch there was so called and erected in the same place by the old Romans.

Calimontana, standing from *Navia* 8 *Stadia*, seemeth by a finity of name to be so called of the hill *Caelus*, in the edge whereof it standeth: and *Afinaria* it was called, of the *Asses* which were wont to be sent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it *S. Johns* gate.

Gabinia, built close to the mount *Caelus*. Southeast: which seemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabii*, which it directly regardeth. It carried the name also *Mureddum*, of measuring and is situate from *Calimontana* as it were 5 *Stadia*.

Latina is 5 *Stadia* likewise from *Gabinia*, seated not far from the Church of *S. John Baptist*: so called, for that men go forth out into *Latum*.

Capena is so named of the *Capenas*, a Latine nation, against which it lyeth. This also is called still *Camana*, of a grove and Chappel of the Mules, built just before the same gate. *Appia* likewise, of the high-way *Appia*; which *Appius* the Censor paved, and so it bare his name. They call it also

also *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with state. Of some it is named *Pontialis*, for the plenty of springs there. At this day *S. Sebastians* gate.

Tergemina took that name of an old gate so called, at which the 3 twins *Horatii* went forth against their enemies, and gave the first name to it. Some shew remaineth yet of this gate to be seen; near the *Salutina*.

Hofstensis, was in ancient daies so called, for that it led to the City *Hofstia*: now *S. Pauls* gate: situate it is from *Capena* well-near 8 *Stadia*.

Portuensis is a gate beyond the *Tyber*, within half a *Stadium* of the said river: so called, for that it leadeth to the haven of *Hofstia*. Now a daies men call it, *Porta ripa*, i. The bank gate.

Aurelia, looketh toward *Janiculum*: distant from the former almost 7 *Stadia*. In this age they call it *S. Pancrace* gate.

Aelia, was built by *Aelius Hadrianus*, of whom it took that name.

Septimiana, bare the name of *Septimius* the Emperor: and because it standeth under *Janiculum*, is at this day called, *Subus Janum*. Some affirm, that this is *Fontinalis*, because out of the mount called *Anrens*, there issue fountains: for to the said hill this gate standeth close. From it to *Aurelia* are 5 *Stadia*; and to the river *Tyber* 7 *juga* or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of *Rome*, and their names. The wall in old time had upon it 360 turrets. Some of these are decayed and gone; others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

NOW is it time, and the course of the story doth require, that leaving the towns and walls, we enter into the City, and shew the beginning and the place of those edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plain plot of the City, were built by men in old time. First therefore, begin we will at the worthiest earthly habitation of all their Gods; to wit, the *Capitol*.

The second Book.

CHAP. I.

The sundry names of the Capitol.

THE *Capitol* was by the old Romans called Mount *Saturnus*, either of a City named *Saturnia*, which under the very hill was built in that place where now *Rome* standeth: or because *Saturnus* in times past dwelt in that hill: or else (as some think) for that the mount it self had *Saturnus* for the tutelal God and Protector thereof. But afterwards it was named the mount *Tarpeia*, of the Virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom *Livy* writeth. Last of all, *Tarquinius Priscus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Jupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chanced to find in the bottom of the trench a mans head; whereupon they called it *Capitulum*. And answered, That this Castle should be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Castle and the Capitol. The Castle they built Northward, as a stronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward *Tyberis*, a place naturally defended,

CHAP. II.

Who first laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finished it: how often it was burnt, and by whom rectified.

IN the Sabine war, *Tarquinius Priscus* vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, so soon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* finished the building, of 4 square stone: and defraided the charges thereof out of the pillage of the Consul, dedicated the said Capitol to *Jupiter*. It stood upright and found for the space of 415 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Consulship of *Scipio* and *Narbo*) it was consumed with fire. *Sylla* re-edified it, and *Q. Caecilius* consecrated it: and so it continued until the *Vitellian* war. During which troubles, it was a second time burnt, at what time it stood with the doors shut, undefended, and not rifled. *Vespasian* built it again, and in his life, a third time it was destroyed in more magnificent and stately manner than it had been ever before, and disbursed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitol turrets and pinnacles, the statues and images smitten with thunder-bolts and blasted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP. III.

The Temple of *Jup. Feretrius*, of *Jup. Opt. Max.* of *Juno*, and *Minerva's*.

THE *Capitol*, *Cicero* calleth The house and habitation of the gods, because it contained the chappels, statues, and images in manner of all the gods: but the first of all other in *Rome* was this

that of *Jupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the war against the *Senones*, after which war ended, and he returned to *Rome* with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill. But *Jupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as some would have it; for that *Jupiter* assisted him in striking the enemy, in that very place where he vowed the temple. Or else, because the Romans used in making of peace, to swear by his scepter and the flint. The roof of this Church fallen down for very age and through neglect of the Romans, *Augustus* repaired. This temple first built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Aeneas Silvius*.

But the temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* of all other was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called *Capitolium*; and *Targ. Priscus* vowed it. After him, *Targ. Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver; but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his Kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unfinished to be accomplished by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward *Tiberis*, as hath been shewed before. For the form, the greatness and beauty of this temple, read *Dionysius* and sundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of *Rome* it self. Upon the top or lantern thereof, stood *Summanus* the God, made of potters earth, whose head was smitten with lightning and fell into *Tiberis*. It had within it besides, a sanctuary or secret chapel, which no Lay person might enter into. Within the said cell or chapel, were two coronets of gold: the one of them the Gauls consecrated to *Jup. Opt. Maximus*; the other the Carthaginians sent to *Rome* in the honor of *Jupiter*, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnites. Moreover, in the said temple were other three chapels, to wit, one of *J. p. Opt. Max.* in the midst; a second of *Minerva* on the right hand; and a third of *Juno* on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was set down in writing, That the chief and highest Pretor for the time being, should drive a spike or great nail near unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place wheras it stood, is prophane; howbeit there remain yet to be seen, some tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken peccemeal.

CHAP. IV.

The Temples of Saturn, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Custos, of Fortune, of Vejovis Mercy, Juno Moneta, and of Janus. The sepulchre of Orestes, the common Treasury, the house of Manlius, and chapel of Carmenta.

Since that we have described the temple of *Jupiter K.* of the Gods, in what place it was situate, and by whom built; meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houses in the capitol: and first of *Saturn*, *Jupiter's* father.

Saturn in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the *Forum* up to the capitol, as some think. There be that would have this temple or altar of *Saturn*, built by the companions of *Hercules*; others again say, that *Tatius* reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reason, because some affirm, that there were two temples consecrated to *Saturn*, but reared in divers places and at several times: one at the rock of *Carmenta*, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones also of *Orestes* brought from *Aricta* were bestowed); the other in that very place, where now standeth the chapel of *S. Saviour*: where yet at this day there is a turret to be seen, which they call the Tower in *Æranum*: for there first was the common treasure house of *Rome*. In the temple of *Saturn*, dedicated by *Caius Lutatius*, there stood *Janus* with four faces signifying the four times of the year: of whom the first month *January* took name.

The temple of *Jupiter Tonans* *Augustus* *Cæsar* first built, on the capitoline cliff or side of the hill, South-east: upon this occasion: It happened, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning slightly glanced thereupon, and killed the servant that he guide: and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honor of *Thundering Jupiter*. A temple also to *Fortune* was built not far from it.

The temple of *Vejovis*, stood between the cattle and the capitol, in that part where now the chapels are to be seen of conservators. In old time they called this Idol-devil, *Vejovis*, because he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they sacrificed a fine goat: because he held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was *Apollo*.

Ajstum, that is to say, the temple of *Mercy* stood likewise upon the capitol hill, near a shadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the cattle. Called it is the temple *Intermontium*, between two okerows. This, *Romulus* erected; that what offender soever thither fled, he should be privileged as in a sanctuary. But *Tiberius* afterwards, supposing that this place ministered occasion of mischief, deprived it of that liberty. This *Ajstum*, by report, the posterity of *Hercules* first erected.

The temple (as also the mint-house) of *Juno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where sometime stood the house of *M. Manlius*. This chapel, some report that *L. Evius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicereius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Juno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning; for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of *Juno*, admonishing them of the future overthrow by the *Senones*. In this place now standeth a Senators house of *Rome*.

The

The temple of *Janus* keeper of the Capitoline cattle, stood in that place, whereat that day is the goal and prison for malefactors and felons, toward the Southwest, over-against the *Forum Romanum*. This *Janus* upon the Capitol, *Romulus*, and *Tatius* devised to have two faces presenting thereby the two nations. Others would have him to be portrayed a faced, with a cunning and providence: for he was the first that invented the roial crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; brazen coin and many other things. *Janus* took that name *ab unda*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things else. For which cause he also named *Vertumnus*; in old time they believed there was but one *Janus*; but posterity in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Jupiter Custos*, *Domitian* (after he was invested in the empire) built, and placed his own image in the lap and bosome of that god. It stood where at this day the *Salana* or *Isleptis* arc, near to the temple of *Janus*.

CHAP. V.

The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.

Among those gods, whose determinat place assigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the first was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude and formless stone. Unto him *Tatius* first vowed a temple; and some say, that *Numa* dedicated it. How ever it be; no doubt verily ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause: when *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Jupiter*, he consulted with the Augurs about the place, because he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They shewed unto him the mount *Tapirus*, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chapels there, were consecrated and bestowed. These therefore were by certain sacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way to *Jupiter*, and to be translated into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yielded their places up to *Jupiter* as their *K*, only *Terminus* refused to be displaced: and for maiden there still. When he had finished the temple and fore-part of the roof which regarded the said stone, was left naked and open for that god, as who never ought nor could be enclosed, the augurs therefore being sought unto and demanded, For what reason *Terminus* alone abode still with *Jupiter*, when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby signified, that together with religion, their empire also was eternal. To this god they sacrificed not but in open air and publicly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, that *Mars* also and *Joveinus* together with *Terminus* would not agree to give place to *Jupiter*: for that the dominion of *Rome* should not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Erycina*, *Artinus* and *Æ. Fab. Mars*, being *Dnumvirs*, dedicated chapels upon the Capitol, severed sundry by one vault or altar.

To queen *Juno*, *C. Flaminius* in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple. To *Ops*, *Tatius* the *K*, consecrated a temple; for that she is called the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The same *Ops* is called *Mars*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blasted with fire from heaven, as *Levy* testifieth.

Mars revenger, *Augustus* *Cæsar* erected a temple upon the Capitol, within the hill *Saturninus*.

To *Faith*, on the same hill, *Artinus Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Liberty*, and *Victory*, they built temples: and many there were within the city erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Præmigenia* and *Obsequens*, *Tullus* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus* bald they also set up a temple in the Capitol, in memoriam and everl stiaj praise of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engines, that during the Gauls war, were devised and made against the enemies.

Tarquinius Superbus built a temple to *Jupiter Sponsor*, and *Sp. Posthumus* dedicated it. Likewise to *Jupiter*. After the old Romans consecrated a temple in the Capitol.

* Thebakis

CHAP. VI.

Of the statues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.

Of statues in old time were sundry sorts, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble, some of brass, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the capitol to the immortal gods for divers causes, and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had deserved well of the common-weal, the usual manner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To *Jupiter* in the Capitol, *Sp. Carvilius* erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the Samnites, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of *Jupiter Latiarius* his image. *Pliny* maketh mention, that this statue was smitten with lightning. He also set up another to *Minerva*.

The old Romans set up in the temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* statues to *Victory* and *Faith*, to either of them one.

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For

For *Numerius* was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddess punished proud and faithless persons. She is named also *Rhemus* a village in *Attica*, where she was worshipped; *Adraftus*, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her. *Ugo Horatius*, for his notable and famous act; they erected many statues in the Capitol and namely *Pub. Sulpicius* and *Pub. Sempertus* one; and *Ca. Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the *Tarentines* by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of *Praxiteles*) were within the Capitol.

The image of *Apollon* with a diadem, and his *Colossus* thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents. *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Pontus*, into the Capitol.

An image there was of *Janus* likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of sixty five, to signify the days of the year.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, dedicated in the temple of *Jupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nilus* and *Tygris*, half naked, were set up in the forefront of the temple of *Conversators*: the one carry upon the shoulders, *Sphinx*; the other a *Tygre*; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plenty.

The personage of *Heracles* portrayed naked, of brasse and double girth, without beard holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of *Hesperides*, was found near the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of *Ara Maxima*.

There be certain portraits also of the *Partians* and *Dacian* triumphs, enclosed within walls which were taken out of the church now called *S. Martini*.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.

† Cum Chrys. de Crispandis, but in Crispandis read
† Cicero pro Rabirio ligatus
† The Greek and Asian habit: for the Roman statues were
† Toga, †

The statues they erected in the Capitol, a statue wearing a soldiers cassock and slippers or pattens in regard of his victory over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memorial of his worthy deeds.

To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitol, in habit of a footman.

For *Amphilas Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of *Rome* set up a statue, because he had in a battle vanquished the enemy, and saved a Citizen.

The like honour to the rest they did to *Mithridates*, for that he had preserved out of the temple of *Pallas*, being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image to *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers for the great dearth of corn, she served the people at 3 farthings a Modius. The same they did to *Trebia* the *Adile*.

Fabius Maximus made for himself a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Horatius*.

Unto *Brutus*, for delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of *Tarquinus*, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the KK. statues.

Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unless it were of molten silver of gold, and of a certain weight.

The emperor *Commodus* took off the head from the colossus of *Nero*, & set upon it his own statue which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the house of *Conversators*.

In the said houses of *Conversators*, is extant yet the brasse portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose teats, *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of *Rome*, are to be seen how they hang sucking.

The image of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths; the one, standing upon the feet in servile habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepherd or herdsman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sole of his foot, which raked and fettered withal.

An infinite number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to *Rome*. For the Romans robbed the churches of foreign nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitol cliff, Tarpeia rock, the fons of *Carmentis*, and the gate *Stercoraria*.

In old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundry opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the *Aventine*, where now standeth *S. Gregorius* Church in *Velabrum*: others between the temples of *Saturnus* and *Conservators*, near to the arch of *Severus*, and at the stairs and landings, called *Senatus Stabula*. Now the arch of *Severus* was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of *Forum Romanum*: unto which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was near unto the Roman *Forum*: which by the Censors was paved with flint, a whole league: set up a gallerie from the Chappell of *Saturn* unto the Capitol Temple close to the *Senaculum*.

Senaculum and the *Curia* over it. *Corn. Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*. In the place of the feast *Floralis* was in old time celebrated, whereof some tokens remain at this day to be seen. In it stood *Milos* boulev, which was full of shields and other armor, *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpeia* rock which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past felonious malefactors found guilty, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Carmentis fons, regardeth *Tiberis*, just over-against the Senators bridge.

The Dining-gate called *Stercoraria*, stood upon the Capitol cliff afore said; thither was thrown out all the filth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, to be carried away and soon after to be cast into the *Tiberis*.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of the brasse columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.

In the Capitol there were two sorts of tables; the one of Pictures containing the noble acts or battels, with the siege and assault of Cities, exploited by valiant martial men. For some of them were so devious of praise and renown, that they could not be content to behold their own statues erected in the Capitol, unless their acts were described also and depicted in tables set up in public place; and by that means left their glory behind them, commended likewise to posterity. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written in the most ancient laws, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other KK. Likewise the statues of the later lawgivers: the public acts and ordinances; the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites and divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brasse tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by war, fire, and careless negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certain persons appointed, that in so tedious and important matters, there should be no forgery and corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasse, were by *Domitian* set up in the Capitol; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Egypt*, caused (of many brasse beak heads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columns, and brought them to *Rome*. *Sylla* likewise took out of *Tiberius* temple in *Asiens*, certain brasse pillars, brought them to *Rome*, & there consecrated them to *Jupiter* in the Capitol.

The Portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the Cattle by the Romans for perpetual memory, because a goose by gigning gave warning of the enemies coming, to the warders of the cattle, and thereby saved the Capitol. For which cause geese a long time after, were fed & kept in *Rome* at the Cities charges. There are besides many other antiquities within the Capitol, cut in tables of brasse and marble both, and namely, Epitaphs, which here for brevities sake are left out.

CHAP. X.

Of certain edifices and buildings upon the Capitol hill, and of other things in general.

Now that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting something by the way would be laid in the place, as touching the ancient houses there. The court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built the Capitol, and covered it with reed. Into this place the King-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senat and people of *Rome*, that from him they might learn and know the daies of solemn game, plays, and sacrifices.

Nor far from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of *Metellus* and *Constantinus*. This Library also called *Majorum*, built artificially upon marbles pillars and besides the publick courtyard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol, from whence they gathered *Verecunda*, or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the facials heralds and the *Paterfamilias*: wherewith they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they swore by *Jupiter*, pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledge, then let Dielpiter cast me out of all that I have* (saying the City and the castle) *as I hurt from me this stone*.

The Capitol had certain vaults like cellitens, into which were thrown all things over-worn, or so old that they were good for nothing. The six flocks drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which *Cneus Cornelius* set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that many wherein the Edils condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoarded and kept in their corn. The shield also *Marcius*, set out with the image of *Asdrubal*, and the column garnished with ship beak-heads of brasse, wherewith *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* there was a short cloak or mantle and purple wollen, to which, of other purple garments were laid, they showed the colour of asses in regard of the excellent bright glows and lustre that it carried. A present this was (by report) given to *Aurelianus* by a Persian KK. who had it from the farthest Indians. The linell, cheeks and fill of the Capitol dore, were made all of brasse. The brasse tiles likewise upon the roof, *Q. Calpurnius* gilded over the place where *Numa* took his auguries.

Moreover, between *M. Scavrus* his house and *Caicini*, there was but a small step over. *Cicero's* house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount Palatine, above the Church of *Jup. Statoris*, near the *Palatium*. *Pliny* testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the Orator, and *Phrybini*, in the *Palatium*, were in old time overturned.

One Captain *Vasus* likewise had an house in the *Palatium*, in the former chapter.

A. O. Tiburtius, whereof we have written in the former chapter. *Augustus* (born in the region about *Palatium*, in a place called *Capitulum*, the three heads; and where after his death, they erected a chapel unto him) dwelt first near the Roman Forum, above the round stairs called *Scala annularis*, in the house sometime of *Calvus* the Orator. Afterwards, he built the stately Palatine at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the Patine hill in the small house of *Horatius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salus*, built in the mount Palatine, chanced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staff of *Romulus* called *Lutius* was found, without any hurt.

Publius dwelt in an house standing over the Forum, which was called *Suburbia*. That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was near unto the Temple of *Jup. Statoris*, may soon be proved out of *Livy*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of *Velia*; the statues in *Palatine*, and other things in general.

The pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of *Palatium*, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of *Mary* the new. Called *Velit* it was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep, the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wool from the sheeps back.

Augustus set up a Library of *Latine* and *Greek* books in *Palatine*, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brasses of that huge colossus of *Tulcan Apollo*. He adjoynd thereto a porch or gallery, which they called *Palatium*.

In it was erected by the Senat, a statue unto *Numerius* the Emperor; and a singular diatory. In the same porch, the Romans also set up a statue unto *M. Varro*, while he lived.

The *Augustorinus*, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount Palatine. *Apollus Palatinus* likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in *Palatium*, *Latona* in the same was placed.

The Emperor set up a golden statue in *Palatine* to *Britannicus*. Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his spear, was in the *Palatium*. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount *Aventinus*, lanced his spear from him into the *Palatine*, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was born, sprung with him and suddenly appeared, was in *Palatium*. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed garlands.

The *Palatine* bairns, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Orations for *Roscius*, were in the same *Velitum*; and of them there remain yet some tokens; above the *Circus maximus*, not far from the *Inclyard of Fedra*.

In the same mountain also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Iupiters* parlor. The most beautiful streets called *Atrium*, paved with *Lacedæmonian* and *Porphyr* stones, were in *Palatium*. The streets also of *Paludus* and *Fortuna* respectively, were to be seen in *Palatine*, and there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palatium*.

CHAP. VII.

The *Palatium* now called the Greater: the court-yard of the *Palatium*; and the old gate of the very *Palatium* is false.

How great a compals the *Palatium* took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins, the pictures, statues, and most precious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built to great and stately edifices; who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height, as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount *Palatine* at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of *Saint Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yieldeth grafs and food, for sheep caples and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Palatium* of the bleating that feeds make, rather than *Palatium*.

This *Palatium* had also a place therein called *Atrium*, built in old time and hallowed by *Angury*: in it the Senat sate in council, because they might not assemble in any place uninaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rams were sacrificed.

The old gate of the *Palatium* was near the *Roftra*, over-against *S. Laurence* Church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Temples of *Janus*, *Augustus*, and *Fauftina*.

After the description of the Temples and edifices of *Palatium* the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman Forum. Therein is the most stately Temple of *Janus*, (for me thinks we do well to begin at *Janus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gates. For *Janus* himself, who was therein worshipped, had four faces: and from *Faliscia* a city in *Tuscan* forced by the Romans, he was translated to *Rome* into the Forum, named after *Transitorium*. His Temple was built in that part of the said Forum which looked to over-against the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Destinies. Other Temples there were besides of *Janus*, and namely, in the Capitol near the theatre of *Marcellus*, with two fronts all of brals, and had two bralen dore, which in time of peace were shut and against war, were let open.

The temple of *Augustus* was builded in the Roman Forum. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, but left imperfect. *Calpurnia* finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joynd the Capitol and *Palatine* together.

There remain yet to be seen certain monuments and marks of the temple of *Fauftina*. *Hadrianus* the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the *Palatine* hill (where the bralen image of a bull standeth) for her sake that he might be honoured as a goddess. The same, his son *Antoninus Heliogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himself, or *Ishtar* *Syrus*, or else the Sun. At this day it is the church of *S. Lawrence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. IX.

The Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and the *Roftra*.

No man doubteth but that the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was sometime in the Roman Forum before the *Roftra*, near to that above said of *Fauftina*. This sacred house *A. Posthumus* the Dictator dedicated: and *L. Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the *Dionitian* spoils. In it, as in many other, the Senat used to sit in council, and therein were publick Orations made to the people. *C. Metellus* adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also he set up the portraiture and resemblance of *Flora*, a picture of singular beauty. A table besides, which contains the records and monuments, touching the free burgeoisie granted to the horsemen of *Capua*. The steps and greeces going up to this temple, *Clodius* afterwards plucked up, as witnesseth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or consecrate place called *Roftra*, at the foot of the hill *Palatine*, over-against that before named of *Castor* and *Pollux*: whereas now is the little chapel of *S. Mary de Inferno*. From these *Roftra*, were the sentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.

The Temple of *Cæsar*, *Venus Genitrix*, and *Mars* revenger: and the court of *Venus*.

Cæsar of famous memory had a temple near his own Forum, at the broad street called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Fauftina*. In it were set up as Saints, *Victory* and *Castor*. In the same *Cæsar* Forum, there stood a chapel of *Venus Genitrix*, behind the said temple of *Fauftina*. This, *Cæsar* vowed in the *Pharsalian* war, and dedicated it. After victory in the war against *Pompey*, *Cæsar* enclosed the temple of the said *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloister, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

Augustus *Cæsar* in the battel of *Philippi*, vowed a temple to *Mars* the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own Forum, wherein were certain iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of *Saint Martina*.

CHAP. XI.

The Temples of *Volcan*, *Concord*, *Peace*, *Romulus*, and *Venus Cloacina*.

The temple of *Volcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the *Comitium* and *Forum Romanum*, at the bottom of the *Palatine* hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Volcan*, as also of the Sun and Moon, of *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Volcan* there was dedicated unto *Volcan*, the bralen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of *Coctus* there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the day belonging to *Volcan* temple, *Fulvius*, the son of a Libertine or enfranchised citizen, 303 years after the building of the capitol, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of *Ulfers* condemned, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*. Opposite the Consul

Consul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Pliny* testifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies, *Livia Drusilla* in her open gallery, erected a chapel of Concord, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her; which afterwards *Tiberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Drusilla* first founded the said chapel of Concord, *Vespasian* afterwards with wonderful celerity and speed, (after the civil wars ended) finished the Temple of Peace, begun before by *Claudian*. A large building this was, and four square, set out with most stately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richest. In it *Vespasian* betowed the holy vessels and precious ornaments of the Temple in *Hierusalem*, which *T* had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of *Ganymedes*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once suddenly was consumed whole: and never was it known to this day how this fire came: unless it were (as some imagine) by reason of an earthquake which hapned the same hour, the stones rubbed together and struck fire.

An altar of Peace was by *Augustus* first reared; but in what place, the posterity knoweth not. The same, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Between the Temple of Peace and *Faustina*, there is at this day a most ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren *Saint Cosmes* and *Damian*. Some think it was the Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the same that *Caraculus* the Consul, after he had subdued the Samnites, dedicated, and of the infinit mass of spoils adorned it.

That the Temple of *Venus Cloacina* stood near the broad street *Sacra*, *Ovid* testifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privy or draught, called *Maxima*, and *Tatin* consecrated it. And because it was not known whose resemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples of *Tellus*, *Salus*, *Victoria*, the *Sun* and *Moon*, the house of *Cassius*, and the *Temery*.

Where the Temple of *Tellus* stood, some say it is uncertain: others think it was not far from the *Elquilæ*, near the rising of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters Church* in *Vincula*, where now standeth the Temple of *Pantheon*. *Semperpronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battail with his enemy, at *Asculum* the head Town of the Picenians, the earth quaked: and because he would pacify the goddess *Tellus* (i. the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. Built it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of *Spurius Cassius* (who fought to be a King) was overthrowen. Near unto this Temple of *Tellus*, there was an Altory; where of *Cicero* also maketh mention in a certain place. Within the said compass, *C. Junius Bibaculus* the Consul, vowed a chapel to the goddess *Salus*, in the time of the Samnites war. The same was by him put forth to building when he was Censor, and dedicated by him Dictator.

L. Volturnus an *Edile*, caused the Temple of *Vittoria* near the Roman Forum to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of *Apollo*.

Some would have, that the Temples of *Concord* and *Esculapius*, were near the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of *S. Mary* the new.

The Temple of *Mercury* also was in the Forum.

The Temples likewise of *Ips* and *Serapia* were in the Burse called *Epigraphium*. And some think, that these were the Chapells of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by *Tatin*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum of *Trajanus*: the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.

Thus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speak of those things, which shall concern the honour and memorial of mortal men, and first begin we will with that excellent Prince *Trajanus*.

Forum Trajani was built (with wonderful Art and industry of man) by *Apollodorus*, between the *Forum of Peace*, the Capitol hill, and the mount *Quirinal*. The same workman built also at the commandment of *Trajanus* *Metodius* and *Gymnasium*. The roof of that *Forum* or Hall was of brass, within round about in every place the forms and images of horses, and military ensigns all gilt. Now were these foresaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deserved well of the common-weal, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praise of *Trajanus*, adorned this *Forum* or hall of his.

The porch of this *Forum*, built upon most mighty and high pillars, and resting upon large chapiers, yielded so great admiration to the beholders, that they seemed rather the works of giants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honor of *Trajanus*, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajan horse in like manner stood in the midst, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin also there is found the image of *Trajan*, with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRIN-

Principi, The Senat and the people of Rome to the best Prince. But heretofore *Lampridius* writeth much.

Helikewise is reported to have adorned the palace, made of sundry marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the midst of the *Forum*, there stood the column of *Trajan*, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summary of the acts of *Trajan* engraven and chased most cunningly, but above all the Dakes war: within there be 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light unto them: that shall go up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Entropius* writeth) 140. In the himself never saw: for whiles he warred against the Parthians, the Senat dedicated it unto him in a flux of blood, his dead corps was brought to Rome: and of all the Emperors he alone (as *Entropius* writeth) was interred within the City. The reason why his bones are left in that Column is this: The manner in old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills: but there being not mountains enough whereupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it hapned that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies instead thereof.

CHAP. XIV.

The Forum, the Palace, and porch of *Nerva*.

Next to our sight cometh the *Forum of Nerva*, and it is behind the Church of *S. Hadrian*. In the midst of it there stood a Column of brass of an huge bigness: covered with plate of beaten copper, and hath within it light every way. This *Forum* was garnished with divers statues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called *Forum Trajanum*, for that from it there was the way to the *Forum of Augustus* and the Roman.

There appeareth as yet some part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the *Forum*: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certain obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the *Forum of Nerva*.

Part also of the Palace of *Nerva*, built of 4 square stones and pillars, together with the Church of *S. Blas*, are yet seen enclosed between the *Comitium* and the tower of *Adrian*.

CHAP. XV.

The Roman Forum, the Comitium, the prison *Tullianum*, and the Image of *Marforius*.

The Roman *Forum*, which also is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitol, and reached in length to the Church now of *S. Mary* the new, which is in *dec*. But at the first the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof above named, it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount *Palatine*. Many a year after, *Augustus Caesar* enlarged it.

The *Comitium* joyned to the *Forum*, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of *Palatium* and endeth at the Church of *S. Mary* the new.

At the foot of the Capitol hill, South-east ward, *Aulus Marius* built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him *K. Tullius* adjoynd to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge and mighty big stones, with narrow long holes for to receive the shadow, as it were, and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, ugly for darkness, and loathsome by reason of a strong and stinking scent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. *Carcer* it was called in Latine, & *coercendo*: because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble idol which they call *Marforius*. Some think it was the image of the bakers god others, of *Jupiter*, furnished *Panavius* of the tumours that bear outlike to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times past when they were besieged by the Gauls in the Capitol, had warning by *Jupiter* in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp. Whereby the Gauls despairing that the Romans could possibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the siege. Whereupon the Romans in perpetuall memorial of this benefit, erected an altar and a statue to *Jupiter* *Pifus*.

This image is thought to be the resemblance of the river *Rheine* in Germany, because it is upon a rock. But why it should be called *Marforius*, I know not unless it be because it standeth in the *Forum of Augustus*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Secretary of the people of Rome; the arch of *Septimius*; the Temple of Saturn, Of the Treasury, and the mint-house where they coined money.

Behind the image of *Marforius* over against the arch of *Septimius* is the Church of *S. Martin*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretary of the people of Rome.

Right against the said Church of *S. Martin* at the bottom of the rock *Tarpia*, standeth the

arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, sometimes of *Saturn*, now, *S. Hadrian's Church*. The said Temple was of great antiquity. Some report *L. Lartius* for the builder thereof; others *L. Tarquinius*: albeit more likely it is that *Lartius* dedicated it. *Livy* writeth, that when *A. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* were *Coli*, *Namantius Plancus* rededified it. The treasury of the people of *Rome*, no writer denieth, but that it was translated out of the Capitol into this Temple. But why men in old time would have the treasure to be within *Saturn's* Temple, there be divers opinions. Some say, because in *Saturn's* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miser nor lowd person laid wait for his neighbour; but all things were administered with righteousness, faith, and love. *Cyprian* allegeth this cause, because *Saturn* was the first that in *Italy* ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the publicke ordinances. Also the books called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, all the books of the Cities accounts: also the ancient writings and records of the old *Ævium* and the City debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensignes of war. Over and besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conquest of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the Common-weal to be received, as laws, letters, and other common registers of a City. The Censors likewise were put to take their oath in the Temple of *Saturn*.

Between the Church now of *S. Hadrian*, and that which sometime was the Temple of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*, stood in old time the work-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. VII.

The golden Militarium the bridge of *Caligula*, the *Rostra* and the *Curia*.

Militarium aureum stood in times past at the head of the Roman Forum, under the Temple of *Saturn*, near to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, so called, wherein all the high-waies of *Italy* were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

Caligula brought a bridge of marble through the Roman Forum, from the mount Palatine to the Capitol. A more stately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: for the bridge was sustained with fourcore mighty pillars of most white marble: whereof at this day three are to be seen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in such manner as they were in times past by *Caligula* built for the bridge. In the midst of the Forum, over-against *S. Hadrian's Church* there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horse of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horse was the resemblance of *Rhene*, a river in *Germany*; for that *Domitian* the Emperor had triumphed over that Province. And this is the Image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakheads of the Antiat ships; a pulpit was built in the Roman Forum by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which Temple they called *Rostra*, that therein the acts of the Senat should be made. Now of this *Rostra* there were twain, the new at the bottom of the Palatine as is before said, and the old, near the *Curia* in the Comitium. In this *Rostra* were laws published, causes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same manner was also to erect the Statues of most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the Forum Romanum, before *Rostra*, upon a lion of stone was the portraiture let for *Ensilulus* the fosterfather of *Romulus* and *Remus*. For he, whiles he was detestous to part the fray between *Romulus* & *Remus* the founders of the City, was there slain, where, afterwards they erected unto him his statue. Behind the *Rostra* was the sepulchre also of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Rostra* stood the statue of *Hercules* clad in a coat after the Eleians habit, with a grime and stern countenance. Three fables also of *Sibylla* in the same place. The manner of the Romans besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seen.

Two *Curia* or Councill-houses at *Rome* there were: one near the Forum, fast by the Temple of Peace, named *Hofilia*; the other in the mount *Colinus*, whereof we will speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Lake *Curvius*, the great sink for town ditch, and the *Doliola*.

The lake *Curvius* was in the midst of the Rom. Forum, near *Domitian's* his horse. This lake took that name of *M. Curvius*, who to save the Common-weal, willingly of his own accord cast himself headlong, armed as he was, together with his horse into a chink of the ground in the midst of the Roman Forum. Some would have it so called of *Metius* a Sabine, who through this lake escaped safe to his own company.

The vault or sink called *Clauca Maxima*, was made by the commandment of *Tarquin*: for by reason that the hills were digged under, and the City stood so low upon arches, received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopp'd up, the third runneth with most clear water by the Lake *Curvius*, under the Roman Forum, along the foot of the mount Palatine into *Veldrum*, and from thence in a sink made of four-square stone, it ditcheth it self into *Tyber*. In old time there

there were many such vaults, and those for publicke use. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, whiles every man made haste to rebuild his house, where he could meet first with a convenient place; they took no heed to the streets; as they were before: so as neither the City was divided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the sinks which in times past went under the streets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under private mens houses, whereby it came to pass, that each house almost at this day hath a sink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this author, whose epitome or abridgement we write, hath not divided the regions of the City, agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that those things which he setteth down, might be sooner understood, and better remembered, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth and when he sheweth in what part of the city any place in times past was, he declareth them in those coasts which at this day are known to the inhabitants. But as at first these sinks were common (as I have said) so there were appointed publicke officers to look unto them.

Near the foresaid great sink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called *Doliola*. This place was reputed to holy, that a man might not spit thereupon. In it were supposed to have been certain secret mysteries of *Nama*. And yet, there be that think verily the allies of the French Senones were there befowled.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, The Statues and Images that were in the Comitium, and Roman Forum, *Cæsar's* statue and pillar.

VHere the Comitium was, from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have shewed before, in the fiftenth chapter of this book. Called it was *Comitium*, as *Plutarch* saith, for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senat and people of *Rome* assembled, wherein they would decree any thing for the good of the C. W. and namely, when Consuls, Tribunes Consul, and such Magistrates were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was near the *Senaculum*, at the very foot of the mount *Palatine*. This Comitium was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were impeached holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Amulius* came into *Italy*, they let a roof over it: and afterwards *Cæsar* repaired it again. In this Comitium the plaies were many times exhibited. In the same (as *Livy* reporteth) the books of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many lewd and outrageous acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speak.

In the Comitium stood the statue of *Cæsar*: which being afterwards stricken with fire from heaven, was translated into the court-yard of *Vulcanus*. In the cantons and angles of the Comitium, were the statues likewise of *Patagonus* and *Alabandus*. Also in the ascent and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the *curia* stood the Image of *Ascanius* together with his wheedle and razor.

The Image resembling the Mother goddess, was set up in the Forum. They that worshipped this goddess, were of this opinion that the stone whereof she was made, could not possibly be consumed with fire: which they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made in the night especially at her Image yet it took no hurt thereby: and therefore gave they out, that there was such virtue herein as I have said. And from thence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her, and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, as is shewed before, was in the Forum: Just before this Temple stood the statue of *Cæsar*, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like manner a Column of *Cæsar* made of Numidian marble, so foot high there remained. Before the Temple of *Cæsar* there was the statue of *Q. Marcius* in horsemans habit: of *Trenellius* clad in a side gown; of *M. Atticus* covered with a veil.

CHAP. XX.

The column called *Maxima*: the pillar *Horatia*: the losses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian*, The Temple and Court-yard of the said *Cæsar*.

IN that part of the Forum was the Column *Maxima*, where stood the palace of *Porcius*. Called *Maxima* it was, of *Maximian* the Censor: for he (when as he held unto *Cæsar* his house, and when *Placcus* the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforesaid should there be built, reserved in the sale to much space for himself, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posterity might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this privilege he obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might be allowed, were as industrious, and built them columns in the Forum.

There stood a rock of stone in the Forum, whereupon the spoils of the three twins *Curvius* were hanged.

In like manner, the pillar called *Horatia*.

The houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the Forum, Likewise the court and cloister of *Minerva*; and the shops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Caesar* was brought out of the *Curia* into the *Forum*, and interred in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple.
Likewise in the *Forum* the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy,

CHAP. XXI.

Caesars Forum: the Palace of Paulus, and his Library.

BESIDES the Temple of *Saturn*, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap. of this book) in the Roman *Forum* toward the Northeast was *Caesars Forum*, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There, was in that place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There, was the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, about which, *Caesar* made a cloister and a *Forum*, not of wares and merchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this *Forum*, among other statues (whereof there were many and those most fair and beautiful) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The *Forum* it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood him in an hundred millions of *Affes* and above.

Caesar purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Emilius* the Colleague of *G. Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him, *Paulus* having received this sum of money, built in the midst of the *Forum* near to the Temple of *Caesar* and *Pollex*, a most excellent and wonderful Palace, of Phrygian columns, which afterwards they named, *Basilica Pauli*.

A Library also the same *Paulus* created, near unto his own *Basilica*.

CHAP. XXII.

The Forum of Augustus: the galleries of Antonius, Faustina, and Livia: Caesars house.

THE Roman *Forum*, whose also of *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of *Augustus*, they affirm to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of *Caesar*, but excellently well adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Caesar* and *Pollex*, with the victory of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corvinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollin* in Ivory; and besides these, other ensigns and ornaments of virtue and valour.

In this Hall or *Forum*, public justice was administered: and the judges from thence were empanelled: herein they debated in council, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with sovereign command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensigns and tokens of their victory. This *Forum* being by time decayed, *Hadrian* redified.

This *Forum* had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner. *Augustus* dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his niece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastful superfluity of riches, pulled it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void plot and court-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallery of *Livia*; which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it down, but *Domitian* built it up again under the old name.

The goodly galleries of *Antonine* & *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles well built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the Church of *S. Lawrence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The raster or beam, called Sotorium Tigillum: the street Cyprinus, Scelcratus, and Patritius: the house of M. Antonius.

Sotorium Tigillum was a place allowed for the expiation and atoning of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up near the street *Carinae*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprinus* is near to the cliff or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the Church of *S. Peter* in *Vincula*, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the *Sabins* first, when they were afranchised and made free denizens, surnamed afterwards it was *Scelcratus*, upon the wicked and devilish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livy* speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius* was so called, because of *Patritii*, who were by *K. Tullus* commanded there to dwell. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others: from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. Antonius dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonius*, the Church of *S. Pancration* was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIV.

Buſta Gallica, and Aequimelum;

Buſta Gallica, was a place in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held *Rome*, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the

the Church of *S. Andrew* (in *Buſta Gallica*). Now they call it by an awk name, *Portigallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre, *Varro* fetcheth the *Buſta Gallica* near the *Aequimelum*. As for *Aequimelum*, it was so called, because the house of *Melina* who fought to be *K*, was there laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.

The street called Via Sacra: the arch Fabian and Vespasian.

THIS street beginneth at the old *Curia*, in the angle of *Palatium* near the arch of [Great] *Constantine*. *Varro* suppoeth that it began at the *Curia*, and the chappel of *Sternia*. Whereby a man may gather that the *Via Sacra* sometimes went through the gardens now of *S. Mary* the new, to the Temple of *Peace*, the *Forum* of *Caesar*, and so directly up to the Cattle of the Capitoll. The name of *Sacra* it took for that the *Augurs* when they came from the Capitoll hill, went through it as they took their Augury: or because monthly, they went in procession with sacred requies along that way: or last of all in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Aeneas Martius* in times past dwelt, near the chappel of the Lares.

In this street was the famous statue set up of *Cladius*. The arch *Fabian* likewise, near the Kings Palace, fast by the *Basilica* of *Paulus*, was reared by *Fabius* the Censor, who subdued the *Allobroges*. In which arch was the scutcheon with his arms, and other tokens of the victory engraven. Fast by it, *Scribonius Labe* erected a seat and Tribunal for the Praetor, named *Pateal*.

In the same street-way was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seen) erected by *Vespasian* after he had won *Hierusalem*. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the other, his triumphs and spoils: and namely, the golden candlestick; the seven other lights the two tables of *Moses*, the vessels of the Temple of *Hierusalem*; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof *Josephus* writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Gracostasis; Senaculum; the Curia; the Palaces of Opimius and Porcius.

Gracostasis is a place on the right hand of the *Rastras*, as men go forth of the *Comitium*; where, the Embassadors of foreign nations being sent unto the Senat, used to stand and give audience until they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of *Opimius*, and the *Curia*, stood near unto the *Gracostasis*. Above the *Gracostasis* was the *Senaculum* at the Temple of *Concord*. Called it was *Senaculum*, because the Senat or the elders were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named *Tegyria*.

Curia was in the *Comitium*, and some think it is all one with *Senaculum*; so called, because the affairs that required public care were there debated. There was a *Curia* also of Priests, where Church-matters were handled and treated of. Now this *Curia* where the Senat met, was a Temple or hallowed place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat pass, but in the place set out and appointed by augury. Hereupon *Curia Hostilia*, *Pomptia*, and *Julia*, being profane places before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this *Curia* was the altar of *Piculus*; and upon the stairs of the said *Curia* stood the image of *Vulturnus*, made of fine pure gold.

Cato the elder in the time of his Consulship, built (with the City money) a palace near to the *Forum*, under the *Curia*, which after his own name he called *Portia Basilica*.

The palace also of *Romulus* (as men think) stood where the Church is now of *S. Mary* the new. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the *Comitium* toward the Temple of *Peace*, and the Church and gardens of *S. Mary* the new almost as far as the *Esquilia*.

The fourth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Temple of Janus and Pietty: of the publick goal of Rom. Commons.

BEING that four parts of the City are described, the fifth enjoineth; which in Iudeth those places that comprehend *Tyre*, part of the *Aventine* on the right hand, and the rock *Tarpeia* on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore begin we will at the memorable places, which are next after the Theatre of *Marcus*, and so run through the plan and level plot of the City. And with *Janus* first, whom men in old time believed to be the very door, and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto *Janus* *Nanus* built a Temple at the gate *Carnementalis*, (afterwards the chappel of *S. Katharine*) at the bottom of the *Argiletum*, close

the greatest of the gods, or for the excellency and sumptuousness of the games: or else because in comparison of other Cirques, to wit, *Flaminius*, and the other called *Antimus*, i. e. the inmost, this was the biggest. For *Pliny* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs; and one in breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and sixty thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the Circus Maximus, or about it;

Consius is reported to be the god of Counsell, either for that he concealth mens counsels, or openeth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great shew-place covered over which betokeneth that counsell ought to be close and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him consecrated. For they, at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing lest they should have been detected before the time, dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verily, either by some injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so for ever, as it ended it was altogether unknown where it stood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horse-runnings, and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called *Consualia*. And those discourses and pastimes which they devised for the ravishment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Priests belonging to that god.

In like manner *Neptunus*, surnamed the Chevalier, had a Temple in this *Circus Max.* which in the year of our Lord 1526 was found behind the Temple of *S. Anastasia* at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, in the very foundations of the *Circus*: for such marks and tokens were there to be seen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptunus*, the games *Circenses* were by men in old time solemnized.

Alto *Genius* the guide and director of secret plots, they directed an altar in the great Cirque; Over and besides these, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods; a second to the Penates; and a third to those gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things arise and have their beginning. These gods above said, the Romans called *Genii, Penates, Prædites*, and keepers of the City.

Liber, Libera, Ceres, and Proserpina, had their Temples about this place called *Circus Max.* which *Pesthinnus* when he warred against the Latines vowed, and the same man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same compass were the Temples of the sun, and of *Flora*. Moreover, a Temple there stood near this *Circus*, unto *Venus*: which *Q. Fabius Gurges* the Consul, caused to be made of the money raised upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing false with their husbands.

Lucius dedicated a Temple to *Juventus* without the great cirque, not far from that place.

In like sort, *Mercury* had a Temple near this *Circus Max.* In *Plinius* daies there was seen in the *Circus Max.* the image of *Fortuna Seia*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Naumachy of the great Cirque.

Naumachy is a place so called *ὡς ναυὸς ταῖς ναύσι μάχιστο*, i. e. for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places digged deep like ponds, where were represented some shews of naval fight, for the exercise of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the cirques only, but also in the Amphitheatres.

CHAP. XIV.

The two Obelisks of the Circus Max.

The Obelisk (as *Marcellinus* testifieth) was a very huge and rough stone rising like a spire or brooch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might resemble a ray or sun-beam, it grew smaller and smaller in fashion of a steeple, with four sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and smooth right artificially. In most of them are engraven and cut certain Hieroglyphick notes, and namely, such as testifie either the founder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same *Marcellinus* speaketh in this wise: Moreover, the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the ancient authority of the first learning did set forth and mark to. Thus much saith he. Now they drew and portrayed therein sundry forms and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they referred and kept for their posterity whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Aegypt* only, but also in other parts of the world, until such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the first one letter implied a whole word, and one word went for a whole sentence. But hereof ye shall find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as *Pliny* witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone *Sinithes*. Then they erected and consecrated

consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams, as we said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was *K. Mithres*. At Rome were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautiful shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the Cirque afore said, called *Maximus* two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft, 80 foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachi*; it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, gyre: but when he would have set it up on end it fell down and brake in twain. This was hewn out of the quarry by King *Samsufraces*, in whole reign *Pythagoras* was in *Aegypt*.

CHAP. XV.

The arch of Sertinius in the Cirque. The place of the Tuberoes in the Cirque. The stew, the house of Pompey, and the fountain of Juturna.

Sertinius having made conquest of Spain, brought great store of money into the City chamber: And of the spoils taken from enemies, he reared two arches: the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*; the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus Maximus*. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and family of the *Helii* was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was to be great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their singular prowess all the worthy places and Theatres, to behold all fights and matters of activity.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the stews and brothel-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughty packs kept, in, as made profession of whoredom. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompeius* was near the *Circus Max.* & therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected. The fountain or well of the nymph *Juturna*, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the *Vil. Arum* near the common sink or vault called *Maxima*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sepulchrum of Severus.

Here should follow by course after the great Cirque, the last part of the City, namely, the mount *Calvus*, but because we meet with the *Sepulchrum of Severus*, & the arch of *Constantine* (better welcome to *Calvus*) between it and the mount *Palatine*, something would first be spoynted out or terrace raised from the plain ground a square, compassed about with eleven articles, galleries: and in this order they are disposed that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and steeper the cabins. In the top thereof four walls arise, containing within them certain hollow places like *Jui. Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Sepodium*, for the Greeks call places much frequented, where seven lots or furlongs. For in every corner thereof the columns meet together in the head with masonry of brañones. Other beams there be are besides, reaching inward from them to the mount itself, so as every such course yielded a stage like a gallery or walking place. Two of these *Sepodia* we quity, not far from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remain still, over against *S. Gregories Church* 3 Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious work; for the beauty and stateliness of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia*, and built by *Severus* himself. That which now is left thereof leaveth out so far, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

CHAP. XVII.

The triumphant arch of Constantine the Emperor.

These triumphant arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces or conquered Irrainations & obtained brave & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triump, and thereupon they are called Triumphant arches. Upon these arches for the perpetual and everlasting memoriall of acts achieved, were cut and engraven the portraitures of the very places where the war was performed: the resemblances of Fabrics and ranged battels, if the service was on land; and of ships, if it were at sea. Howbeit, until the time of the Emperors, no man raised any arches, and in *Plinius* daies they began first to be built: so as that of *Titus* is of all others most ancient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in process of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest, at the corner of the mount *Palatine*, near the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments, and

and remaineth at this day in a manner found and whole without any hurt. This arch Constantine erected for himself upon the victory which he obtained over *Maxentius* at the bridge *Milvianum*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Caelius the mount, and Caeliolus.

The mount *Caelius* in old time was named *Quercetulanus*, for the number of oaks there growing; but afterwards it was so called of one *Caelius Vibenna*, a Duke of the Tuscan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuscan people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named *Thufca*. But such as were without suspicion, kept the hill *Caelianus* or *Caeliolus*, i.e. the little *Caelius*; a place where sometime the goddess *Diana* was worshipped: and at this day there standeth the Church consecrated to *S. Eusebia* the virgin. This mountain afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Augustus*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Temples of Faunus, Venus, and Cupid; the Campi Hostilia: the forrain camp: the house of the Laterans: the Palace of Constantine and Caesarianus: the horseman statue of L. Verinus.

Upon the ridge or side of the mount *Caelius* there standeth a round Church, now patronized by *S. Stephen*, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to *Faunus*. *Faunus* he was called, and *quiritis*, for that he foretold things to come by voice and not by signs. The Albans in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church stands of *S. Mary Dominick*. In the hill *Caelius* stood sometimes the Temples of *Venus* and *Cupid*, not far from the gate *Nevia*, where now is the Church of the holy *Croix* in *Hierusalem*.

The Court *Hostilia* was in two places of Rome, the one in the common Forum, hard by the Temple of *Peace*, where King *Hostilius* first dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of *S. John* and *S. Paul* was built.

A place there was in the mount *Caelius* called *Castra Peregrina*, toward the Northeast and the *Esquiae*, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

The house of the Laterans also was built upon the same mount, at the Palace or stately Hall of the Laterans.

The Palace of *Flavius Constantinus*, near the house of the Laterans, stood between the gates *Capitoline* and *Galusca*.

The Palace of *Caesarianus* was built at the gate *Nevia*, and the Church of *S. Holy-croix* in *Hierusalem*.

In the street called *Lateranensis* stood the statue on horseback of *L. Verinus*. Some say it was made for *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, others, for *Septimius Severus*.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Amphitheatres, and first of that of Statilius Taurus.

Now it followeth to speak of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, but before we write thereof, it would be briefly shewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word *Amphitheatrum* cometh, as *ἀμφὶ* & *θέατρον*, i.e. of looking round about: for two prospects joyed in one, make the form of an hemisphere or half circle. Some think that *Titus* devised the Amphitheatre first, but some know and prove that *C. Caesar* built the first that ever was in *Mars* field: but by the authority of *Strabo* it is proved, that *Statilius* reared one Amphitheatre before *Titus*. In these Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons likewise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearful sight to behold; for thither were those prisoners brought by the Editors, within that enclosure to wrestle and maintain conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in these Amphitheatres shews of sword-fencers at the sharp foil and death, to the end, that the soldiers should be acquainted with fights, and learn not to be afraid of weapons of wounds, nor of bloodshed, nor to draw back and avoid the peril of war to come for the novelty and strangeness thereof. A great part of *Statilius* his Amphitheatre is yet to be seen near the walls at *S. Crocifera* Church in *Hierusalem*. And at the same time he built it, when *Augustus Caesar* encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of *Rome*, every man according to his ability to beautify and adorn the City.

CHAP. XXI.

The water conduits why they were devised, by what means waters were conveyed into the City, to what purposes by whom first, and how many.

The City of *Rome* in the beginning, as hath been said in the first book, was but narrow of compass and contained within small bounds: and the people for commodity and store of water,

settled upon the river *Tyber*. But as the city dayly more and more increased, necessary it was that some should build them houses and habitation in one place, some in another, farther from the river: whereupon distressed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched so far off, and that away the silt, and carry it into *Tyber*, became (by the noisome air which was infected with their vomit) the Emperor *Nero* took to himself the remedy of this mischief, and others after him, by his example and device by the wise and subtle invention of men, conduits pipes, to bring water in by arched work, when by digging certain hills or vaults the water was carried level above ground, being water into the city by secret underways through pipes, fountains, and rocks. By which means it came to pass, that in the city every where, such store there was of water, that each house almost had a well in it, but especially at the bottom and foot of the hill *Quirinalis*, and all the side thereof, in the street *Parriensis*, *Sabura*, the *Lamine* way, the *Aventine*, the Jews street, and in many other places: so as in this our age full it is of such water-works under the ground. Now were these waters conveyed from divers places, and some conduits especially, such as were devised by arches were higher or lower than others: in the beginning and all the former times, there were (by report) five the water pipes *Tapula* into the fourth: then *Martin*, and after it old *Anio*, the level or current whereof, *Virgo* followeth and *Appia*, and the lowest of all others, *Alfentia*, which serves that quarter of the city beyond *Tyber* and other low places built upon the plain. These waters were first brought into certain great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certain measure distributed by the conduit officers, and so ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called *Castellum*, which receiveth first the common water, and afterwards divideth it out into divers levels or above ground certain cisterns or receptacles of water, which kept water to serve certain wardens and keepers, and a set number of labourers and workmen to see thereto. Finally, a head, or derived and conveyed water to other places than the laws or public ordinances, or the *Clandius* (by report) was the first man that brought water into the city by arched work. But of the ancient, the instruments, measures, and weights thereof belonging, read *Frontinus*, who of these things hath written truly and at large. Also have recourse to *Sex. Rufinus*, who of the same argument hath made a good treatise. In the time of *Frontinus* there were but nine waters and no more brought into the City, namely, *Appia*, old *Anio*, *Martin*, *Tapula*, *Julia*, *Virgo*, *Alfentia*, called also *Agusta*, *Clandius*, and new *Anio*. *Rufinus* reckoneth ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after *Frontinus*.

CHAP. XXII.

The conduits or conveyance of Aqua Claudia.

Agrippa began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died. *Claudius* the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the fountains or springs called *Caracalla* and *Curvus*, was drawn to the City, he gave the name *Aqua Claudia*: the other, for difference sake of the two conduits of *Anio* he called his own, or the new *Anio*: and distinct it was from that which is named old *Anio*. The water *Claudia* therefore was brought from the gate *Nevia*, along the side of the mount *Caelius* into the *Aventine*. A part also thereof *Caracalla* derived into the Capitol hill.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those things which now in mount Caelius are not known where they stood.

Romulus the Consul having expelled *Turquinius*, built a Temple to the goddess *Carna* in mount *Caelius*, to which goddess also, upon the accomplishment of his prayer and vows, he offered sacrifices. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vital members of the body, and upon her altars, and presented oblations.

Agrippina likewise began to build a Temple to *Claudius Caesar*, which after her death *Poppaea* finished, and *Nero* utterly destroyed to the very foundation: this also was erected in the same hill, *Mammura Formiana*, Master of *Caesar* Carpenters in *France* was the first Roman that adorned and set out his house which he had in *Caelius* hill with marble rough-cast. Moreover, the house of *Claudius Censitulus* stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the *Tartici*, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewise the house of *Junius Senator*, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were consumed with fire, the image of *Tiberius* remained unburnt. There also it is said that *Titus Claudius Cyprius*, the maker of hymns, in this hill was the great *Masellum*, the cave or den of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the armory.

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CHAP. XXIV.

The water Appia, and Nova. The Temple of Isis, Virtue, Honour, Quirinus.

Mars, and the river Alma.

Now follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill *Aventine* toward the beginning from the arch of *Constantine*, reacheth as far as *Brundisium* and became afterwards it was paved and repaired by *Caracalla*, it took the name of *Nova*, because it was newly begun, it is properly called *Nova*, beginning at the gate of *Palatine*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* hill, over the great Circus called *Maximus*, stretcheth out as far as to the lowest fifth-pool, where now standeth the Church of *S. Sixtus*. Many other streets there, were called *Nova*. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and lest ye think that to be spoken of ones, which oftentimes was meant of many.

Between the Church of *Sixtus*, the Fifth-pools, and the ruins of the Antonian baths, there was the Church of *S. Antonodoricus*, built by *Antonius Balbinus*.

The Temple of *Honour and Virtue*, not far from the street *Appia*, was vowed by the father of *Marcus Marcellus*, at *Castidium in Gaul*; and seventeen years after dedicated by this son *Marcus*.

Two Temples there were of *Mars*, one called the Temple of *Quirinus* within the City near to the gate of that name, the other upon the way *Appia* without the City.

The river *Alma* runneth along the way *Appia*, under the foot of the *Aventine* into the *Tyber*. It beginneth ten miles from the City in the territory *Marinum*; which commonly afterwards they called the river of *Appius*. In this river the goddesses named the mother of the gods; was every year went to be washed by her Priests, called *Galli*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of baths and bairns in general.

Therma properly hath the signification from a Greek word, *θερμη*, which betokeneth hot. But we use to call those places which either having hot waters, or without them are heated with a stoup, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat by the Greek name *Therma*. That the Romans used in old to bath and wash themselves oftner than we now adooies, is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundry causes they were wont to do so [as yet the manner is amongst us] namely to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health and pleasure: whereby it came to pass, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in a manner a privat bath of hot-house by himself: but the same were devised and contrived after divers and sundry sorts. For many publique baths there were ordained for the common people to use at their pleasure. *Servius* Quirinus invented first and made the pendans or hanging baths. But after that riot and superfluity abounded in excess, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keep no mean nor measure, as appeareth by the very reliques and ruins thereof at this day. And those places where they built these bairns and hot-houses they called *Therma*; which contained within them divers places, and an infinite number of rooms, bearing sundry names, and serving to as many uses. For some were appointed to heat water (and those were round built) from whence hot water was let into the bairns, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft; which water after they had done washing, being foul and good for nothing, was conveyed by certain pipes and spouts into finks. They had other rooms also called *Apodyteria*, wherein they that were to go into the bath put off their cloaths and laid them by. In the same places were court-yards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed roofs most finely; wherein were marble pillars, garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls leaved and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries, groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights drew and allured mens minds, as that they would wash oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these bairns the Princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons wholeover as it fell out. They had besides private baths to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely, *Antoninus Caracalla*, at his own charges edified certain baths, which by his name were called *Therma Antonia*. The huge ruins thereof are yet to be seen, some of the pillars still stand, others are thrown down. Some say, they were begun only by *Antoninus*, but finished and adorned by *Servius*. They stood about the foot of the *Aventine* near the street way leading to *Ardea*, where now is the Church of *S. Balbina*. Under these baths there stood a most goodly Palace, built by the same *Antoninus*, but at this day there is scarce any example or shew thereof.

The

The fifth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Etymology of the mount *Aventine*.

The *Aventine* is of the Roman hills the fourth in order. The compass and form whereof, because we have already described in the first book, needles here it is to repeat. But it redifies be therein. The *Aventine* therefore, some think, took the name of *Avens* which were wont to flie unto this hill, there to nestle: others, of a King of the Albans, slain and buried there. There be again who suppose, that the Sabines, who being by the Romans sent forth to *Verres*, there settled and made abode gave the name to this hill. *Avens* river in their first passage, was divided from the rest, and from the City: for as it hath sent forth a tribut before this mount would go to it used to ferry over in small punts or wherries. Some give credit to them that name of resort unto it, for that the Latines used in great frequency to resort to the temple of *Diana* there. Remains also it was named of *Romus* who chose a place there to build his city, for to take the flight of birds for Augury, and in the end was there entered: *Numa* his brother. This hill *Avens* *Marius* afterward compassed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would there to dwell: howsoever, there be some that think it stood void until the time of *Claudius* the Emperor of happy memory, as being an ominous place and unfortunate, by reason of foul birds that haunted it, and therefore not to be received within the walls. But the truth is, when the Romans grew populous, they joyned this mountain allo to the rest of the City.

CHAP. II.

The Temples of *Diana*, *Dea bona*, *Hercules Victor*, *Queen Juno*, *Moneta*, *Luna*, *Victory*, *Minerva*, and *Liberty*. The Altar of *Jupiter Elicius*.

In the top of mount *Aventine* toward the *Tyber*, there standeth the Church of *S. S. diana*, that was wont to be kept at Rome the thirteenth day of *August*, for upon that day *Servius Tullius*, whose mother was a bond-woman, consecrated a Temple to *Diana* in *Aventine*, and ordained it chapel was built by *K. Ancus* of that money which the Citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been translated thither from *Politorium*. This Temple was common unto all the Latines, whereupon oftentimes they resorted thereunto.

Very near unto that place stood the Church of *S. Mary*, called *Aventinus*. But in times past the place was consecrated to the goddess *Bona*, i.e. good. For *Claudia* a vestall virgin or Nun, built a chapel unto her in the honour of *Favus*, a filter of *Favus*, a most chaste maid.

Upon the same bank and brow of the hill, where at this day *S. Alexius* Church standeth, was sometime the Temple of *Hercules Conqueror*. And near unto it another of *Juno Regina*, built by *Camillus* also of *Arduus*, where the Christians afterwards consecrated a Church to *S. Prisca*.

Thus much of those buildings in the *Aventine*, which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge: the rest following were doubtless in the *Aventine*, but in what part thereof they stood, it is now unknown after so long time, and namely, the Temple of *Vesta* built by the Arcadians, and in honour of whom they offer sacrifice yearly. *Minerva* and *Juno* had their Temples there in the same father of *T. Gracchus*, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloister belonging to all by *Pollio* also re-edified. Now this *S. Liberty* the Romans honoured above all others and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever shewed themselves most resolute and constant.

Upon the same hill, *Numa* reared the altar of *Jupiter Elicius*, so called *ab eliciendo*, i.e. of fetching out secrets and hidden mysteries.

In like manner there stood an old altar of *Murea* in that hill. Now they named *Murea* of the Myrtle tree consecrated unto her: or as some interpret, because *Venus*, immoderate and excessive, maketh a man to be *Mureus* of *Mureduis*, i.e. sluggish, slothful, idle, and good for nothing.

The Temple of *Juno Moneta* was likewise built and dedicated upon that hill, *Camillus* in the same mount consecrated a chapel to dame *Mama*.

The wood or grove, also called *Laurentum* or *Luventina*, consecrated unto *Jupiter*, was there: in which Emperor *Valentinian* the second son of *Constantine*, and *Galla Placidia* was slain, as *Pliny* witnesseth.

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CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Cacus, and his hole or Cave.

Cacus, by report of the Poets, was the son of Vulcan, whom they believed in old time to breathe out of his mouth fire and smoke. This Cacus infested the places near unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is that he was a most lewd and thevish servant of Evander, and therefore the Arcadians called him *κακός*, i.e. naught. A cave he haunted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over-against the Church of *S. Mary Aventine*, whereas the river runneth nearest to the hill, and whereas there hangeth over a vast and huge craggy rock, as fit a place as might be to make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and near it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Hercules* had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Jupiter Inventor*, near to the said cave or den.

CHAP. IIIII.

The Armilustrum, and some other things in general.

Armilustrum was a place where souldiers shewed themselves and their armor, and where they used to muster; where also in their arms they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with resounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the *Cirque Maximus*; but that matters not much. Hither the souldiers used to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harness and weapons. For armor of their own and in their privat custody the Romans had not, to use in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the *Armilustrum*, or the tower or castle upon the rock *Tarpia*.

In *Aventine*, near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, were the *Scala Gemonia*, that is to say, a steep place with a downfall; where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime this hill, near the Temple of *Diana*, the house of *Phyllis*.

A part of this mountain was called *Remuria* which *Remus* chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senat and people of Rome built in this mountain, to the honour of *Decius* the Emperor, the baths called *Deciana*, and others also near them, named *Variana*. Moreover, the bains of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Francis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Eunus* and *Picus* also were in the *Aventine*, as fables report, *Italus* likewise dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in general were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tiberius*, sometime Emperor.

CHAP. V.

The sheard hill, and other things within that compass.

The plain and level ground between *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the City wall, hath four sides, but uneven: in which there riseth a little hill, commonly called *Teflacens*. The whole compass hereof will hardly be measured with 2000 paces; the height is about 160 foot. It seemeth in shew the form of a gourd; and the one side of it which regardeth the *Tyber* is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glasse-makers street (and the potters) also the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon arose and grew the mount called *Teflacens*. For in old time, at Rome and elsewhere, as also in some places now adaies, much use there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numa's* daies there were four colleges or societies of potters: and these made of clay, not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and set out their Temples: pillars and wals were by potters work seeld in the outside, nay, the very dead bodies were bestowed in copins of baked clay. Since then, in so great store of earthen vessels and potters work, much of necessity must needs be broken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corn-field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful; again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choaked up the channell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the banks: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to sing all that was good for nothing, as filth, ruff, raff, and broken sheards into one place: whereupon, in process of time arose a mount which they called *Teflacens*. Among these potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Myrteas*, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.

The Pyramides; the sepulchre of C. Cestius, and the garners of the people of Rome.

The *Pyramides* were huge towers four-square, rising up in height, sharp like to a flane, whereof they have the name *ἀπὸ τῆς πυρὸς*, i.e. of fire. But *Stephanus* supposeth they were to be called, *ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς*, i.e. of wheat, because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of

of all Egypt; which made a great dearth of corn. These at the beginning were reared by the Kings of Egypt; thereby to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had no use; for fear lest if they had gathered goods, and heaped up a deal of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some for to lie in wait to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idleness. Afterwards, at Rome likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to shew their vain-glory. There is yet one of them to be seen, standing upright at the gate *Hastenis*, enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said that it was the monument or sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, one of the seven Septemvirs, called *Ephlones*. But *Blondus* would seem to prove, that it was the place for: buriall of the whole College and Society of those Septemvirs *Ephlones*. Now were they called *Ephlones*, who had the power to ordain and make feasts and solemn banquets to the gods.

It is written, that there were 140 garners of the people of Rome, between the mount *Teflacens* and *Tyber*.

In the same compass of ground near *Tyber* was the lake or pool *Hylernus*. Some also affirm, that there stood sometime in that quarter a little town called *Copona*.

CHAP. VII.

The sweating steeple, and the image of Jupiter.

By course the *Esquilie* should next follow; but because it lieth between the way *Laticana* on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breadth of 400 foot enloseth that way) on the West: we will rehearse what memorable things forever there be in the *Labican* way and the valley afore said before we come to the mount *Esquilie*. In our return therefore to the triumphall arch of *Constantine*, whereof we spake before, we will as we go discourse of the rest. Near then unto this arch there appeareth the half rundle or circumference of an old steeple made of brick, which *Vittor* calleth the sweating steeple: for that the report goeth, how sometime there gushed water out of it; whereby the common people, standing to behold the games and plaies in the next scaffolds of the Theatre until they were almost quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brazen image of *Jupiter*, became their ancestors in old time were wont when they made solemn leagues to use the image of *Jupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or to send the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in far remote countries, therefore instead of the complete image they took the scepter only: which might betoken *Jupiter* the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full and whole.

CHAP. VIII.

The Amphitheatre of Titus Vespasianus. The Temple of Fortune and Quies.

Between the two hills *Calvus* and *Esquilie* was there an Amphitheatre. This *Vespasian* built first, and afterward *Titus* his son dedicated and beautified it with the bains, built near unto it with right great celerity and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Colosseum*, of *Nero's* *Colosseum*, which was set up in the porch of *Nero's* house. In the same place of the Theatre were the pooles before time of *Nero*, whereof we will speak hereafter in this very book. This Amphitheatre they called also *Arenas*, i.e. the Sand-floor, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand that the wrestlers might fall softer and take less hurt: also that the blood should be drunk up, to the end that the sword-fencers in combat might not be afraid upon the sight thereof, and lo with less cheerfulness and courage let upon their concurrent: and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were anointed with oyl, being betwixt with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it self within (which during those daies of the games was covered over with tent-cloth) would receive 80000 men. But hereof see more in *Pliny*, *Pompeius*, *Leius*, and other writers of the Roman aas.

Fulvius Flaccus built unto *Fortune* (last by this Amphitheatre) so goodly a Temple, as for stature and magnificence there was hardly another in all Rome comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chappels at Rome consecrated to *Fortune*.

Likewise a Chappell of *Quietnes* and rest was built in the broad street *Laticana*.

CHAP. IX.

Of Esquilie.

The mount *Esquilie* as well by *Varron* as others is divided into many parts, and each part thereof took the name of those captains who in times past, before the City of Rome was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Cilpinus*, another, *Oppius* and a third *Sepim*. But hercof *Varron* writeth at large. The posterity following changed those names, as we shall hereafter hear. Some think that *Esquilie* took the name of *Excubias*, i.e. watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great trust in *Tiberius*, he used to have a standing watch by night for fear he should be secretly forsaken and killed, or else turned out of his kingdom. Others suppose it was so named of toilers, who there used to cast forth chaff, and such refuse of light corn, to begnie and catch the poor birds.

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The side of the hill toward the broad way *Laticlavia*, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of S. Clement, S. Peter in Vinculis, and S. Martin, was called by the name of *Corina*, as *Levy* seemeth to testify. From that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall do well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.

The Carinae, the old Curia and the new.

These *Carinae*, according to their model and form were houses like to keels of ships, standing within the Temple of *Tellus*. Their ruins are yet to be seen near the Church of S. Peter in Vinculis, i.e. in bonds.

Near to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*: but the new was erected near to *Comptum Fabricium*, i.e. the Quarrefour or cross way of *Fabricius*.

CHAP. XI.

The bairns of Titus and Philip: the Statue of Laocoon: the Palace of Vespasian: the houses of Balbus and Pompey.

There remain yet to be seen the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the Emperors bairns, not far from the Church of S. Martin in the hills: for there be great cisterns to receive water, which at this day be called *Septim Sula*, according to the number of those cisterns: and so far reached the house of *Nero*, and *Aurelia*, i.e. golden.

Not far from thence in the year of our Lord 1566 one *Felix* a Citizen of Rome, chanced to find in his vineyard the Statue of *Laocoon*, made by those excellent workmen, *Agasander*, *Polydorus* and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians who with wonderful cunning portraited and cut most artificially in one inire stone, *Laocoon* himself, the admirable windings and foldings of the serpents about him. And now at this day is to be seen at the Vatican, in the place of *Vespasian* near the said bairns of *Titus*, See more of this you may in *Pliny*, As for the story it self, most learnedly and lively it is set out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind these bairns of *Titus*, between East and North, the ruins of others besides are thought verily to be those of *Philip* the Emperor.

Above the bairns of *Titus*, some few *Hadrian* bairns: for that this place is yet called *Hadrianus*. By the testimony of *Lampridius* it appeareth that *Balbus* his house was in *Corina*. There also was *Pompey* house, in which *Lenaxus* his freed-servant taught grammar.

CHAP. XII.

The cliff *Virbius*, the house of *Servius Tullius*, i.e. golden one of *Nero*, and that of *Virgil*, *Mecenas* his tower and hortiards: the Temples of Fortune and Felicity.

That part of the *Esquilie* which overlooketh the Church of S. Lawrence in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbius*: there also is the grove *Fagutalis*, wherein stood the mansion house of *Servius Tullius*.

Nero's house called *Golden* took up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now Saint *Gregories* Church standeth lay between *Constantines* arch, the *Colosseum*, the *Carina*, *Esquilie*, and *Mecenas* hortiards. His house before was in his own fire wherewith he burnt the City consumed also: and when he re-edified it anew, he called it *Aurea*. The spacious largeness wherewith it was, that it had about it three porches of a mile compass apiece. It contained also a pool like another sea: walled it was about, and resembled a very City. There were to it belonging hols and hamlets country-like, vineyards pastures, woods, and beasts both tame and wild, or all sorts. The house and the porches were double guilded all over, and set out with precious stones. And in one world there was nothing wanting that might serve for pleasure or prodigall riot.

In the entry of this house there stood an huge image giant-like, called a *Colossus*, 120 foot high. After *Nero*'s death, dedicated it was to the sun, and then charged the name. Now men think it was called *Colossus* after his name who was the first deviser of all such figures.

Within the same house *Nero* included also the chappell of *Fortune*. This goddes being made of the stone *Phengites*, when all the doors were shut, gave light to the whole house within: such rays of radiant brightness casteth this kind of stone from it. This goddes *Servius Tullius* first consecrated, and of *Severus* i.e. standing corn, called her *Seia*.

At the bairns of *Dioctavian*, there is a street-way leading up to S. *Antones* Church in *Esquilie*, where *Diocletian* sometime a most noble tower of *Mecenas* within his own hortiards: for those most pleasant hortiards were in the plain of *Esquilie*. Here-within was *Prapus* worshipped: upon which hill-favored *Idol* *Virgil* hath played much in *verie*.

Near the hortiards of *Mecenas* stood the said *Virgil* house. The Temple of *Felicity*, which took up a part of that plot where *Nero*'s Gold-house should stand was by him burnt.

Above those gardens or hortiards of *Mecenas* was raised a wonderful piece of work, called *Aggeres Targuinis Superbi*, i.e. *Targuinus* bulwarks.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Palace of *Sisiminius*: the plain and market place of *Esquilie*: the grove *Querquetulanus*: also that of *Juno Lacinia*, and of *Mars*: the chappell and altar of *Ill-Fortune*.

The palace of *Sisiminius* in *Esquilie*, stood (as they say) where the Church of S. Mary the great-ter now is.

The plain or field *Esquilie*, near the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Inter montes*), among the hills, is between the foresaid bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times past called *Fortuna*, because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the stinking steam thereof was no more to the City, the Citizens and *Augustus* after by a general consent gave the field unto *Mecenas*, where he made his goodly hortiards and most dainty gardens, of which *Cicero*, with other, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Esquilinum* was in the same hill. That side of the *Esquilie* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus* had in it the grove of *Juno Lacinia*.

In the same *Esquilie* was the chappell and altar of *Ill-Fortune*. In the way which goeth to the gate *Interagere*, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of *Targuinus* stood the arch of *Gordian*: made of marble, garnished also and set out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was S. *Gregories* Church in *Damasus* built.

CHAP. XIV.

The cliff *Suburanus*: the arch of *Caligulus*: the bimbles or fish-market of *Livia*, or as some would have it, *Livium*: the cross-stone way, and the Trophees of *Marius*.

At the top or upper end of *Subura* was the *Clivus Suburanus*, so called of *Subura*, yielding an easie ascent from thence up into the *Esquilie*.

Among you meet with the triumphal arch of *Caligula* the Emperor (where now standeth the Church of S. *Petrus*) making a goodly shew of the *Tiburtine* Rome, wherewith it was made. Near unto it was the bimbles or market-place called *Macellum Liviae*, or *Livianum*. This, as some think, took the name of one *Mucellus*, who being a notorious thief, and practising much to steal into the City, was in the end apprehended and by the Censors condemned: and his house being seized as confiscated, and the City was converted to a place wherein they sold meat and all other victuals: and so it down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name still of the former.

From hence beginneth the port-way *Prænestina*, and leadeth to the gate *Esquilina*. In this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick half ruined upon which were erected two Trophees of marble; that is to say, certain posts, like half ruinat upon which with spoils of enemies hanging thereupon; and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophees were set up by *Marius* in his triumph for the *Cimbrian* war: which when *Sylla* had cast down and overthrow, C. *Cæsar* (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called *Cimbrum*. As touching Trophees, look to the read more in *Plutarch*, *Valerius Maximus*, and others.

CHAP. XV.

The house of the *Ælii*: the chappell *Marianum*: the region or quarter called *Tabernola*: the bairns and dwelling house of *Gordian*: the Palace of *Caius* and *Lucius*: also the Palace *Licinianum*.

The house of the *Ælii* stood in that place where now be the monuments *Mariana* and the chappell of that name.

The plain part of the *Esquilie*, between it and the mount *Celivus*, and the *Basilica Lætarensis*, is at this day called *Merulina*, for *Mariana*; and in old time, the region of *Tabernola*.

Near the Church of S. *Enfilius*, in the way of *Prænestina*, was built the bairns and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruins of those hot-houses are yet to be seen, whereby a man may soon give an estimable ruins: this they commonly call, the bairns of *Galatius*. But in that place stood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which *Cæsar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his ne-phews. Hard by the Church of S. *Balbins*, whereas now is the Bear called *Pileatus*, stood sometime the Palace *Licinianum*.

CHAP. XVI.

The water *Martia* or *Trajana*: and the Temple of *Ysis*.

The current of the water *Martia*, passing by the gate *Trajana* through the plain of *Esquilie*, went as far as to the bairns of *Dioctavian*, unto the hills next adjoining. This in old time was called *Ansera*. It riseth out of the spring *Picena* in the mountains of the *Pelignis*, and passeth by the

the Martians country and the lake *Fucinus*, and so runneth to *Rome*; the coldest and most wholesome of all other waters that run into *Rome*. This water *Ancon Marcius* began first to bring into the City: afterward, *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Res*, took it in hand; and a long time after *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it read more in *Pliny* and *Frontinus*.
The Temple of *Isis* is by *P. Vilius* placed in the quarter *Esquilina*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of *Suburra*; the house of *Cæsar* and *Lælia*; and the street *Patricius*.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented: it beginneth at the *Forum Romanum*, and goeth on forward directly by the *Forum Nervæ* up to the hanging or rising of the hill called *Clivus Suburanus*, whereof we have written before in this book; and it endeth where the way *Franciscana* beginneth. Called it was *Suburra*, either for that it sustained and bare up the *Carina* and the wall under it: or because it lay under the old City; or as *Varro* thinketh, of the burrough or street *Succurram*. In this street *Suburra* was the house of *Cæsar*, so long as he contented himself with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certain stews and brothel-houses, as *Martial* writeth.

The street *Patricius* windeth crooked from the hill *Viminalis*, and endeth at the bairns of *Dioclesiana*. Of it more hath been said in the former book.

The house of *Lælia* likewise was in the same street, as *Martial* witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Suburra in the Plain; and the Temple of *Sylvanus*.

The mount *Viminalis* on the West-side of it hath part of the *Quirinalis* opposite against it: and the valleying between was named *Suburra* the plain.

In the same valley in times past were the ten *Tavernæ*; so called of the number.

The pit also of *S. Proba* was in the same hill: which *Proba* her self made near to the Church of *S. Marcellus* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill *Viminalis*, over-against *S. Agatha's* Church there stood the Temple of *Sylvanus*, as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the hill *Viminalis*; the Palace of *Decius*; the *Læver* of *Agrippina*; the bairns of *Olympias* and *Novatus*; the dwelling houses of *Q. Cæcilius*, *Crassus*, and *C. Aquilius*.

Varro reckoneth the hill *Viminalis* among the *Esquilæ*. *Viminalis* it was named of *Jupiter Viminalis*, whose altars were in that hill: or else of plenty of *Ofers* there growing.

In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there stood in old time, (where now is the Church of *S. Laurence* in *Panisperna*) the Palace of *Decius* the Emperor, as may be shewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the same place, toward the Church of *S. Vitalis*, were the lavers or washing places of *Agrippina* mother to *Nero*.

The bairns of *Olympias* were situate toward *Suburra*; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the bairns of *Novatus* were built upon the hill *Viminalis*, where the Church of *S. Prudence* standeth.

The hill *Viminalis* had also three goodly houses of most noble personages, to wit, of *M. Crassus*, *Quintus Cæcilius*, and *Caius Aquilius*: the marks whereof are evident to be seen in the side of the said hill.

Upon the same hill in times past a certain feastsall sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Fagatal*.

CHAP. XX.

The bairns of *Dioclesianus*; the *Library Ulpia*; the plain *Viminalis*; the gate *Interagere*; and the vale *Quirinalis*.

The bairns of *Dioclesian* are to be seen all ruinat on the side of the hill *Viminalis*: and by their ruins a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. These were begun by *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian Herbulanus*: in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to work many years together in most slavish manner.

These were afterwards finished and dedicated by *Constantine* and *Maximinian*, new Emperors. Of the vain and superfluous expences which the Romans laid out upon Bains, read *Seneca*, who depaupereth out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same bairns was the *Library Ulpia*, which by *Hadrian*, or (as some think) by *Trajan*, was thither translated: wherein were the linen records, and those huge volumes, called the *Elephantine books*, in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the sanctions and ordinances of Senat were, as *Pollio* witnesseth.

Behind

Behind these bairns, from above the rampier or bulwark of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plain field *Viminalis*, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate *Interagere* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth that it stood in the plain *Esquilina*.

In that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the *Vivarium*, or the pool betwixt within which park they kept enclosed divers and lundry kinds of wild beasts. The harbours and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen: whereupon it cometh that those places or parks which are let out and appointed for feeding they call, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

The space between *Dioclesian's* baths and *Constantine's* arch is named the vale *Quirinalis*: in which they lay, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

CHAP. XXI.

The mount *Caballus*: the *Etymology* of *Quirinalis*: the tower *Militarium*; the bairns of *Paulus*; the chappell of *Neptune*: the bairns of *Constantine*: the house, and seat of the *Comiti*.

The hill which at this day they name *Caballus* was in old time called *Quirinalis*, as by many signs and reasons may be proved; so as no man skillfull in the Roman history, need to doubt thereof.

This *Quirinal* hill, the sixth in order of the mountains of *Rome* (as *Varro* testifieth) taketh that name of the Temple of *Quirinus*: after others, of the *Quintus*, who coming with *Tatius* from *Cures*, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long: for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate *Collina* and *Collatina*. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called *Comitium*.

In the pitch and top of the hill, above the *Forum* of *Trajanus*, you shall see the tower called *Militarium*: where in old time the souldiers of *Trajan* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridge were the bairns of *Paulus* built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called *Bagiana-Poli*.

In the descent and hanging of the *Quirinal* hill toward *Suburra* stood sometime the chappell of *Neptune*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruins of the place do testifie.

The house of the *Cornelii* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still. But more hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The Temples of *Saturn*, the *Sun*, and *Bacchus*; *Quirinus* his Temple and porch; the old *Capitol*; the Chappells of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the house of *Pomponius Atticus*.

In the *Cornelian* street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gyant-like images, called *Colossi* resembling two old men, naked, and holding *Cornucopia* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of *Saturn* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call *Mæsa*. This men think, was the tower of the *Sun*, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshippeth the *Sun* above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription; *Soli invictæ, To the invincible Sun*. His mother also, a Priest of the *Sun*, thereupon reared a Temple unto the *Sun*.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two horses seen standing; the handy-work of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Tridates* the Kings, and translated to *Rome*.

That part of the *Quirinalis* which boundeth upon *Vallis Murcia* was called the mount and Temple of *Clara* and *Apollo*.

Not far from thence behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent: where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old *Capitol* stood, together with the chappell of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. Over-against these places, enclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of *S. Vitalis*, *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in a house which came to him by inheritance from his grandfather, and was called *Pamphiliana*. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of *Quirinus*, kept always shut, to signifye that it was an unknown secret: whether *Romulus* were emiered and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name: where folk used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesses and contractions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The path-way or cansty called *Alta*; the house of *Sabinus*; the street and statue of *Mamurrus*; the Court and gardens of *Salust*, and the field or plain *Sceleratus*.

The high cauley reaching from the baths of *Constantine* to the gate *Viminalis* along the side of *Quirinalis* was paved with four-square stone.

Upon that cauley, at a place called the *Pomgranat*, *Flavius Sabinus* had an house, wherein, by report, *Domitian* was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a street of *Mamurrus*: and that his statue there stood where now is *S. Sufani* Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of *Salust*, and his most neat and fine horticards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached near the gate *Collina*. Of those horticards, as also of the hamlet *Tiburina*, there yet continue some marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is seen the very house of *Salust*, which the people there inhabiting call *Salustrium*. Of this matter see more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the horticards of *Salust*, near the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount: where in times past the vestall votary Nuns, such as were condemned for incontinency and incest, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Temples of *Salus*, of *Dius Fidius*, of *Fortuna Primigenia*, of *Honor*, *Hercules*, and *Quirinus*; also the *Senat-house* of women.

The mount *Quirinalis* had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they stood is not so well known at this day, namely, one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Pictor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudian*. By *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed, but the *Equians* it was vowed by him (Centor) put to making, and in his second Dictatorship dedicated.

* Deum Trino-
minia Salu-
tis.

Sancit, *Dius*, and *Fidius*, were the *Sabins* gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other household gods, they carried with them into mount *Quirinalis*. This god (forsooth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said: These three therefore had one temple built upon this hill, and were called by one name, *Sancit*. The opinion received of which godhead was such, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of sanctity and holiness, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity avowed and swore thus, *Me Deus Fidius*.

Domitius, a Prator or Lord Chief Justice within the City of *Rome*, built a Temple upon that hill to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Besides, in that mount were the Temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*.

Likewise the Council-house of women was in the mount *Quirinalis*, at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain solemn set daies.

Moreover, it is recorded, that the feast *Agonialis* was celebrated in *Quirinalis*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Court or Forum *Archimonium*; the pillar *Tiburina*; the house of *Martial*; the *Cirque* of *Floralia*; the Temple of *Flora*; the Shop of *Minium*, and the common ascent called *Cilivus Publicus*.

Between the hill *Hortulorum* (whereof ye may read before in the first book and the chapter next following) and *Quirinalis* there is a valley four-square, but lying somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clivus* and *Apollo*, was the Court called *Archimonium*. For the very Church of *S. Nicholas*, which at this day standeth upon that place is named *De Michiboniti*.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There stood the house of *Martial*, as he himself witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round *Cirque* (*Floralium*) where yearly to the honour of the goddess *Flora* the festival *Floralia* is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous courtesan or strumpet at *Rome*, who having by her whores trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her last will made the people of *Rome* her heirs with this condition. That every year they should celebrate the memorial of her birth day. But the *Senat* thinking this a ridiculous mockery to honour and dignify so fitly a thing with such a remembrance, they devised a goddess of flowers, forsooth called *Flora*, and her upon those holidays they seemed to please and content, that the would be good to the growth of trees and corn, and that they might do well in their flowering and blooming time. To this goddess we read that a Temple likewise was consecrated: Anon you meet with the work-houses where they make *Minium*, i.e. Vermilion, Near unto which was the *Cilivus Publicus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The hill *Hortulorum*, the Temple of the Sun, and the sepulchre of *Nero*.

This little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of *Pincius* a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in these daies are called, Mount *Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and marks of his house are seen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the same wall we meet with an huge building in form of an hemisphere or half circle, which men imagine, was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the same hill over-against the tomb of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, fast by the monument of *Domitian* stood *Nero's* sepulchre also.

Now this hill *Hortulorum* took the name of certain horticards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered were most fruitful. Down this hill all they were wont (in times past) to descend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to sue and stand for any Magistracy.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in general.

That it may be understood more certainly in what place of the plain and levell part of the City every thing stood, let there be a straight and right line drawn from the Capitoll, through *Pantheon* to *Tyber*, near the Church of *S. Roch*. So shall the City be in manner divided into two equal parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the *Tyber*, the other from the Forum of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flamentana*, along the foot of the two hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated *Visorium*. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and thence in regard of husbandmen, who on festival daies visited the Temples of the gods: afterwards, at *Rome* they began to be taken up. The first, and that the greatest of all others was built of timber by *M. Scavrus*: for, the concavity front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in *Cassiodorus* and *Purpurinus*, who have written plentifully thereof, and namely, by whom they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of *Marcellus* and the Library: the gallery and court of *Octavia*.

Augustus built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in sundry works. And among the rest was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or cousin by his sister *Octavia*. A part hereof is yet to be seen between the Capitoll and *Tyber*, where now standeth the palace of the *Sabelli*. It was able to contain 80000 men. See more thereof in *Ammianus*.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallery of *Octavia*, reared by the said *Augustus* for his sister's ravishing of *Procopius*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* & *Satyrus*, also *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the nine muses, the workmanship of *Timarchides*. Within this gallery or walking place, *Pliny* saith, there stood a chappel of *Juno*, and the image of the said goddess. Fast by the said gallery stood the court as great a space, as at this day the Churches of *S. Nicholas in Carcere* and *S. Mary in Portico*. After the death of *Marcellus* *Octavia* his mother let up a library near his Theatre. Now the first that is ordained. That books of all learning, should be in time public place: bestowed for to be read of all that would come; was at *Athen* *Pisistratus* the tyrant, and at *Rome* *Agnus Poellio*.

CHAP. III.

The *Cirque* or new place *Flaminia*, and the Temple of *Apollo*.

That this *Cirque* *Flaminia* stood in that place where at this day the dark store-houses and cellars be heard by *S. Katharine* church, the marks yet remaining testify. *Flaminia* was called either because it was built about the plain called *Campus Flaminus*, or else by *Flaminius* the Col, who was slain at the battell of the lake *Thymensis*. But were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apoloniarum*: and then the horse-runnings were performed. To it the *Senat* used oftentimes to come down from the Capitoll to sit in council. *Neptune* also had a chappel there.

Apollo's

Apollo's Temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now *S. Maria's Church* is under the Capitol, between the herb market and the *Cirque Flaminius*, near to the gate *Carmentalis*.

CHAP. III.

The Temples of Victory, Mars, Bellona, Hercules, and Jupiter Sator: the column of Philip Bellina: the altar of Neptune: the gallery Corinthia: and the Colosse of Mars.

WITHIN the *Cirque Flaminius* stood most famous Temples of the gods; to wit, of *Mars*, *Mars*, and *Bellona*, to wit, that which was toward the gate *Carmentalis*. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romans called *Bellona*; for it shewed when war was to be made. The Romans in old time used and retained this manner in proclaiming war: The publicke herald, or one of the heralds called *Faciatis*, planted a spear with some other ensigns of war, into that land upon which they meant to levy arms. But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defiance to nations far remote and distant, because they should not need to bring a spear or javelin, as I said before, into that land, they did but stick one in the pillar above named, on that side which regardeth that part whither they were to make their expedition.

To *Hercules* the Great, protector and keeper of the *cirque Flaminius*, they built a Temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the Church of *S. Lucy* in the dark *Apollonia*.

M. Fulvius built another Temple of the allowance that he had of the Censors Rock, to *Hercules Musarmus*: for he had heard in Greece how *Hercules* was *Musagitis*, i. e. the leader and companion of the Muses. The same *Fulvius* translated the images of all the Muses out of the town *Ambrosia* to Rome; and consecrated them under the protection and safeguard of that most potent and mighty deity: to the end that they might have mutual help one of the other: namely, the quierness of Muses by the defence of *Hercules*; and the valour of *Hercules*, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This Church much decayed and disfigured by time, *Marius Philippus*, *Augustus* his father in law, i. e. his mother's husband repaired.

In the same *Cirque* they would have the Temple of *Jupiter Sator* to stand.

There also as they gather by certain presumptions, was the altar of *Nephrum*, which in old time ran blood.

Octavius reared a porch or gallery built and born up with brazen pillars; and thereupon named *Corinthia*. This stood between the *Cirque* and *S. Nicholas Church*; and was also called *Chalcidicus*, i. e. brazen or copper.

The Coloss of statue of *Mars*, at the *Cirque Flaminius*, was in the Temple of *Brutus Cunctator*.

CHAP. V.

The porch or gallery of Mercury: the Theatre of Octavius: his house, cloister, and gallery: and the Temple of Venus Victrix.

BETWEEN the *Cirque Flaminius* and the *Tyber*, in the very entry of the Church of *S. Agnell* in *Piscina*, there is a porch or gallery, consecrated sometime to *Mercury*, or as some would have it, to *Juno*. This being consumed with fire, *L. Septimius Severus* reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Jews street called *Cura*, they say was built by the Emperor *Severus*.

Between the gallery of *Marcellus* and the mount reared by *Hadrian*, *Pompey* was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and shewes were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre when *Pompey* had finished, comes *Caligula* and made an end of the rest. Afterward, *Theodoric K.* of the *Ostrogoths* reedified it. This also received eighty thousand men.

Near unto this Theatre there was a court or stately Hall, called *Atrium*, the same which at this day they name *Saturnus*; also the house of *Pompey*: & a porch before it. These edifices of *Pompey* at what time as *Philip* exhibited the stage-plays, were consumed with fire. Near to the same theatre the emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, reared an arch of marble for memorial of *Tiberius Caesar*.

In the foresaid Theatre (men say) was the Temple of *Venus* the *Victrix*.

CHAP. VI.

The baine Agrippina: Pantheon, and the porch thereof: also the Temple of good speed.

FROM the arch of *Pompey*, as you go northward; you shall meet with the baths *Agrippinae*, the marks whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called *Cymbella*. Now, *Agrippina* they were named of *Agrippa* who built them: See *Pliny* hereof in his discourses of Nature.

Near unto the foresaid baine, there is a Temple of prelate antiquity, and among other old Temples of the city, the noblest of all the rest; which at this day remaineth in manner whole and sound. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name it *Pantheon*. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it *S. Mariae* the round. Of this

this

the temple, *Pliny* and others have made mention, unto whom I refer the readers. In the very porch and entry of this temple, were the statues of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. The images of *Mars* and *Venus*. At the lappet of *Venus* ear, there hung as a pendant that most costly pearl of *Cleopatra*, whose statue the *Carthaginians* in old time used yearly to sacrifice mankind. They ascended up and made but one way to go into them. A porch to this temple *Agrippa* joined a peece of work thing else but an ornament or porch, as this *Pliny* saith, before the door. Herof also have authors written much. This temple itself *Hadrian* the emperor of happy memory, and afterwards *Antoninus Pius*, reedified.

Certain reliques and remnants four angled and somewhat long, of Good-speeds temple, are evidently seen in the streets of *Minerva* and *S. Enfaebius*. This god was long ago worshipped, that all things might fall out happily in the end. Portraied he was in habit of a poor man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in the left an ear of corn.

CHAP. VII.

The baine of Nero and Alexander: the Cirque named Agon.

BEHIND *S. Enfaebius* church, between *Pantheon* and *Lombardi* street, the remnants are seen of the baine and vaults of *Nero*.

Near unto these *Alexander* built others new (by conveyance of water into them, which they call *Alexandrina*) and those very fair and delectable: Whereof *Lampridius* hath written much.

Near unto them (some think) were the baths of *Hadrian*: and they would have them to stand in that very place where now is *S. Aloisius* church.

In the plain part of the City there appear most evident tokens of a long and spacious *Cirque*: which they call at this day *Agon*. It took that name either of the games *Agonalia* instituted by *K. Numa* in the honour of *Janus*, which in that (few place are reprinted) the 9 day of January; or because all manner of such shewes and sports, called by the Greeks *Agones*, were wont there to be exhibited. Some would have it to be built by *Nero* or *Alexander*, upon this reason, that other ornaments of theirs were to be shewed there. For the manner of the Princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to bestow their monuments and memorials in one place.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Neptune, Terentus: the Altar of Dis or Pluto: the marsh Caprea.

ON the strand of *Tyber*, where now *S. Blasius Church* standeth, sometimes *Nephtunes* temple fenced the shipwracks.

Terentus is a place in *Mars* field, so called, for that in it the altar of *Dis* was hidden; or because the water of the *Tyber* running thereby, eat away and wore the banks of that side: or lastly by occasion of *Evander*, who arrived with a fleet in that place, and there abode. There also in time of the Alban war, they hid the altar of *Proserpina* under the ground, that they only might have knowledge thereof, where it was.

In the same *Mars* field (some think) was the fen or marsh *Caprea*, where *Romulus* in a tempest which suddenly arose, was taken a way. Of which matter *Livy* writeth.

CHAP. X.

The house Corvina: the broad way or gate: and the temple of Isis.

THE second part of the flat City, reached along the foot of *Quirinalis*, from the *Forum* of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flaminia*. In which part near the Capitol, was the house *Corvina*, built by that name and family, and to this day keepeth still the old name; for commonly called it is *Maecellum Corvorum*.

From that house unto the bars or railles in *Mars* field, extendeth the way *Lata*, retaining yet the antique name; and there standeth the church of *S. Mariae* in the broad way.

In the same way stood sometime by report, the temple of *Isis* near the rails above said, where now is the church of *S. Marcellus*. Now this *Isis* was a goddess of the Egyptians. She was honoured and worshipped also at Rome, together with *Osiris* (named *Serapis* of whom the publick plaies in the quarter *Flaminia*, from *Serapion* bare the name. It hapned in the temple of *Isis* that crucified; whereupon the Emperor *Tiberius* caused the Priests of that temple to be crucified; & the place itself to be demolished. Other temples of this goddess there were at Rome, for *Caracalla* translated all her sacred rites and ceremonies to Rome, and daily with exceeding great reverence observed the same.

CHAP. XI.

The arch of Camillus: the temple of Minerva: and the swine market.

As a man goeth down from the broad-gate aforesaid toward the *Pantheon*, he shall see a most ancient arch. Some think (but untrue) that erected it was for *Camillus*: for many a fair day after his time, these arches were in no request and use: and therefore it belonged to some other. L. General, Between this arch and *Pantheon*, *M. Pampinus* built a temple to *Minerva*, wherein he comprised in a compendious sum, the memorial of his acts and exploits. Other enignes also in the honour of the City of *Rome*, he there set up, and those he garnished and adorned. Whereof read *Pliny*.

At the foot of the mount *Quirinalis*, in the hort-yards and the *Columnnes*, near to the ascent & rising of the hill which leadeth now into the mount *Caballus*, there was sometime the market-place *Swarium*, so called of selling of swine there. For *Varro* witnesseth, that in old time they had certain set and appointed places for the selling of certain things, and thereof the markets took the name. Thus of oxen, the market *Boarium*; of fish, *Piscarium*, of swine, *Swarium*; of worts or herbs, *Hortorium*, was called, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the field called *Martius*, or *Tyberinus*.

Forasmuch as in the former book it hath been sufficiently declared as touching *Mars* field, where it lay, it shall be needlesse to make any repetition thereof in this place: but why it was called *Martius* would be here in briefe considered. Named so it was, because it was consecrated to *Mars*: for when the *Tarquins* were expelled out of their Kingdom, what ground or standing corn they were possessed of, they divided amongst those Citizens who were not landed at all, reserving only this field *Martius*: which because it was consecrated to *Mars*, that in it the games and places should be solemnized and the youth exercised, they thought that the fruit also there growing should likewise be counted sacred and accursed, and so deemed it unlawful that any distribution thereof should be made, but threw it all into the *Tyber*, whereof arose the land called *Tyberinus*, of which we will speak in the last book. In this field therefore (besides the native beauty of the place and the delectable sight of the meadows) were erected the ornaments and statues of brave & renowned persons: yea, and out of the very Capitoll (when the place began to be pestered and overstrait by reason of so many ornaments which thither were daily brought, many of them were from thence translated into *Campus Martius*). This field was called of men in old time, *Tyberinus*, like as *Tyber* also was named *Martius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The porch, the temple, Column, and Palace of Antonius Pius: the rails or enclosure, called *Ovilia*.

Between the *Sciarra* & *Pantheon* streets, near to Saint *Stephens* Church in *Trullis*, there sheweth a stately porch, which most men suppose was that of *Antonius Pius*, for that his temple standeth so near. The Column also of *Antonius* is not far off. This he raised of an exceeding height with winding and turning stairs, like that of *Trajanus*, whereof we have spoken before. Between this Column and the porch, the said Emperor had (by report) a goodly palace. Between the said Column and the water *Virgo*, they say, the rails or enclosure within *Mars* field stood, called *Septa*. Now this place was enclosed within wooden rails, and strongly fenced with posts on every side, wherein the people of *Rome* when at the creation and election of magistrates they were to passe their voices were kept close: and for the resemblance of sheep pens, *Ovilia* of some they were called. By *Livy* they are set down, near the wives *Fornicata* and *Flaminia*.

CHAP. XIV.

The hill *Citatorum*: the *Villa Publica*, temple of Neptune, and the bridge in *Mars* field.

Between *Antoninus* Column and *S. Lawrence's* church in *Lucina*, there is raised a mount, called now *Citatorum*, for *Citatorum*; nor it was a mount indeed, but because the people of *Rome*, when in the choosing of magistrates they were to give their voices, as they were cited, went thither as it were unto some hill. Some say it was called *Acceptorum*, of taking the peoples suffrages: others *Septorum*, for the vicinity of those *Septa* before said. This little mount, there be that would have to rise and increase by the ruins of some porch or stately gallery; or else of the common *Hortus*, called *Villa Publica*. For there was in times past a place called *Villa Publica*, a large building in manner of a court or hall, wherein were received and entertained all ambassadors of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the City, or go into the public lodging or *Hospit*: called *Græcostasis*.

Near to the *Septa*, *M. Agrippa* (as *Denis* writeth) built a goodly temple with a most beautiful porch to it, in the honour of Neptune.

At this aforesaid hillock called *Citatorum*, and the Column of *Antonius*, there was a bridge fast by

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by the *Septa*, whereupon they that were cited, when they had given their voices, passed by and went their waies: and so were levered from the rest that were to give their last-ages, side they had passed their voices.

In the same *Mars* field, it is recorded that in times past flood the temple of *Pietas*, even whereas now the church of *S. Saviour* is.

CHAP. XV.

The water *Virgo*: the lake and chapel of *Salutina*, as also that of *Pietas*.

The water *Virgo*, which retaineth still the pleasant sweetness to the tast in drinking, and keepeth yet the old name, beginneth to gather to an head near the bridge *Salutina*, and being carried in a most deep gutter, encreth into the City at the gate *Colina*, and so is raised to the hill to the inhabitants, water for their use; and endeth at the length in the hort-yards of *Lucullus*, of *K. Turnus*, yielding most wholesome water. This water-Nymph, they vouch (and that right well) to have been called *Salutina*, a juvenile, it of helping: because she was thought to help the sick. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named *Laetigio*.

CHAP. XVI.

The arch of *Domitian*: the obelisk of *Mars* field: the Amphitheatre of *Claudius* the Emperor.

The triumphant arch, so dismembred (as it were) and bereft of all his ornaments, standing between churches of *S. Sylvester* and *Lawrence* in *Lucinum*, and taketh up a peece of the way of street *Flaminia*, is attributed to *Domitian* the Emperor. And hereupon be it less others place.

The Obelisk also there is in this *Mars* field, which *Augustus* transported from *Hieropolis* a City in *Egypt* to *Rome*. Besides, the native enignes and wonderfull hieroglyphick inscriptions which it brought with it of the own, therein to be seen, *Augustus* adjoined other ornaments no lesse admirable. But hereof it is better to read *Pliny*.

Claudius the Emperor built near the *Septa* in *Mars* field an Amphitheatre, which he decked & adorned with fair statues and most beautiful columns.

CHAP. XVII.

The vale *Martia*: the palace: the porch of *Augustus*: the *Naumachie* of *Domitian* and the temple of the family *Flavia*.

The vale *Martia* taketh the name of *Campus Martius*: it lieth between *Tyber* and the hills *Hortorum*: within the which, in a place lower than all the rest about it, appear the *Naumachie* of *Domitian*; where in old time he exhibited shews of naval fights. In which place before, as retained after wards his name. Read *Suetonius*.

Near to the *Naumachie*, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kindred *Flavia*. In this place, *Julius Cæsar* proved that the porch and palace of *Augustus* was built.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Mausoleum of *Augustus*: and the two obelisks near it: also the tomb or sepulchre of *Marcellus*.

In the vale *Martia* between the way *Flaminia* and the bank of *Tyber*, hard by *S. Rocher* church, *Augustus* made a Mausoleum; to serve for a sepulchre as well to himself and all the Emperors, as also for his whole house and name. This building is like unto a turret standing at the gate called it to be the sepulchre of *Marcellus*. And *Augustus*, named this sepulchre that set it out. Men would have resemblance had of that of *Maufolus* K. of *Caria*, which *Artemisia* his wife built for him. Read *Cassiodorus Strabo*, and others thereof.

Close unto the Mausoleum of *Augustus*, were two obelisks, as the ruinant remnants thereof do testify.

CHAP. XIX.

The way *Flaminia*: the Trophees of *Marius*, other goodly ornaments of the field *Martius* in general.

C. Nens *Flaminius* the colleague of *M. Lepidus*, having vanquished the *Ligurians* paved the cauley or street *Flaminia*. This was led from *Placentia*, through *Narnia*, *Fulginetum*, *Nuceria*, *Calatium* to *Fortunæ* temple, to *Pisurnum*, and so forward to *Ariminum*. See *Livy* and *Suetonius*.

Cccccc

Between

Between the *Maufolcum* of *Augustus*, and the hill called *Hortulorum*, were the *Trophæes* of *Marius* over *Jugurtha*, *Trophæes* as *Varro* willeth, were fo called of *εγχα* Greek word, which fignifieth, fligt; for that the manner was to hang up the spoils and drowings of enemies put to fligt and flain, upon trunks and polls.

In *Mars* field, were the *sepulchres* of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa*, of *Italia*, *Britannicus*, *Dryfus* the *Emperor Claudius*, and other right hardy and valiant knights, befide infinit ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this book.

The seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybre.

IT should follow by due courfe and order, to treat of *Taniculum* and all that quarter of the City on the other fide of *Tybre*; but becaufe thefe parts are feparate from the reft of the City by the river *Tybre* between; thereof alfo it is meet to fay fomewhat briefly. And firft truly the reafon of that name fhould be fhewed. Some think therefore, that the river was called *Tyberis* from the *Ulyffes*. For the *Sicilians* when as in old time they had overcome the *Carthaginians* in battel, and taken a number of them prifoners, enjoined them, for the better fortification of their own City, to caft a trench about it, and to let water thereinto; and this ditch in reproch of their enemies, they called *Ulyffes*. And the fame men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped near *Rome*, gave this very name unto this river alfo, whereas before it was called *Albula*. Some think it was named fo of *Tyberis* a King of the *Tufcans*, flain upon the banks thereof. *Varro* is of opinion, that it took the name of *Tiberius*, a neighbour Prince of the *Veitians*. In holy writings we read it *Tyberinus*. In vulgar fpeech they call it *Tybris* in poetry, *Tybris*. In old time it was termed *Rumon*, as it were, gnawing and eating the banks thereof. Alfo at one fide of the City it was named *Tarentum*, as a man would fay, wearing the banks. It fpringeth from the *Apennine*, above *Arnum*. At the firft it is but (mall and fhallow, but before it enureth into *Rome*, it (having received 40 other rivers) is encreafed to fuch bignefs, that fhips of burden and the greateft hulks, may come up in it as far as *Rome*. This river divideth *Tufcan* from *Vmbria*, the *Sabina* country and the *Latins*, entreth at the North part of the City, and fo paffeth through Southwards, between the gates *Hofianfa* and *Portuensis*, leaving *Taniculum* on the right hand and the City on the left, and fo neer unto *Hofia* is difcharged into one mean broad fream, and falleth into the *Tyrrhene* fea. Upon the banks hereof, as if they were confecrate to fome divine power, it was not lawfull to fet up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the channell and the banks. But of this river, *Pliny* and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybre.

THE *Tybre*, as is abovefaid, being fo deep, as that it is navigable, and beareth the greateft fhips, hath no foord in any place that can be waded through; and therefore neceffary it was to make bridges over it, and fo to join that part on the farther fide of *Tybre*, to the reft of the City. *He, celer*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridge, where afterwards flood that which they called *Sublucius*. Alfo before the foundation of the City, there was a bridge over *Tybre*, called *Sacer*, upon which they facrificed men to *Saturn* by throwing them down into the river. But when *Hercules* afterwards had put down that manner of facrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of reed and bulwifes (which they called *Argæi*) fhould be caft down in head of them. But after the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, *Milvius*, *Ælius*, *Palatinus*, *Taniculenſis*, *Cæſtus*, *Fabricius*, *Palatinus*, and *Sublucius*. And all thefe, fave the *Sublucius* only, *Tiberius* overthrow.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Milvius.

THE bridge *Milvius*, which men now call *Molvinus*, standeth upon the way *Flaminia*, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troubleſome times of *Sylla*, by *Scæurus* when he was *Centor*. Many a time they fay it was caft down, and as often let up again.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Ælius, now S. Angel, the *Palatin* or *Triumphal* the *Taniculenſis* or *Aurelianus*.

THE bridge at this day called *S. Angel*, in times paſt *Ælius*, took that name of *Ælius Hadrianus*, for he built that bridge, and neer unto it a *ſepulchre*, which they call *Moles Hadriana*. Beneath

The Topographie of Rome.

III 9

Beneath this is another which giveth paſſage into the mount *Palatin* and the plain the ſole, and thereupon they named it *Palatinus* alfo *Triumphalis*, for that over it hath won up in triumph, the *Capitol* to give thanks to *Jupiter* and rejoice. The pides are yet to be ſeen in *Tybre*, over againſt the *Capitol* or the *Capitol* of *S. Spirit*. The third bare the name *Taniculenſis* of *Taniculum* neer unto it, and *Aurelianus* of the port-way *Aurelia* or the gate fo called. *Antonius Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civil wars, was called the broken bridge. Afterward Pope *Xyſtus* the fourth reedified it, and gave unto it his own name.

CHAP. V.

The bridge Fabricius and Cæſtus.

Beneath the bridge *Aurelius* one furlong, over-againſt the Theatre of *Marcellus*, in the very middle of the channell of *Tybre*, there appeareth a (mall or Iſland, this was united to the City by the bridge *Tarpeius*, fo called firſt of the rock *Tarpeia* neer unto it, afterwards *Fabricius*, of *L. Fabricius*, who by that bridge conjoined the City and Iſland together. The ſame at this day is called the bridge of four heads, taking the name of four marble images with four faces appeere. Standing at the entry of the bridge, but that bridge which closeth the ſaid Iſland with the part within *Tybre*, was called *Æſquilinus* or *Cæſtus* in times paſt, but now *S. Bartholomæus* bridge.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Iſland Tiberina.

OF this Iſlands beginning, we have treated before in the deſcription of *Mars* field. It is broad, it is not above a dart ſhoot over, in length it containeth about two furlongs or thereabouts, whole image from out of *Epidaurus* was thither brought. Of *Æſculapius* and his temple read *Pliny*.

A temple alfo of *Jupiter* (standeth in it, dedicated by *C. Servilius* the *Dumvir*, which ſtandeth vowed by *L. Furius* fix years before the *Gauls* war.

In the Iſland were ſick folk preſented unto *Æſculapius* (in the field). And neer unto the temple of the ſaid god, was a lazar-houſe, for that this god was the inventor and maintainer of Phyſick.

In it alſo flood the chappell of *Faunus*, neer to the very river; but ſcarcely remain there any tokens thereof. This *Faunus* (as men ſay) was reported to have been the firſt that confecrated chappels and temples to the gods, and for this caule, all ſuch places confecrated to the gods were called *Fana*. By the teſtimony of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius* the ſtature of the emperor *Julius* flood there.

CHAP. VII.

The Senators bridge called alſo *Palatinus*, and that which is named *Sublucius*.

Beneath the abovenamed Iſland, as it were a darts caſt off, was the ſeventh bridge, *Senators* named it, of the *Senators*, alſo *Palatinus*, of the mount *Palatine* neer adjoining; and at this day named it is the bridge of *S. Mary in Egypt*, by reaſon of *S. Maries* church neer by.

Now followeth the laſt bridge *Sublucius*, and which alſo is counted the moſt ancient of all. It was firſt made of timber by *Anagninus* at the very foot of the *Aventine* mount; as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in peeces one from another. Now *Sublucius* it was called a *Sublucius*, a great ſtrong poſts, but afterwards *Æmilius Lepidus* made it of ſtone, and thereupon named the marble bridge. Upon it in old time ſat beggars craving of alms of the paſſengers. From it alſo leud and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into *Tybre*. This bridge as well as other, was often demolished and built up again by one or other.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the ſide of the City which is beyond Tybre. The City and temple of the *Ravenats* and *Fors Fortuna*: the *baſes* of *Severus*: the *horr*-yards of *Cæſar*: the water *Alſetina*, & the meadows of *Mucius*.

THE region beyond *Tybre* in old time had the name of *Taniculum*, the hill which overlooketh the City of the *Ravenats*, who with a fleet having aided the *Romans*, were permitted to dwell in the *Taniculum*, for fear left at any time that mountain hold ſhould be ſeized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was inhabited by baſe people, it was followed by occupations, there were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. *Severus* there ſat ſight there. Alſo the temple of *Fors fortuna* was (in *Tib* *Cæſars* daies) dedicated in that time. The water called *Alſetina*, was derived out of the poole *Alſetinus*, by the high way or c. d. d. c. c. c. c. 3

Claudia into the foresaid *Naumachie*, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some *Angustia*. See *Frontinus*, who hath written much of the Roman waters.
Munius, who willingly had exposted and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of Rome with land on the other side of *Tyber*. The place at this day is yet called *Prata Munia*. Neer unto the Arsenal and ship-docks on the side of *Tyber*, were the plaies and games of *Fishermen* in times past celebrated.

CHAP. IX.

The sepulchre of Numa, and Cæcilius the Poet. The Tribunal of Aurelius, the Janiculum, and the horse-yard of Marcellus.

That the sepulchre of King *Numa* was under the hill *Janiculum* a chift of his, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See *Livy*, *Solinus*, and others.
 The Tribunal *Aurelia*, and the Arsenal was on that side of the *Tyber*, as appeareth by those authors.

The hill *Janiculum* took the name of *Tannu*: who there dwelt, & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called, This *Janiculum* was also called *Antipolis* as *Roma Saturnia*.

Commonly also it is received, that *Cæcilius* the Poet was under the same hill *Janiculum* buried. Marital the Poet, as himself witnesseth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable horse-yards in the same *Janiculum*.

CHAP. X.

The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of Apollo and Mars, the Naumachie, the cirque horse-yards, and Obelisk of Cæsar.

The mount *Vaticane* and the plain thereto, were without the City, in the parts beyond the *Tyber*, and in that very place, where at this day is the church of *S. Peter*, and the Popes palace. Called it was *Vaticanus*, of the god *Vaticus* by whose instinct & inspiration it was beleev'd in old time that propheties were delivered. And this god they called *Vaticus*, for that in power was the beginning of mans voice, for as much as infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of this gods name, i. e. *Va*.

The temple of *Apollo* was in *Vaticane*, in that very place, as men think, whereon at this day is *S. Petronius* or *Parnali* church, also another of *Mars*, wherein standeth *S. Marcellus* in *Februus*. Upon the portway called sometime *Triumphalis*, *Gellius* writeth, that *Julius Paulus* the Poet had horse-yards in the *Vaticane*.

The vale *Vaticane* is there also to be seen, wherein *Nero* enclosed a compasse of ground like a ring for to ride and break horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there he adorned. Moreover, *Nero* had horse-yards in that place, which he let forth for divers and sundry punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the *Cirque*. Also the pools made for ship-fight, called *Naumachie* were there, and the Obelisk of *Cæsar* in the way *Triumphalis* is yet to be seen standing upright.

CHAP. XI.

The way or street Triumphalis, the water Sabbatina, the sepulchre of Scipio.

Of the *Triumphall* way, there hath been some mention made before. Called to it was, for that the solemn pomp of triumph used to go that way up into the Capitol. This as well as others was paved with flint stone. It went on hill to the back porch of *S. Celsus*, towards the plain field of *Flora*: and so forward to the temple sometime of *Juno*, now *S. Angelo*, and from thence to *S. Georges* church in *Velabrum*. In the pontifical horse-yards there be many antiquities found, brought thither from other places: and namely, the prottirature and counterfet of *Ninus*, also of all sorts of creatures living and encreasing there. Likewise of *Tyber*, with the yeelding her teats to be sucked of the founders of *Rome*. *Apollo* with his bow and arrows; the statue of *Læocoon*, whereof hath been spoken before, *Capit* hard by *Venus*. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those horse-yards.

The water *Sabbatina*, was derived to *Rome* from the Sabbatine pool, called *Agustillaria* and afterwards when the conduct and conveyance thereof was by *Hadrian* restored, it was brought into the place of *S. Peter*, to serve the priests there.

In *Vaticane* plain, not far from the mount reared by *Hadrian*, there stood a *Pyramis* or steeple in times past, under which they say *P. Scipio Africanus* lay entered.

CHAP. XII.

The mount of Hadrianus, and the meadows called Quintia.

Ælius Hadrianus reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre neer the bridge *Æliæ*, over against the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*. In which were bestowed first his own ashes, and afterwards the relics of all the *Antonines*. This is at this day the fort of the Popes. The same also is called the tower of *Crescentinus*, because one *Crescentinus*, a famous captain, held it a long time. See more in *Procopius*.

The meadows *Quintia* in the plain *Vaticane*, took the name of *Quintus Cincinnatus*, Read *Phny* herof. Now they be called *Aprata*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate Flumentana.

The first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate *Flumentana* is the port-way or cauley *Flaminia*: which, as we have before shewed, was by *Cn. Flaminius* brought along as far as *Ariminum*. Within the City he paved it with flint or peble without he laid it with gravel. And in that order be all the port-ways laid about *Rome*. Upon this way *Angustus* made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the cauley *Cæsar* had a stam or manor house, which he called *ad Gallinas*. The reason of that name *Livy* sheweth. To the way *Flaminia*, another named *Claudia* joined upon which were the Horse-yards of *Ovid*.

The way *Æmilia*, made and paved by *Lepidus* the colleague of *Flaminius*, leadeeth from *Ariminum* as far as *Bononia*. Now two cauleys there were of that name, the one which met with *Flaminia* the other which *Scævus* laid and made, which went through *Pisa* and *Luna* to the *Sabatii*. In likemanner there was a way called *Tyberina* and *Cælia*, without the gate now called *Avridaria*, which passed along time by *Sutrinum*, *Tuscanum*, and *Priestum* into the way *Vulturnensis*. Certain places there be in the way *Flaminia* some what hollow and flat like saddles, called therefore *Cistella*.

Without the gate *Collatina* there is a cauley of the same name.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate Collina.

The port-way from the gate *Collina* is called *Salaria*, because the *Sabines* at it brought (as it is thought) the City. There upon stood the bridge *Salaris*. And it reached to *Numentana*. In it was the temple of *Venus Erycina*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Porcius*. There stood also the image of *Venus Verticordia*, so called, for that she averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally the monument or tomb of *Lucius* the barber of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XV.

The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates Numentana and Intragæres.

Without the gate *Numentana*, there beginneth a cauley of the same name, by which men go to *Numentum*. The same is called *Figulinæ*, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddess *Nevia*, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with doleful plaints and lamentable moans, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like manner, other gods and goddesses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the less harm: and namely, to the *Fevers*, to *Mars* the revenger, to *Nemesis* and such other. Upon this way *Numentana* there appeareth a most ancient temple of *Bacchus* about *S. Agnes* church, and over the same standeth the bridge *Numentana*, built by one *Narsetes* an *Etruscan*. Between this way and *Salaria*, was a withdrawing house in the country of *[Panoctus]* *Nero*, freedman, in which *Nero* killed himself. Without the gate *Intragæres*, was a tower or castle called *Cæladia*, where the souldiers of *Dioctes* kept a corps de guard. There also is a park called *Psarrium* (now *Psarriolum*) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those things that without the gates Esquilina, Navia, Calimontana, and Gabinia, either have been or now are.

From the gate *Tiburina*, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City *Tyber*. Upon it there is a bridge *Mamæ*, commonly called *Mamula* and bearing the name of *Mamæa*, *Alexander* the Emperours mother, who repaired it. A place there is by it called *Piscicola*, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridge *Lucanæ*, without the said gate standeth over the river *Anio*. And without the same gate, the two riverets called *Anio* the old and new do gather a current and run to *Rome*.

Without the gate *Esquilina* as waies *Laticæna* and *Prænestina*. In this way the water *Appia* hath his head and beginneth, which by *Appius Claudius* was brought into the City. The water *Virgo* likewise, which in time past was shewed by a maid to the souldiers, is the way, and from thence is conveyed to the City.

But the Roman waters see *Frontinus*, who describeth right excellently, the source and beginning the conveyance and earthing, the end also and use of every one of them.

At the end of the way *Calimontana*, beginneth another called *Campana*, which closeth with *Latina*. Between the gate *Calimontana* and *Latina*, standeth the gate *Gabinia*. From which there

there went away some time called *Gabinus* leading to *Gabii* (due it runneth soon into *Preneſtina* for that the *Gabians* dwell upon it.

CHAP. XVII.

Of those things which were or are without the gates *Latina* and *Capena*.

The gate *Latina* gave both name and beginning to the cauley *Latina*, which through *Leuclaeum*, now called *Val-montius*, and *Latium* reacheth to *Campania*, in which there stood in old time, the temple of *Venus-fortune*, and the image of the same goddess. Of which writeth *Plinius* *Max*. In the said way the water *Tepula* gathereth to an heath and curven. From the gate *Appia*, beginneth a cauley of that name, paved by *Ap. Claudius* as far as to *Capua*, whereof look in *Sirabo*.

At the gate *Capena*, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior, or *Grandivus*; and therein the kitchen of *Mars*. Hard by the same temple was the stone *Manalis* brought into the City of *Rome* in time of a drought, and presently there arose a shower of rain; whereupon he was called *Manalis*. In the way *Capena*, stood the oratory or chappell of *Dea Bonae*; and near to it, they say, that *Claudian* and *Papirius* were slain. Near to the gate *Capena*, was the altar of *Apollo*, the sacred grove of *Honor*, and the temples of *Hope* and *Minerva*. Likewile of *Tempest*, built by *Marcellus*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*; because *Anibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and scorned. Upon the way *Appia* was the bridge *Valentinus*, built by the Emperor *Valens*, and thereupon, near the hill *Maffica*, standeth the town *Stinella*.

This way had certain notable sepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipios*, the *Servilii*, *Metelli*, *Tullii*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatii*, and other. And in that part is to be seen the plain, whereupon the *Horatii* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and well-spring, consecrated to *Mercurie*. To it upon a time when the people of *Rome* ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurel, and therewith besprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurie*; that as many as had this aspersion and sprinkling, might be spoiled of their sinnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove also of *Egeria* was this gate. The way *Laurentina* fell into *Appia*; wherein *S. Sebastian* (by report) suffered: even in the very place where they used to solemnize the feast *Terminalis*, to the god of Meers and Bounds *Terminus*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of those things that be without the gate *Hofiensis*, and others in generall.

From the gate *Hofiensis* beginneth the way *Hofiensis* which leadeth to *Hofia*, built by *Anco*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twinned brethren, or *Trigeminorum*; and without it, *Livy* setteth the purse or merchants hall, *Emporium*.

In that part of the City on the other side of the water, were three gates, *Portuensis*, *Aurelia*, *Fontinalis*. At *Portuensis*, beginneth away of that name, and leadeth to the port town *Ostia*: where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens; and wherein the feast *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate *Aurelia*, the way also *Aurelia* taketh beginning; which along the sea-coast of *Tuscia*, leadeth to *Pise*. The same was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein wereth the hort-yards of *Galba* the Emperor; and there also was his sepulchre.

[At the gate *Fontinalis*, was the feast *Fontinalis* celebrated at *Rome*, namely, to the goddess of fountains, as saith *Sext. Pompeius*.

To the Reader.

For as much as *Titus Livius* is prolix and full of variety: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to speak our language, yet most loth to forbeare and forget certain Roman words wherewith so long time he had been acquainted, also for that now & then he saith one in his English tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought either to trip or to have forgotten himself, and the fault imputed to his teacher: in these regards (not thoughts) I loved him much for their sake and converse with English *Livy*, as to justify them in that behalf. A twofold task therefore I have digested: the one directing and leading readily to the most material and principal matters contained in the whole body of the History: the other expounding those things that may seem at first strange to the most; and with all, showing here and there the reason of the foresaid disagreement, hoping that as use will make them more familiar in those strange phrases: so deeper and farther conference with him in the primitive *Latine* (the only touchstone of his true speech) shall excuse and acquit me of just blame, who have endeavoured that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in *Latine*.

A SUPPLEMENT OF THE SECOND DECADE OF LIVIE'S ROMAN HISTORY.

Written in

L A T I N E

AND

DEDICATED

TO

CHRISTINA,

QUEEN of SWEDES, GOTHs,
VANDALS, &c.

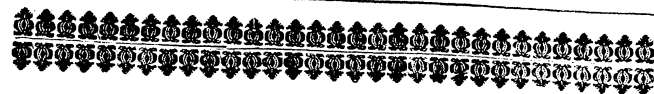
BY

J. FREINSHEMIUS.

Newly Translated into ENGLISH.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Joshua Kirton, Abel Roper, Gabriel Bedell,
and George Sawbridge, 1659.



To the High and Mighty Princeſs, and his moſt
Gracious LADY,

CHRISTINA,

By the Grace of God Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHs,
VANDALS and the adjoining Provinces.

Madam,



I bath happily ſain out, that your wonderful Humanity and Learning, rarely to be found in ſo great a Majeſty, have given me advantage of omitting one of thoſe two ſubjects which uſually are the Contents of Dedicatory Epiftles. For I have ſo many reaſons to declare why I preſent this Supplement to your Majeſty, that if I were forced likewise to declare the Argument of the Work, to what End, and in what Manner it is contrived, I could not accompliſh it without a long and tedious Epiftle. But now thoſe Your two Virtues I mentioned, have freed me of this Neceſſity, ſeeing out of your Humanity you condeſcended to read the Work while it was in Compoſing, and by your Learning more fully underſtood, then I or any other could expound what was ſuperfluous, and what wanting in it. I will not therefore accuſe the meanneſſe of my Wit or Learning, or any other thing, that this my Deſign hath no more happily ſucceeded, (Let thoſe men pretend ſhortneſſe of time, multitude of buſineſſe or incommodities of ſickneſſe, who aim at other Glory beſides that of Obedience) it ſufficeth me, I am conſcious, that in writing this, I have obſerved the benefit of your Studies, and in making it Publick been Obedient to Your Will. For when in compiling the Relicks of LIVO's HISTORY, which at that time you diligently read, I had finiſhed this Work as a Bridge over a broken Paſſage, You were pleaſed (according to Your excellent and well known Goodneſſe) to expreſſe Your liking of my Endeavors; and, as Your Self thereby had reaped Benefit, ſo to judg them fit of Publick View, that others might likewise be profited by them. Wherein Your maniſeſt both your Wiſdome and your Bounty: Your Bounty, in that what was ſolely intended for your own ſervice, you were willing ſhould be uſeful unto all: Your Wiſdom in that, in this new beginning and encrease of Learning, which by your example and Help the North doth greedily receive and happily improve, you have encouraged other men to exerciſe their Wit and Induſtry in publishing more Accurate and Learned Writings, when they ſhall have underſtood with how much Candor and Clemency You accept this rude and unpoliſhed Piece of mine. When therefore I ſee not only thoſe who are born unto your ſervice, but many alſo of ſtrange Nations moſt willingly entertain and execute your Commands: Should I at all be backward in my Duty, who, if not alone, yet amongſt a few of your moſt Faithful and neareſt ſubjects, am in a peculiar manner obliged by your Majeſty? I am indeed His
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who created all things, neither from any other do I expect a True and Lasting Felicity; neither do I bear a mind inferior to so great a Hope: But as to the Offices of this Life I am by him bestowed upon your Majesty, as by infallible Arguments, to your self not unknown, may be demonstrated. Wherefore my constant and resolved Rule of living (which, if I attain not unto, as I am willing and ought to do, yet I aim at and endeavour) is, to attend God's will only in those things which are expressly commanded or forbidden; in Actions indifferent and arbitrary to be guided by your Majestie alone; which I the rather strive to perform, because I know it is your Pleasure. And truly this were a sufficient tie of my Obedience and Reverence, if you had not otherwise both by your Virtues and Deserts obliged me, both which are so ample and of so effectual an Influence, that it is hard to say whether in Contemplation of them I am more willing to serve you, or for other Reasons more strictly bound to it. I find my self now involved in a very doubtful Case, and on both sides much perplexed: For if I say what I have intended, as my desire is, and as is Just and Right, I may happily not be relished by your Majestie, who do more freely exercise your Virtues, and lessen your Favours, then willingly bear them repeated. And if in the Mention thereof I shall omit any thing, I shall fail in my Duty, and Detract from Your Praises, which (with as fervent a desire and good will as I prosecute them) had I liberty to expatiate, I could in no wise according to their Dignity set forth much less being streightned within the narrow limits of an Epistle. Nevertheless I am confident, that the Temper of the business (which your self cannot disallow) is agreeable, as to the present purpose, so to both our Dispositions. For I abhor Flattery as doth your Majestie; neither am I more willing to speak any thing in such a strain, then Your self to hear it. And, according to your discerning Spirit, you are not ignorant that I am of this mind, that if it were in my choice whether to offend You in doing You Good, or please You by Flattery, I should without scruple chuse the former, which few Subjects can do and few Princes endure. Hinder not therefore my desires which cannot offend on that part: Give us leave to acknowledge what we have received; and if miserable men are freely allowed to complain, why should your Majestie forbid us modestly to boast of our Happinesse under such a Prince as Your self? Neither ought this, the only Reward of your good Deeds, or the Fruit of our Thankfulness to perish; we then againa fresh receive benefits when we repeat them. But I see what is happened, whilst I beg leave to Write I loose both Time and Space. What therefore I am about to say, shall be into a few Periods digested, and I shall of every kind speak somewhat only in Summe. As to those your Virtues wherewith you have magnificently Adorned this Empire; that I may briefly declare what I think, I shall borrow a Sentence from our beloved Tacitus; in which Author, You know, Tiberius reproacheth C. Cæsar, That he had all the Vices of L. Sylla, but not so much as one of his Virtues: which may justly be inverted as to Your Majestie, that You have acquired all the Virtues of Your Predecessors, omitting what Vices were in them, inasmuch as You have augmented their Ancient Honours by Virtues new and heretofore unknown to this Kingdom. I believe that former Ages wanted not excellent Kings, yet, however it came to pass, the Swetick affairs never ascended to any illustrious or durable greatness in their dayes; the Praise of that work properly belongs to the Gustavides, of whom not any one ever Reigned without some Memorable profit to the Countreie: for even the Error of some have proved of good use; the Case of Ericus and Sigismund instructeth Posterity wherein Kings may offend: and others are admonished by the severity of Charles, how unsafe it is to provoke Princes to Anger. But what Pen or what Oration can sufficiently declare the

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the Immortal benefits reaped from the two Gustavi? They were both so great, that if you compare them with others, you will easily prefer them before others; but if you compare them between themselves, you will rather conclude that this was Greatest Error and blindness of judgment to measure the Greatnesse of Kings by the outward Splendor of their Actions, and respect that only. It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had Ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glorie of this Kingdom, even by GUSTAVUS the Great, and his Daughter CHRISTINA. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most accurately and Skilfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your self, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You for so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessity of War, You could not complain of any thing wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. For whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perplexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperities, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulness in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of your Reigne, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Hast declare; I shall only name the encrease of the City, many Towns built and well constituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amended, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreased, the Universities enriched, Schools erected, Merchandize flourish, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adhibited toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-ways, building of Inns, and indeed toward all things which we see, which we are sensible of, and the benefit whereof we enjoy; so that I may justly account those my Country-men of Germany happy who shall hereafter rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no sign surer of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eyes by reason of the misery of times past, or are so hindred by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatness of so Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy there remaining substance appears fouler; but like that of the Sun, True, and Pure, and Innate, neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to denie they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolix in the Commemoration of your benefits bestowed.

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bestowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Moniments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwaies found most manifestly present in this business. When for many years in Germany I continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto perswading me) as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer it self: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idleness, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understood) I was from my infancie ordained. The time now grew on, Madam, wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and Benediſt Skytte came to Argentoratus, whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favors, and lastly with the Dignitie of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessitie of my present Office, before the sweetness of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm, upon occasion of a Funeral You came to Ubsal. And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron John Skytte Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulness of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princeesse of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to Ubsal, you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Posterity the Memory of things done or to be transacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones: For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civil and Moral Wisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your Instructor therein, being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the sudden I found you had Learnt so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a Study (being a Queen actually Reigning, waging War, often holding Parliaments, every day Councils, and constantly distracted with other business) you made such an improvement that after Trial in Polybius and Plutarch, you read Plato also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most

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significant Expressions, and of Your self observe and for true reasons Correct the Error of Translations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I reaped so great and various fruits of purest pleasure, as I could not but often ingenuously confesse to my most intimate acquaintance, That whatsoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I (any) I thought all abundantly recompensed with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the presence of so great a Prince, to be seen and countenanced by You, to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happinesse seemed so great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off these my worldly Accomtrements, as knowing I must one day leave them or they me, yet out of impotency of mind I might by too great happinesse have grown insolent, but that by certain Arguments I learnt in time to know that so great a fortune was not conferred as Due to any man's Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this so derable, I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am so free that I am not employed and wearied in any service not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but also of my Modesty and Bashfulness: I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, to stand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly loosing time or boldly vaunting of my Liberty and Familiarity. Neither is my work base or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuse; whatsoever will not betray his own ignorance must needs confesse the employment on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hitherto I have related part of the Favours you have bestowed on my Person; it remains likewise I should acknowledge those Favours (as much more bestowed on me) which you have conferred on others by my Intercession: In this confession I have cause to fear, that I shall not only contract Envy to my selfe, but give Occasion to others to accuse your Majestie, as being too facile in granting what is requested. To these I shall answer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodnesse, which hath far exceeded my Deserts, and that others also may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the same Respect that I have done: as first, I never desired any thing but what was Just and Equal; nor secondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majestie of my Prince; thirdly, by all those Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this strait, wherein it is easier to think of more things than to write them, many things come into my mind which I am forced to pretermitt. This I shall say, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majestie for small favours bestowed at my Request, or for the great ones; for as these carried the greater Price, the others did more manifest your Humaneitie. That your mind capable of highest things would condescend to so little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Philosopher asked of him a Groat, said, It was too little for a King to give; when he presently asked a Talent, said, It was too much for a Philosopher to receive. Your Majestie hath more magnificently used the same Method, in Your smaller favours, regarding what was fit for me to receive; in the greater, what became Your self to give. With the like Clemency You have had compassion on some miserable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majestie because none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet scarce speak, both for the Greatnesse of the Thing, and for the Greatnesse of the Thanks due, which

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cannot at present be expressed. But I may happily be accused of Flattery, if I should think your favours may be more Elegantly declared or praised by any man's Praise, than by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Commendation for having bountifully remitted to the City of the Vangiones the greater part of their Taxes; by which benefit I believe the City was preserved, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majesty as a second Foundress. You have hereby for ever obliged the Commonwealth of the Vangiones; and me in particular, making us your everlasting Debtors. For I know that who of Right oweth most to you; they who received the benefit or he who procured it at your Hands! Is there any thing can be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? Yes surely, even this; In that you have promised to make me a better man; not as all men are improved, by Laws and Manners; nor, as many, by Example; but, as yet none, by your care and Diligence in Communicating with me: For you have promised to make *Bliss* with me (that is to direct and show me) how Wise and Prudent men ought to be qualified; and by what stones they may be discovered; which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better than now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I would not free your Majesty from your Obligation for half your Kingdom. And I shall not refuse, whensoever You Command, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will, I suppose, be neither unpleasant to You, nor yet Difficult, seeing You tend forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find more who pretend to teach, than do indeed truly know and understand it. In this thing I may well boast whereby I am more happy, not only than ordinary men, but the servants of Solomon himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom, but would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person, which he did not ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the very Paper admonisheth me to make an end. I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring Your Majesty, and giving You to understand, That not only this Book is Dedicated to Your Majesty, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affections thereof, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply willing to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.

MADAM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

At Helm the 15th of the Calende
of December, Anno Domini 1649.

THE



THE SUPPLEMENT OF LIVIE'S HISTORY

By J. FREINSHEMIUS.

THE FIRST BOOK

In place of LIVIE'S XIth Book.

Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.



THE Power of the Samnites was now by many Battels much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his spirits. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Consul, in the year now in the heat of his Youth, and assuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marcheth into the neighbourhood of his Army into Campania. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrows brought rather into Delpir than Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to Rome; attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and they knew the Plague was at Rome, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Marshal affairs, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and waited the Territories of the Campanians whom *Livie* Book 7 gers and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his *Fabian*-Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite Scouts, who upon sight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole Host, without any consideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all haste that may be the Battle to be begun, as if the hope of Victory consisted only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumspect, had seized on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souldiers with their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battel was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great business to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder than to fight. Three thousand of *Fabius* his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of a favourable place, as well as in such a Conternation may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence than in the field, the weary had no convenience of rest, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp.

Valerius
Maxim. S. 5. 7. 1

David Metamor.

event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by. A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appears by the structure of the Chappel in *Tibur* then erected and consecrated; When the Roman Embassadors had delivered their Message, the Epidaurians entertain'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the *Græcians* was most commonly in open and high Places; the *Epidaurians* also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those days, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence. Being brought thither, while they stand in admiration; Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their minds with horror and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cried out, *The God himself is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it always imports a good and healthful Omen.* Two days was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectators and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel attended them; and entering into the Ship he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabin of *Q. Ogulnius* President of the Embassy. There is an ancient story that *the same Æsculapius* having assumed the form of a Serpent was carried from *Epidaurus* to *Sigyon* by a Yoke of *Mules*, one *Nicagora*, the wife of *Ecetimus* driving the wain.

The Romans rejoicing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them, hoisted sail, and in a few days with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at *Antium*; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindered, the serpent which had kept itself still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Porch of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole days together: The Romans much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted sustenance; but at length having regained him with much cheerfulness they conveyed him to *Rome*: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices slain. They were now just come to that place, where *Tiber* a little dividing itself, suffereth an Island to appear in the midst of it; when the Serpent forsaking the Ship betakes himself into that Island by swimming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the Island of *Æsculapius*. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to *Æsculapius*. The sickness whether by this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly enriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its renown wonderfully spread abroad by those who profert to have received help in their diseases from this God. *L. Posthumius* the Consul carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Colleague at home: For whereas *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the last years Consul, did by order from the Senate manage affairs in *Saminius* as Proconsul; *Posthumius* arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart the Province, in as much as himself was sufficient to wage that War. *Fabius* answering with the Decree of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to desert a business imposed on him by the Senate; the Romans upon this news feared lest by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be dammified: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Consul, to desire in the Senates name that *Fabius* might be suffer'd to continue with the Army in *Saminius*. *Posthumius* having returned an absurd and broken Answer; added withal a speech of singular impudence: That during his Consulship, he was not obliged to obey the Senate, but they him; and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he marcht with his Army to *Cominium*, which City *Fabius* did then besiege, relolving (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Army had afforded the enemy a foul spectacle, if *Fabius* had resistd with the same he was assaulted; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having profess'd that he yielded not to the Consulship, but to the good of the Commonwealth. *Posthumius* in a few days reduced *Cominium*, whence leading his Army to *Venusia*, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns; many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred casting down their arms, yielding themselves to the mercy of the conquerours. The Consuls achievements were no way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and Insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters advise the Fathers that the City and Territory of *Venusia* was very convenient for a Colony therein to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduct of the Colony of twenty thousand men; for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceeding belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet unsubdued they should ingratify placing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the *Apulians* and the *Luticians*. Now the stubbornness of *Posthumius*, as besides other grudges and offences, it contracted him much envy; so it tended much to encrease *Fabius* his Favour and good opinion with

with all men, so, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily assented unto. Being now Proconsul he did on the Calends of *April* make his triumph over those *Saminites* who are called *Penri*: He old *Fabius* followed his Chariot on horse-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not upon the peoples Consul, using himself as the name, so the modesty of a Legate; beholding his honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one, he did in his own triumph diers, the rest laid up in the Treasury; and *C. Pontius* the Samnite being first led in Triumph afterward beheaded: A stout man he was and of worthy memory, who in those days did a most shameful one at the Caudine Spinnies: He was reported to say, That had he been reserved to those days wherein the Romans should have learn't to receive money, he would no longer have served them to bear sway. It seems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by itself in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time *Posthumius* fretting no of mind opposing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exasperate the wound of his own spirit, and imitate those objections against him, by weakness of speech and carriage to have been asswaged. He abtained not from complaints against his enemies, nor from reproaches against the Senate, and to spite the Fathers, he debilitated the triumph likewise contrary to the pleasure of the Senate, which, though some refer to his second Consulship, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is so affirmed by authors of no mean credit in Histories: By these doings he drew new hatred upon himself, and he was no sooner out of office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a set day accused him: Of the City, he employed two thousand choice men out of his Legions to dig up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembering they were his soldiers, not his slaves, and were leaved to enlarge the Publick's Land, not to manure his. Being earnestly press'd with these Crimes, and in vain striving to clear himself, he was by the suffrage of all the Tribes condemned; his life was valued to stand him in two hundred thousand pieces of money. Now *P. Cornelius* set batels having the upper hand compelled them, and ruining their Cities, and in many batels lost the prime of their Youth; and in *Pontius* the chief counsel and conduct, for having in so *Engravius* B. 2. now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely too the Romans even weary with beating, were willing to conclude a difficult and miserable War, with the tranquility of a certain peace. I find the war with the *Saminites* to have begun when *M. Valerius* was the third time Consul, *A. Cornelius Cossus* being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Consulships, with various success continued (only by some short liv'd truces suspended) it held both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether *Cornelius* triumphed for this War is uncertain; as for *Manius* there is no doubt, for his fortune being more eminent in that Nation, now grown wealthy with a long peace, whether they were moved with their own property put their young men into Arms, invaded some places under the Roman Jurisdiction: Against their territories with instruction, that spreading themselves as much as could be, bringing terror and vastation on every place: This straight did soon dissolve the formidable Army of the *Saminites*, several troops running several ways to the defence of their own subsistence; so that the *Adriatick* Sea, gaining the possession of so much ground, and so many men, as the far ready in deeds then in words) when he could not express every singular circumstance, in gross ex-*Ant. de viris* pressed himself, That he had taken so much ground, it must needs have turned into wilderness, but necessity have perished with hunger; and that he had taken so many men, they must of ground. *Florus* B. 1. c. 33. When the *Sabinus* fled for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewise the Freedom of the City, (though without the suffrage of the Tribes) this favour v. s. in memory of their old Affinity under *Tatius*, the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Consulship (underwent by *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Nottus*) we have decision of the arrived to little understanding; only I find some Colonies about this time deduced to *Castrum*, City 664. *Ad. i.* (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to *Sena in Gallia*: Nevertheless consider-*Florus* ing those Regions were not as yet to such a purpose sufficiently settled, I think fit rather to encline

to other Authors who refer the beginning of those Colonies to after-times: But in the City for restraining many villanies and outrages daily committed, there was a new Magistracy constituted under the name of *Capital Triumvirs*, who were appointed Judges and Moderators to take cognizance of offences, to imprison the guilty, and, when occasion was, to inflict punishments.

The words of the Law in that case made by *L. Papius*, Tribune of the people, I find to be these, *whosoever shall hereafter be Prator to give Judgment among the Citizens, let him require of the people three Capital men, and those three men, whoever shall be chosen, let them exact oaths, let them judge, let them be of equal authority, as by the Laws and decrees of the people they ought to Exact, to Judge, and to Be.* In which clause commission is likewise given of requiring Mults or Fines, for in those days that piece of money which was disbursed by way of punishment, was called a *Sacrament*, because (the public sacrifices being many, and the Treasury but low) it was destin'd to be expended in sacrifices.

Of the Taxes that year, there is no other memory left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand Citizens were rated. That this years Censors did likewise choose *Q. Fabius Maximus* Prince of the Senate, there is a likely conjecture, which is otherwise confirmed, for that honour did constantly remain in three of that Family successively; as for example, *Maximus* received it from *Ambustus* his father, and transmitted it to his son *Gurgus*. While affairs were in a good state abroad, they were troubled with discord and sedition at home. The Commonalty being far in debt required a general discharge by public authority for all debts and bonds passed aforesaid, without any satisfaction; this was an old device, and for two hundred years and upwards variously agitated, even as any turbulent Tribune should exasperate them, or the Extortion of Usurers move their indignation. Under the former Consuls, the fear either of the Pettulance or the Enemy did smother these contentions in some measure; but *Q. Marcus Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* being Consuls, and the year ensuing *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautilus Rutilus* bearing office, they broke out most violently, for the appeasing whereof, more then for any other occasion, a Dictator was created, whom I take to be *Appius Claudius*, who was afterwards surnamed *Cacilius*, in as much as among ancient monuments I find him to have been Dictator.

Besides the harshness of unconformable usury, the villanous lust of *C. Plautius* added fire to the peoples minds now already hotly disposed, causing them the sooner and more vehemently to break out into flame. *T. Veturius* (the son of that *Veturius* who being Consul was delivered up to the Samnites for an unworthy League made with them) by reason of his domestic calamities, overcharged with debt and not able to pay, was forced to yield himself slave to *Plautius*, patiently performing all servile duties. *Plautius* not content to have reduced to this base condition a young man of excellent Beauty, of a Consular Family, and likewise of great hopes, did moreover attempt to corrupt his Chastity, having before deprived him both of Estate and Liberty.

But *Veturius* disdaining and resolving to suffer any thing rather then commit so horrid a wickedness, was with most grievous stripes tormented, whereupon he thrust himself forth into the publick, and being by the multitude conducted to the Consul's Tribunal, he complains of the cruelty and lust of his Creditor, shewing withal the bunches and fresh marks of the lashes. The Consuls therefore judging it a business not to be neglected, informed the Senate thereof, where upon sentence past, *Plautius* was condemned to prison, and by a Law in that case established, All men whosoever through the whole City had bound themselves slaves for debt, were set at liberty. I am not ignorant that instead of *T. Veturius* some Authors make mention of *Publius* the son of a Colonel, who was one of the contrivers of the Caudine peace. Forty years before this, for the like cause, was a Law made for the annulling such Indentures; nevertheless the Usurers growing to hard-hearted, and the former Law, by the patience of Debtors (refusing nothing in the midst of their penurie) being by degrees neglected, 'twas though fit they should be admonished by so fresh an example to provide more full and diligent caution for the future. But the people desiring to be freed not only from their Indentures, but from the Extortion of Use money, were not satisfied with that Law though favourable to their revengeful minds. And (as in some more acute diseases, the pain is rather intended by a gentle application of medicines then remitted) not long after the matter was so Exacerbated, that when the Tribunes of the people with their greatest endeavours contended for a Law concerning Letters of Protection from Creditors, and that the Creditors did with equal force and animosity resist: The Commonalty after the example of their Ancestors, quitting the City, retired cross the water to Mount *Janiculus*, resolving never, without obtaining their request, to return to their own household-Gods. The Consuls finding little remedy against this combustion (*M. Valerius Potius*, and *C. Aelius Paterius* are thought then to be Consuls) they were fain to flee to the last refuge in distressed times, and create a Dictator, who was *Q. Hortensius*; he applying what the Time and the Cause seemed to require, and understanding the main breach of peace to consist in this, That the people were sensible of the violation of their Decrees, and the Publilian Law, thought fit to yield to the times, (though many strove against this opinion) and by a new Law made in the Eclipte, he diligently provided, That whatsoever the Commonalty should ordain, all the Romans should be obliged unto. With these Lenitives the people being reduc'd to concord, and returned to their own houses, the Dictator, either by the sudden force of his disease, or overwearied with

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. Henceforward for a while there was less dissention at Rome; but the Dignity of the Empire began insensibly to decrease, in as much as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any feeling the vulgar, if their own private business proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppressions of great ones to strive to a Dominion they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning susterages, that the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorise the Senate assented thereunto.

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But things of greater weight were now ingendering, which were attended with a very considerable slaughter, for a war was now arisen against the Senones a people of *Gallia*. They had often warre and often peace with the Romans; and now, after their last overthrow in the fields of *Sentinas*, where *Decius* having Devoted himselfe to Death, a great Number of the men were slain, had lien still for almost ten years; Only they had suffer'd their young men to be hired by the Etruscans against the Romans. But now marching into *Etruria*, with a greater power then they had usually done, they Besieged *Arretium*. Now the *Arretines*, with a Truce, whose Terme was not yet expired. But herein did their chiefest Hope of success consist, because the Romans alwayes thought it mainly concern'd them to have the *Arretines* beaten. Wherefore sending Embassadors to Rome they craved assistance against the common enemy. In the mean time the year was gone about wherein *C. Servilius Tucca* and *Lucius Cassius Metellus* were Consuls, in stead of *Cassius* some annals mention *Calpurnius*. But the lesser Nobility of the *Calpurnian* family is thought not to have attained the Consular dignity till the year from the foundation of the City six hundred and sixtie.

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. Henceforward for a while there was less dissention at Rome; but the Dignity of the Empire began insensibly to decrease, in as much as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any feeling the vulgar, if their own private business proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppressions of great ones to strive to a Dominion they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning susterages, that the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorise the Senate assented thereunto.

The Improvident vulgar did for some time contain themselves within their former bounds, and though they seldom contradicted the Fathers Sentences, yet they were always feared as having power to do so. But then *Maximius* the Tribune made a Law whereby the peoples Authority was much augmented, but the whole Rome, and honourable severity of the Senate much weakened. *Q. Hortensius* the Dictator being dead, some report another was chosen to administer, *C. F. C. N.* is said to have been Master of his horse. For there was war at this time with the Volscians of the *Etruscan* Nation, which was very seasonable to clear Rome of the sedition found of waging war with the Lucanians, who being troublesome neighbours, had by many injuries compelled the Thurines (a City of that part of Italy called *Great Greece*) to betake themselves to the Roman Protection: And *C. Aelius* the Tribune propounding a War against the Lucanians, the people decreed it. The armies therefore were drawn into the field, and in each place things performed, the memories whereof, with the Annals of those who wrote them, is the Consuls of *C. Aelius Canina*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, whereof no memorable thing is delivered to posterity; only the Etruscan and Lucanian war seem to have been still in being. There is also on Record an Oration of *Curius* concerning the Lucanians, which is to be referred to one of his four Triumphs, for so often I find he Triumphed. But in what year, or illustrious

BOOK II.



P Cornelius Dolabella, and Cn. Domitius Calvinius being Consuls, when the Terrour of the Callique warre began again to move it selfe, and news was brought that many of the Tuscans had joynd forces with the Senones, the Fathers thought the Danger of the Aretines a thing not to be neglected by them: And because they could neither recall Dolabella from the Volscians, nor Domitius out of Lucania without great hindrance to their affaires, The Fathers ordain L. Cæcilius Metellus the last yeares Consul, and now Prætor, with all haste to Leavy an Army, and raise the siege of Aretium; Nevertheless left the warre should seeme to be rashly undertaken, they thought fit to send Embassadors before, to Declare that Aretium was under the Roman Protection, and that the Gauls being in League With them would do more justly, if they would not lead their Army against their Friends and Companions. The message being proclaim'd among the Senones, Britomaris a fierce young man of the Royall Blood, whose Father had been slain by the Romans amongst the Etrurian auxiliaries, burning with desire of Revenge, caused not only the men, but the Ensignes of their sacred Office to be hewne and torne in Pieces. The Rumour of so horrid a fact being related in Rome and in the Camp of Dolabella, their mindes were vehemently incensed, and warre proclaim'd against the Senones; and Dolabella forthwith leaving the Etrurians, marcheth with his Army through the Sabines, and Picenians territories with very long Journies into the Countrey of the Senones, who terrified with this sudden Invasion, now in the absence of their main strength, taking the field with a small and inconsiderable body were easily routed and overcome. The Consul giving the Enemy no Breath, Burnes up his Townes, demolisheth his Buildings, wasteth the whole land, and having slain the youth and carried away the weaker multitude of Women and Children, left very little signe that ever that Countrey had been inhabited by Mankind. Britomaris himselfe being taken and punished with various and exquisite Torments was referred for the Triumph. At the same time things succeeded not so prosperously at Aretium; For L. Cæcilius Metellus had ill fortune in his fight before the Town with the Senones and Etrurians, seven Colonells with many other men of Note, together with the Prætor himself were slain, and of their Legions and Auxiliaries about Thirteen Thousand were wanting.

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not so much with the Gauls, as sorrow and Conster-nation for the Lamentable Desolation of their Countrey; Wherefore gathering together all their Countrey men then in Armes in Etruria, full of Grief and Anger, void of counsell and hope, having no habitation whereto to be received at home, (I know not what Fate drawing them to their destruction) in a heat of Resolution they drive toward Rome, thus Computing, That there is nothing may to recompence the desolation of their own Countrey, but by forcing the Romans to see the like Ruine of their City; That their Spirits and Forces were now no whit inferior to, nor the cause of their March from Aretium of less importance, then that of their Ancestours who marched from Clusium of the same Etruria and took Rome: With the like speeches incensing themselves they Rush on, by nature impatient of Delay, and now hally in their Countells, that they might overwhelm their Enemies unawares; But travelling through an Enemies Countrey, they met with many obstacles, so that the Romans had Leisure to provide against this Fury. At length wandering through unknown and unfriendly places, guided by no certaine Line, they light upon Domitius the Consul, and immediately joyne Battell with him; But their unhappy rashness confounded both their Reason and Discipline: many being slain in Battel, the Residue growing mad with Rage and despair sheathed in their own Bowells, those weapons they had in vain drawn against the Enemy. Infomuch as so sudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late most flourishing People for their villany in murdering Embassadors, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceased any more to be numbred among Nations, whose laws they had violated and Transgressed: For even the small Remnant of the Senones who had betaken themselves to their Neighbours, and Kinsmen the Baii, were the next year by Dolabella the Consul with an universal slaughter clean swept away. For whereas the Boians and Etrurians were involv'd in these late disasters, and possessed with fear of the same Calamities they were at the Lake called Vadimonis in a set Battell overcome, many of the Etrurians slain, few of the Boians escaped, the very name of the Senones so utterly extinct, that

In place of Livie's Twelfth Book.

that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had let Rome on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in Sena, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Countrey, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of Italy. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventred once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Thence was I believe by Q. Æmilius Papus that they were beaten, for his and C. Fabricius his first Consulship hapned that year, and 'tis certain the Province of Etruria fell to Papus by Lot. But in most Annals yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Intervening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continual fights and victories very mightily encreased their Virtue and Power, all the free Cities and Nations in Italy being brought into feare, conspired in a great and most dangerous warre; joining together they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurian League and openly joining force with the Lucanians and Brutians, commenced the Warre. But when they joynd battell near the City of the Thurines, which Statius Silvestus had againe likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was strenuously defended, a Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thousand are said to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Prisoners, and twenty-eight and promising a CORONA VALLARIS to him who first entered the Enemies Camp. After diligent Enquiry made after the man, the fouldier was not to be found (if so be he were a fouldier) who would claime this Honour; 'Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad that Mars was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory. And by the Consul's order supplication was made unto him, which the fouldiers with Laurelle on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladness. The Tarentines had not as yet assidied the Accomplish with any open aid, for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let their own. But this Diffimulation served not their purpose, for a meer accident provoking the Italian shore, after the Manner of the Græcians (by whom Tarentum and most of the Tarentines above others were most Luxurious in this kind, inasmuch as it is said they had more Feasts and Solemn Playes then Dayes in the Year. It hapned they were then set at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when L. Valerius (some say Cornelius) one of the Admiralls of the seas was decryed entering the Haven with ten Roman Veffels; A Fatal Error to both Parties; For the Romans ignorant of all things betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; the Tarentines on the other side Conscious of their own privacy practises interpreted this Navy to be sent with an hostile Intention. There was then present one Philtecharis whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd Thais; He mentioning articles of some former Leagues, said it was not lawful for the Romans to saile past the Promontory of Luciniam, that therefore they should go out and meet the foot-hardy Barbarians, manifest their assent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous persons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and without further Consideration they take up-terly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly pursuing, whereof Four with the Admirall were drown'd and one taken; The Men, as many were of Apollonia age and strength fit for Warre, were slaine, the rest made slaves. Presently with the same vanity they wage warre against the Thurines, accusing them, That the Romans came into these parts by their means, who though they were Græcians, had yet in the time of their distresses sent a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector; rather then the Tarentines their Neighbors and Kinsmen. The City is taken and plundered, the Chief men cast out and banish'd, and the Roman Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the News, were according to the Greatness of the Injury most exceedingly incens'd, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassy was decreed to complain of the Outrage, and infrustration was given the Legates to Require, That the Captives should be set at Liberty, the Thurines goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Cities call'd back, and the Authors of these Misdemeanours deliver'd into the hands of the Romans. The Tarentines according to the Greeke Custome were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassadors being with much Difficulty admitted, they find a Rabble-roue totally debauch'd with Drunkenness and Idleness, for this likewise was a great Holiday with the Tarentines. There when L. Postumius the Prince Legate began to declare his Message

Dionys. apud
Favoniam
Dionysius.
Dionysius.
Dionysius.

Apian
apud Flavium
Dionysius.
Valerius
Maximus 2.15

Dion.

Dion.
Zonaras.

472

Apian

Dion.

Apian
Zonaras.

Eclat. ex
Didot. 21

Fl. 1. 18

message, he was entertained with such mocks and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred than he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding any thing else he spoke, when, as being a Roman, he chanced to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they jeer'd and flouted at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the privilege of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular license, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the crowd of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain Buffoon, one *Philonides* (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to their good manners, the Names of their Jefters were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, piss'd upon the sacred Vestments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken society did own it, and the whole Theatre resounded with laughter, and clappings of the hands, as approving the fact. *Posthumus* lifting up his voice, *We accept this, O men, O Jester* (saith he) *seeing ye bestow these things upon us we require not at your hands.* And when he returned himself to the multitude throwing his defiled garment, they renew'd their laughter, and began to dance, singing (scurrilous and reproachful) Verses against the people of Rome, wherefore *Posthumus* again crying out, *Laugh on, saith he, laugh on, Tarentines, while ye may, for hereafter ye shall weep sufficiently:* Whereat the Tarentines being nettled, *Nay, saith he, to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment shall cost you much blood the washing.* After this, receiving no other answer, they failed home. Now at Rome, *L. Aemilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcus Philippus*, had begun their Consulship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robe defiled, as it was, being shew'd by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their spirits were in an high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many days even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, *That nothing should be enterprized before the other Cities, at least those near Tarentus were reduced;* others contended, *That the war should incontinently be commenced;* at last, numbing their votes, it was decreed, *That the business of the Tarentine war should be refer'd to the people.*

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to *Aemilius* the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into *Samnium*, *That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and bold war.* The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, rousing themselves out of their accustomed slothfulness, began ferociously to enter into council, what was to be done, to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoid both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, *Why do we thus, O Tarentines, wait the time in vain alterations? the times are come which require Deeds rather than Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech and sincere Counsel.* Neither am I much moved that heretofore, by a strange disease incident to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to hit you in the teeth with past misdemeanors; for unfeasonably to object old crimes is the part of an enemy, and one who wantonly insults over others infirmities: And an honest man that is careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unless the remembrance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much Pride: But often to fall at the same stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly castigeth our rashness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning assaulted and drown'd the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinsmen the Thurines, because they had rather be protected by the Romans, than swallowed up by the Lucanians and Brutians; moreover, we have suffered shameful indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in that most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch'd in our fields, and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it be safer to accept a formidable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, that laying aside all self flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we might freely and truly consult together, there might certainly a way be found of making an honest league, or a safe war. But now I see you clearly divided into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or as the state of things require, but every man

byassed by his own inclination. For how comes it to pass that so few of the young men, and poorer sort stand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men desire war? what other reason can be given of so equal a division in the City, but these that would fain in quiet reap the commodity of their Lands and Urinary, the other in time of war, hope for command and liberty of plunder? This is an old disease amongst us, neither of a long time hath our Commodity to increase their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I must speak what I think at present most conducive) if ye will neither buy peace on such base conditions as shall infringe the privileges of a Free City, nor yet trust singly to your own Forces in so difficult a war. Our Ancestors have often committed the conduct and command of their Armies to foreign Leaders: Either out of *Peloponnesus* or out of *Sicilie* we have sent for *Archidamus* the son of *Agessilaus*, afterward for *Chironius*, then presently for *Agathocles*. Even in our own memory when we were infested by our Neighbours, our Fathers made use of *Alexander* the Epirot: By which means they did not only themselves succeed prosperously, but left things in a flourishing condition to us. There is at this day the same friendship between us and the Epirots, neither are they now less potent in an Army and a Commander: And the benefit is fresh in memory, which *Pyrrhus* received from us, in that with our whole Navy we assisted him in his attempt against the *Corcyrans*. Therefore esteem this not as my counsel, *Paulus*, but as the counsel of the wisest men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, which ye ought therefore at least to follow, because in the former example you may discern both the reason and ground, as also the issue and success of it. And yet otherwise, there may be arguments most evident and sufficient to the same purpose: There is no man amongst us so singularly eminent, to whom all the rest will willingly submit themselves, and what danger there is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are not ignorant. And whosoever ye shall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his ambition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to say, that 'tis not safe to commit a war into the hands of any ordinary person against the Romans, a hardy stout Nation and inured to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that *Pyrrhus* is not by any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Martial affairs. But perhaps he will not come? Certainly, being a man desirous of action, and having no other war at present, he will not only come himself, but bring a formidable strength, and that of no fresh-water soldiers. And if ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on such conditions as or below a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the least of my hopes, that the Romans will rather beforehand deal with us on equal terms than admit of *Pyrrhus* into Italy, having heretofore feared a King of much less glory and renown out of the same *Epirus*. This counsel likewise the assembly being divided into two contrary opinions, neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimously concur in this, as seeming indifferent to both sides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was spread about the City, that a decree was made for the invitation of *Pyrrhus* that one *Meton* a covetous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chaplapper upon his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his mistle, entered the Theatre; the people according to their idle custom, commanded him to sing and his woman to pipe, after a peevish silence being made, *Meton* cries out, *To do well, O Tarentines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that please, to sing and Dance; for when Pyrrhus once comes into the City no saying, and murmurings and whisperings arising:* Those who were authors of the injuries against the Romans (fearing lest if peaceful Councils prevailed they should be delivered up to punishment) having chid the people, *That they would suffer themselves to be unworthily decided by a rash fellow, forcibly thrust Meton out of the Theatre;* so that afterward without contradicting to peace, and understanding that Embassadors were sent with presents to *Pyrrhus*, some by composition, and fills all places with loss, and terror. The Tarentines fend forth forces to hinder the Spoile, but, after a sharp conflict, the Romans having the better, the *Gracians* are driven back into the City with great loss. Then *Aemilius* without reluctance walleth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarentines terrified with these calamities (like a people, the more insolent in prosperity, the more dejected and fearful in adversity) submit themselves to the Government of *Agus*, who was a coultant author of maintaining the Roman friendship. Their desire and hopes of peace were much augmented by the discourse of diligence and candour he entertain'd those who were taken in several places of the Countrey, or in changed their minds, and erected their Spirits. For *Pyrrhus* being a man of vast conceits, and in emulation of *Alexander* the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accomplish all his designs, as if the Fates themselves had invited him.

[illegible]

Polybius.

Livie Epi. 11.

Livie 28. 28. 3.

Polybius.

Dion.

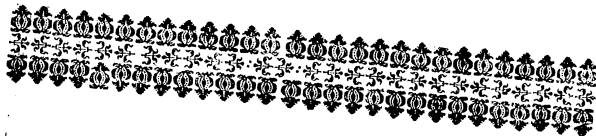
Polybius.

Diodorus Siculus

ex. lib. 24.

all the Italians. In the utmost part of the Italian shore over against Sicily is seated the City of Rhegium, (by a Græcian name so called) very wealthy and flourishing in those days: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of Pyrrhus that a great and terrible warre would ensue, and frighted likewise with the Carthaginian Navy floating up and down in those seas, not trusting in their own strength, thought fit to send for a Guard from Rome. The Romans sent them Four thousand soldiers (which being leaved out of the Colonies of Campania, were call'd the Campanian Legion) under the Conduct of Decius Subellius their Colonel; These at their first coming were very faithful, and very diligent in defending the City. At length seeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauch'd with idleness and imitation of the Greek Customs, they began to compare the Advantage they had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much Covetousness and Envy did frequently discourse in all their meetings and quarters of the convenient situation of the City, and the happiness of the Inhabitants. Decius was well pleas'd with this, who being himself grown a Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward desire of seizing upon the City. The design was favour'd by occasion of the present warre, which so wholly took up the Romans that they had no Leisure to mind the affairs of Rhegium; Besides on the opposite shore were the Mamertines, an Example of the like successfull villany, and ready no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, especially being tyed with the Relation of the same Common Country; For they likewise were of Campania, and of late years going to warre amongst the Auxiliaries of Agathocles, and being entertained by the Messenians as Friends, having slain and call'd out the Citizens, possess'd the place themselves: sharing likewise among themselves their houses, wives and Estates. They call'd to mind also the Campanians of old, who by the like wicked art got Capua from the Tuscans. When they had now agreed upon the Business, there was nothing left to be consulted on, but only the Manner, how safely to execute their Design, left in so populous a City, the lesser number should be surrounded and slain by the greater. Decius counterfeitteth Letters as wrote from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, to betray the Roman Garrison to him; these Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the soldiers in private, Decius bitterly complaining of the Perfidiousness of the Rhegians; and some soldiers being suborned to it, cry out, *'Twas time to provide for their own safety by the sword, and turn that Destruction which was destin'd to them, upon the heads of the Authors, and as the business was set, a Messenger comes in with newes, That Pyrrhus his Navy was seen by the shore, and secret discourses were had between him and the Rhegians.* The soldiers now beside their former Covetousness, were much incited with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is therefore by Common Consent resolv'd upon, *That as the Townsmen shall be oppress'd unawares and unprepared, that having slain the Men, all the Publick and Private wealth of the City shall be distributed to the Legion.* Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; Decius having invited some of the Prime men to Supper, against the holy Rites of Hospitality, takes away their Lives; others were every where slain in their own houses; the greater part of the Rhegians being thus murdered, the rest were banish'd their Country, even by those whom of late they had entertain'd under the Name of Friends and Companions, for preservation of themselves and their Country. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affairs; the houses and Estates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongst the Thieves; and while the Blood is yet fresh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to Marry the murderers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to it selfe the Title and Rights of the City of Rhegium: But it hath pleas'd God well to provide for Mankind, that such rare examples of high Mischiefe should prove likewise as manifest Examples of Vengeance and Divine Justice; Let us should onely by consideration of the success beanimated to the like Villany, and not by the Issue and event be deterr'd from evil doing, so that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madnes then for any man to perswade himself that he can grow happy by doing Mischiefe: For suppose there were no Punishment after Death, which all wise men acknowledge to be the greatest, (for the folly of ordinary men is so great they will scarce believe what is before their eyes, much less be moved with the terror of things unseen and afarre off,) yet let all things as to outward things succeed prosperously, nevertheless the Conscience of offences committed doth by secret wounds continually lacerate and torment the minde: the Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is had in perpetual hatred and Detestation among men: and what is by ill means gotten, and with care and labour preserved is most commonly to their great grief snacht away again, neither God nor men suffering Wickedness to go long unpunished it will not be amiss briefly to relate the punishment of Decius Subellius, and his mad Accomplishes, as in these dayes it befall, for their Final destruction after great variety of troublesome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as shall in fit time be declared. These Rascalls did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongst themselves; The feare of the Romans and Pyrrhus they did indeed avoid, as by reason of the present Conjunction of Affaires, so by holding strict society with the Mamertines, and resolving to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought safest in their first beginnings to abstain from warre at the present, while their New City which had so violent and sudden an Original, should have time to strengthen, compact and knit it selfe well together: they law that without Danger they could not molest the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from the

the Romans, if they bore not arms against them. The first cause of dissension, as is usual among Thieves, arose from an unequal division of the Plunder. Decius in the sedition was call'd out and betook himself to Messana, the soldiers at Rhegium chose *M. Cassius* his Secretary for their Commander, and Decius carrying with him a great bank of money, was honour'd with the same dignity by the Mamertines, though his fortune was neither prosperous nor of continuance: For it hapned, that being troubled with sore eyes, he caus'd some Eminent Physician to be sought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with most sharp birth a Rhegium, but because he had lived so long at Messana, his original was not only unknown to Decius, (who would never have trusted himself to the mercy of a Rhegian) but likewise to He being mindfull of his Country and resolving now to be revenged for its Calamities, permitt certain efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of Cantharides, and giving order it should not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he takerh ship, and flyeth from Messana. Decius being along time sufficiently tormented with incredible paines, seeing his Physician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being wash'd off, he perceiv'd himself to be stark blind. So that being now a blind Exul, infamous and dispis'd, he is reserv'd to judgement, as if he were bound in Chaines, whom he had trusted his health, even as he himselfe had by Cruelty and treachery circumvented those whom he ought to have protected. This fit such Examples as these should be recorded in History and transmitted to posterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never sufficiently convinced how farre these Cunning practises are different from wisdom and right reason; so that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honesty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of false and onely seeming good things by foul and villanous lusts involve themselves in true Evils.



BOOK III.



OW at Rome, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reserve against the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Consuls, *P. Lævinus* and *Lævinus* were committed to the charge of the new Consuls, *P. T. Cornelianus* sent to finish the Etrurian War. *Lævinus*, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, so to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them first; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth, to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into Lucania, did there fortifie a Castle in a convenient place, furnishing it with a strong Garrison, did tard the proceedings of Pyrrhus, and to keep the Lucanians in awe, whose treachery was feared, lest they should dare to revolt to the enemy. Pyrrhus having intelligence of the Roman strength he had at present, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find some colourable pretence to draw out the business and gain time, he sent a Messenger with Letters of these Contents: *Pyrrhus the King wishes Health to Lævinus, and desires that there are come forth*

Livie 28. 28.

Diodorus

forth with thine army against the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me with a small Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even those who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right. To this Lavinus answer'd, We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controversies, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou seem'st to do very absurdly in assuming to thyself the Judgment of other mens Causes, who art thy self guilty of a Crime, and hast not as yet received due punishment for entering Italy without our consent. Know then, that I come no less against thee than the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a just army, by the Judgment of Mars the Author and Founder of our Nation. And without delay moving his Ensignes, he sits down between the Cities of Pandosia and Heraclea, in a Champaign ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River Sirins.

It is reported that Pyrrhus, walking down to the River side to view the Roman campe, when he had well and diligently consider'd it, said to one of his friends, Megacles by name, These Barbarians have martial'd their Army after no barbarous manner, but wee shall soon try what metall they are of. Then having placed strong guards upon the bankes, to hinder their Passage through the Fordes, he resolv'd to expect the coming of his Companions; not onely for the Reason of War, hoping the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of necessary accommodations, but as much regarding the spirit and confidence of Lavinus; whose admiration was by a new Testimonia encreas'd with him, in that he had freely without punishment dismissed those spies, which were sent to view his Campe, telling them moreover, That he had another Army bigger then this. In the mean time the Campe being so neer, there were many Pickereings and light skirmishes which tended nothing to the main chance. Almost fifty dayes being now spent in these light skirmishes, the Consul being moved with the same reasons to hasten the fight, as Pyrrhus was to defer it, assembling his Souldiers together, gave them to understand his Intentions, and encourag'd them against the fear of a new enemy, extenuating, as much as might be, the fame of Pyrrhus, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himself for all assays, he resolves either to fight the enemy by Consent, or compel him to Battell. Therefore seeing Pyrrhus still continue in his resolution, he sendeth out beforehand all his horse, as if to forrage the Country, himself with his Legions in Battell Array, expecting till the tumult and noise on the other side of the River should give them warning. The horse fetching a compals far from the Camps, cross the River where no Guard was, and immediately advance to the enemies stations on that side the River: The Epirots terrified with their sudden approach, betook themselves to their Camp. Pyrrhus understanding the enemy was so neer, marcheth in all haste to the River with his whole body of horse, consisting of three thousand, hoping the Romans in their passage through a blind Ford, driving with the stream and unevenness of the ground and breaking their orders, might there be vanquished. But the Roman horse interposing themselves, Pyrrhus riding at the head of his Troops, conspicuous in his shining armor, of singular strength of Body and Resolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correspondent to his Fame and Reputation. He so exactly order'd the whole Battell with his Counsel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occasion serv'd, he would charge and fight in person, as if to him belong'd only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General issue were another mans business. In the mean time one Leonatus a Macedonian, having observed a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himself only against the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horse to whatsoever quarter he spied him in, gave Pyrrhus notice of it, who answer'd, No man can avoid the Fate of Mortals, but neither this Italian, nor any other, shall grapple with me without his reward, and due punishment. He had scarce spoken the words, when Oplacus (so was the man named, a Captain of one of the Frontian Troop) wounded the Kings horse with his Spear, Leonatus likewise wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round besetting him killed Oplacus, stoutly fighting for himself, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be slain: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewise to decline dangers intended against him, he changed his Armour and weapons with Megacles, and leaving him in the Fight, went himself to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battell a long time fiercely continued with lo doubtful success, that tis reported Fortune seven times changed, sometimes the Romans sometimes the Epirots turning their backs.

But the death of Megacles had like to have reduc'd Pyrrhus his affairs even to a most desperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was assaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of slaying the King: And at length an Horseman, Dexter by name, having kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud crys carried them to the Consul, thereby ingenerating a believe in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the Gracians were full of Terror, and Confentration, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Field, but that Pyrrhus assoone as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voyce witnessing, That he was a live, and present amongst them, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as feare and Despaire from his owne souldiers. Lavinus perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmost Remedy, gaveth the Signe to his Horsemen whom he had placed in Ambush, to fall upon the backe of the enemy. But Pyrrhus against this

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewise reserved for the last Tercio to the enemy. This one Contrivance dash'd all the Romans hopes, and gave the issue of the Battelle clearly on Pyrrhus his side. For the men themselves being all onfist at the vault rather than some strange and formidable Monster, then the shape of any Creature by Nature was most open; and either shaking off their riders, or against their wills forcing them to fight, they ran upon their own battell, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Reckers of the Elephants following the pursuit, many of those that fled were wounded from those who flood in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beasts themselves. The Consul making use of his best skill, did as yet keep his main battell together, till, by the command of Pyrrhus, the Theffalian wing being sent amongst them, did rout and scatter them, not being able to resist. And no question but in the place they were henn'd in, they had every man been slain or taken prisoners, but that, besides the Custom of Pyrrhus, who pelted them to relinquish the pursuit, the evening likewise being far spent comt Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with his braying confounded the rest. This putting a Remora to the enemy, gave liberty to those that fled to cross the River in that in this fight there were fourteen thousand eleven hundred and seventy foot of the Romans and their friends slain, with two hundred and four score horsemen; there were taken in all eighteen hundred and twelve, in which number were eight hundred and two horsemen: there was lost likewise two and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why some Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were wanting on the Kings side; whereas Dionysius writeth, that Lavinus lost little lesse than fifteen thousand, and that on the Victor's side thirteen thousand fell. But Hieronimus Cardianus, an impartial writer of those times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but seven thousand, and of the Kings army under four thousand. But this is by all agreed on, That the Victory cost Pyrrhus the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard Orosius to say, He was no less Conquer'd then Conqueror in that Battell. And when he offer'd the spoils and gifts to Jupiter of Tarentus, he confessed as much, inscribing that sentence in the Title, when his friend complain'd, he repli'd, O a truth, if I obtain such another Victory, I shall receive a grievous wound in this fight, but because others report no such thing, and that I often see the circumstances of several battells confounded, I dare not in the general silence of so many and those more accurate Authors, give credit to one single one.

That it was fought with great animosity and valour, this one argument is sufficient, That when Pyrrhus next day view'd the slain corps (which for the reputation of his Humanity and Clemency he caus'd to be buried) he finding that all the Romans died with honourable wounds having their faces turn'd to the enemy, he cry'd out, How easie were it for me to gain the Empire of the whole world, if I had but Roman Souldiers! Neither did he defer with any compement and large promises to court those who were in his power, to receive pay under him, and not being able to persuade them, he did, nevertheless treat them with great humanity and clemency, freeing them from chains and whatever other reproach usually attends the fortune of prisoners. But the Romans thus batter'd by the late fight were terrified with another misfortune, though not of so great loss, yet which caus'd more fear and Religious horror. For it was impos'd to the manifest anger of the gods, that their men who were sent forth for forage amidst the stupendous noise of the Heavens, struck dead by Thunderbolts, and two and twenty smitten and left half dead, their Cattel also by the same storm were most of them slain or made of no use.

Pyrrhus in the mean time having taken the empty and forsaken Camp of the Romans, made quick use of his victory, waiting all the Neighbour Countries, and turning many people from the Roman friendship. The Lucanians and Samnites then come in to him, whom lightly chiding, That they had not assist'd him in the battell, he nevertheless gave them part of the spoils; therein much rejoicing and exulting, That by his own strength, with no other aid but that of the Tarentines, he had slain so many of the Romans. Pyrrhus being thus intent in reaping the fruit of his Victory, Lavinus on the other side curing his wounded, and recollecting his dispersed men, had gathered together a force no way contemptible, and the Senate (though many imputed the losse only to the Consul's default, and Fabius by Pyrrhus) decreed a recruit and supply to be sent him. When the Cryer proclaimed, That they who would serve their Country in the place of them who were slain, should give in their names, they list'd themselves so fast, that presently they completed the number of two Legions.

The Consul recruited with these forces, follow'd the steps of *Pyrrhus*, vexing his Army with what inconveniences he could. And understanding the Kings Resolution to seize upon *Capua*, leading his Army thither in haile, he prevented him, and preparing all things for Defence, he deterr'd him from assaulting the City. *Pyrrhus* turning his Course to *Naples*, and there likewise being frustrated of his Expectation, forthwith by long Journeys marcheth toward *Rome* in the Latine high way, and now having pass'd through *Avanina*, and the Hernician Territories, taking in *Fregella* by the way, he came to *Praeneste* within Twenty miles of the City. But the Magistrates there, affoon as they understood of the Overthrow, had by Order of the Senate armed their choice young men: and the Fortune of the Roman People had in this time of their Necessity, provided them another very strong help and succour: For the other Consull *Tib. Corneilius*, encountering the Etrurians with better success, had tied the whole Nation to new Covenants, and being called back by the Senate to the Defence of his Countrey, having no other Enemy to distract him, came home with his Victorious Army. *Pyrrhus* having in vain attempted to draw the Etrurians again into Armes, and considering that, besides a City secure with its own guards, he had two Consulls with their Armies, one on the Front, the other on his Rears, returned back into *Campania*: where meeting *Laevinus* with greater forces then before his Overthrow, he said, *He had to deal with a Lernæan Hydra, whose heads bring lately thrack off, spring up again in a greater Number*; yet confiding in his former Victory, he drew out his Army and martialld it as resolving to fight, and that he might discover the Cheerfulness of his souldiers, and likewise terrifie the Enemy, he caus'd his men to shout and the Elephants to be provoked to bray. But the Romans returned a farre greater and more terrible shout, where-by conjecturing the Spirits of each, he judg'd it fit to abstain from fight at the Present, and complaining of ill omen in the Entrails of sacrifices, he drew back his Army first into his Camp, and afterward with much plunder and a great Troop of Captives, to *Tarentum*.

The Romans (who in their hardest times had remitted nothing of their Constancy, but as to the main Issue of the warre alwayes spake high, as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a most fit time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to *L. Æmilius Barbula* for those exploits performed in his Consulship. He triumphed *A.D.* the fourth of the Ides of *July*, over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But *P. Valerius* was order'd to draw the Remnant of his Conquer'd Army into the *Sentine fields*, there to fortifie his Camp, and cause them to winter in their huts: About the same time the Senate disputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, resolv'd affirmatively; that which chiefly perswaded them, was I believe the Horlemen's Cafe, for they had stoutly maintained the fight during the absence of the Elephants, at whose approach the horie without any fault of the Riders yielded them up to Death, and to Bonds: upon this Errand were sent Embassadors of Principall Dignity, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for his Defolation of *Sena in Gallia*, *C. Fabricius Lucinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who two yeares since were Collegues in the Consulship: *Pyrrhus* by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inseparable Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encrease by his Ambition, according to the Vulgar Error, esteeming all Virtues the servants to Domination, to which only being intemperately given, he did direct all his Counsells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferior to any Commander of that Age in Boldness of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all means before he came to Blows; he would sollicite the mind of his Enemy as he saw most opportune with Feare, or Desire, or Pleasure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Conditions. Therefore understanding Embassadors were coming from *Rome*, and judging so many Consular men were not sent but upon some Grand Affaires, he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their access might be the faster and the more honourable, he sent *Lyco* (by nation a Molossian) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himselfe on Horseback with rich Caparisons met them without the Gates. And having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Respect, liberality and plenty that might be.

They premising somewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, as how great the Inconstancy of Fortune is, how sudden the Changes of Warre, and that future Contingents cannot be foreseen, deliver their Message, That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would suffer them at a Certain price to be redeem'd, or to be exchanged for Tarentines and others. *Pyrrhus* whose Custom it was, not to transact any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together; and *Milo's* Opinion was, That he should detain the Captives, make use of his Fortune, and not cease the Warre till he had thoroughly subdued the Romans; Cincas his Counsell was very different, for, speaking first of the Constancy of the Senate and People of *Rome*, which they had often seen even in the hardest times to be invincible, he addid moreover, As for other Enemies 'tis likely we may hate their manners or contemne their Armes, but with this Nation, O King, 'tis better making Friendship then Warre, and 'tis convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to dismiss them without Ransoms; Neither is any delay to be made, but that you send back the Embassadors with Presents, to conclude Peace upon equal Terms: For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit you may accomplish a Business (in my judgement) very necessary. For now your Affairs having succeeded prosperously,

you

you shall both more easily by Treaty obtain what you desire, and likewise seem for no other Cause but the innate Greatness and Goodness of your mind, to offer Peace unto those whom you might by force have reduced into slavery. And farre be it from Thee, but that Thy Desires should prosper as a matter to Obtaine Peace, neither can it with so much honour be treated on. When the rest agreed in the same Opinion, the King himselfe likewise assenting, commanded the Roman Embassadors to be called, to whom he spake in this Manner: *Towr Errand, Romans, I cometh to Rule, I have back the Prisoners of Warre, whom being restor'd, you are ready presently to make use of against me. If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counsell, beneficial to both Parties, without price or Ransom; otherwise if you continue hostility, I shall think it no wise part, to so be enriched by my bounty: Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Embassadors, with promise he would bestow more and of greater Price. These things were spoken in good Authors, When therefore they had speech together in secret without witness, among other things 'tis reported the King said thus: My desire is to have all the Romans my Friends, but especially your selfe, whom I esteeme above all others, as most eminent in Civil and Military virtues, only one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having but slender substance, you are not able to maintaine that Port and Splendour which justly attends Great men, as the Due. But I will not suffer you any longer to be sensible of this Injury, and despite of Fortune, I will freely bestow so large a summe of Gold and Silver, as you shall easily exceed the Revenue of the richest. For I am perswaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the hard Wants of Worthly men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory then Wealth: Truly I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more illustrious monument of Kingly Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto the Gods: so that I shall rather think you do me a Courtesy, then receive one at my hands, if you will suffer your selfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truly would I urge this to you, if on my side only the Bounty should seem Glorious, on your side the Acceptance dishonourable. But now seeing I tempt you not to Treason or the commission of any Fact misbecomming your Grave Manners; what Reason is there why you should with a resolute and obdurate mind refuse a small Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I desire nothing of you, but what may, nay of duty ought to be done by the best of Men, and most tender of their Countries Good, that you would perswade the Senate to forsake their wilful stubbornness, and recall their mindes to Equity and milder Counsells, giving them to understand the Truth; that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Loss and Danger, neither can I (having promised help to the Tarentines, and proved Victor in the first Battell) without manifest breach of faith, and diminution of mine Honour relinquish it; Neither indeed do I delight in fighting with you whom I judge farre more worthy my Friendship then my Hatred, and had much rather return home into mine own Kingdom, where many businesses in the interim, whereby you may be satisfied concerning my Intentions, and resolve the Doubts of others; if any shall think it not safe to trust to Kings, by reason of the fault of some, who stand by their Agreements and Covenants so long only as it seemeth for their Profit, when they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have chosen rather to break their Faith then lose an Advantage. And when the Peace shall be concluded, there is nothing will please me better, or be more commodious to us Both, then that you would bear me company into *Epirus*, where you shall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and Partner of all my Fortunes. For I esteeme no Possession more precious then that of a Valiant and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the Splendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majesty of Royall Affairs will become your great Mind. These things if we shall in Common conferre, mutually helping one the other, we shall without any difficulty attain to the greatest Happiness that man is capable of or can imagine.*

When the King had thus made an end of speaking, after a little distance *Fabricius* answer'd, 'tis needlesse for me to discourse seeing you have already trusted the Relation of others concerning me. Neither is it necessary to declare my poverty, that, being the master of a little ground and a small Cottage, I maintaine my self neither by usury nor the sweat of servants, but by the labour and exercise of my owne Body, seeing this also you have truly learnt by the discourse of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, you judge me, by reason of my poverty, to be in worse condition then any other Roman, you are wonderfully deceived. For despising Riches, embracing Vertue, and doing my duty, I was never sensible of any misery; neither in private or publick business did I ever repine at my Fortune. For what Reason have I to speake ill of fortune, unless I should impute it as a

*Ammian.
Marcellinus
24-9
Dionysius*

Zonaras
Dionysius

ZONETAS

Above in the
year 471
Dionys.

crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to grieve and high spirits are most desirable, not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest honours our country affordeth. The heavieſt wars are committed to my Charge, I am entrusted with the care of our moſt holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked concerning the moſt weighty affairs, I am commended and cheerfully imitated by many, neither am I leſs eſteem'd then the moſt potent man in the City; I ſeem unto others an example and pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this beſtowing no coſt either of mine own or others. For in other places, where particular menſ wealth is great, and the publick flock but ſmall, the Magiſtrates ſuſtain the dignity and ſplendor of their office by their own expence. In our City the culture is much different, no private manſ fortune being on any ſide burthened. All this great and glorious pomp, wherewith our Citizens, who are choſen to the adminiſtration of grand affairs, are ſo magnificently ſet forth, is of publick allowance, which order maketh all men equal, ſo that the pooreſt man ſhall want nothing for the maintaining either the publick or his own grace, neither ſhall the richeſt in any thing abound. Wherefore feeling, though I am the pooreſt of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richeſt of all; why ſhould I complain of Fortune? ſhould I deſire to be equal with Kings, who may hoard up vaſt ſums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have ſpoken in reference to my life in Publick, even in private alſo my indigence is ſo far from being a burden or inconvenience to me, that contrariwiſe, as often as I compare my ſelf with the rich ones, my condition ſeemeth incomparably more happy, and I reckon my ſelf among thoſe few who have attained to ſuch Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mightily rejoice and give thanks to my Poverty. For it ſeeming to me idle and fooliſh to purſue after things ſuperfluous, and that my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yieldeth all neceſſaries; I know not to what end I ſhould be ſollicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes ſweet to me, and thirſt my Drink; after labour my ſleep is eaſe and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from cold, are of proof ſufficient; and my houſhold ſtuff, according as it apt and fit for thoſe uſes it was ordained to, fit to my very well pleaſeth me. So that herein alſo I find to be injurious to accuſe Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger ſubſtance then nature deſires, which hath neither ingenerated in me a covetouſneſs of what is too much, nor a dexterity of ſcraping it together. Wherefore with this my poverty I judge my ſelf more wealthy then the richeſt men, yea, then thy ſelf alſo, for I have ſo much that I deſire no more, whereas unleſſe you thought your ſelf poor notwithstanding your poſſeſſion of *Epirus*, and all other your Territories, why came you ever into *Italy*? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair opportunity of doing good to mankind, and that in my poverty can be bountiful to no body. Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things alſo I do not abound: That the gods have not endow'd me with knowledge ſuperexcellent, and the Art of Prophecy, and many other the like things, whereby I might benefit thoſe who in theſe kinds want help. But if I freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens thoſe things which are in my power, and ſuffer every one in common to participate of what may any way pleaſure them, I ſhall think my ſelf free from that crime of being uſeleſs or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I have you cleepe thoſe things ſmall and contemptible, becauſe others ſeem greater in your eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for ſupplying the neceſſities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be deſired, and that in this reſpect the poſſeſſion of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings ſeem to be perſwaded; which, think you, were the better way of purchaſing wealth, that I ſhould now with diſgrace receive it at your hands, or that I ſhould, when it was in my power, have long ago gathered it upon moſt honeſt accounts? For my proſperous management of Publick affairs, hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich; as often at other times, ſo eſpecially when I overcame thoſe large and ferill Territories waſting and ſpoiling, when being conqueror in many Battels, I took for paye and demolliſ'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Soldiers being largely rewarded, and all debts paid which the Commonwealth had contracted with private men for carrying on the War, there was yet ſo much remaining that I carried into the Publick Treafury four hundred Talents. Now after I have ſcorn'd to acquire juſt and honeſt Riches by thoſe ſpoils which were in my hands, and by the example of *Valerius Publicola* (and others who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before money, ſhall I receive gifts of thee, and embrace a ſhameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neglected a fair and honourable means? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleaſure, and good conſcience have expended in juſt and honeſt uſes, which what I receive of you I cannot do: For that money is rather to be accounted lent then bellow'd, which proceeds from another's bounty, and however it be given and received under the ſpecious pretence of hoſpitality, friendſhip or good will, 'tis burthenſome to an Ingenious and high Spirit juſt it be reſtor'd. And if the Cenſors, who with ample authority exerciſe the ſuperinſpection of Manners amongst uſ, ſhall (according to that power wherewith they are inveſted to enquire into the Lives of the Citizens, and puniſh thoſe who deviate from the Inſtitutions of our Fathers) publicly ſummon me to give an account of the reaſons, why I received any Gifts from thee?

Many

In place of Livie's Thirteenth Book.

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Many report that Pyrrhus, resolving at any rate to winne a man of such Excellent vertue, did yet more earnestly tempt his Confrancy, and after other magnificent promises, making a prof-
complishment of the Kings desires, For saies he, if I am an evil man, why doe you court me? If good,
If good, why would you corrupt me? adding moreover, That this businesse would prove neither
pleasing nor profitable to Pyrrhus if it should succeed, for if he should make use of his liberty,
it would be hateful both for the King and his Friends, as for his Justice and Abstinence, if the Epi-
russ once had experience of them, they would forsake the King and apply themselves wholly to him.
These things, and what hereafter I shall add, being by various Authors related, I thought nei-
ther inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and sense of those men
may be known, who supported the Roman State in most difficult times, and improv'd it to that
incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may
become objects of Admiration, and trasmit to their posterity a more flourishing Common-
wealth than they received from their Ancestours. These things being spoken and heard on both
sides, the King at present contented himself, but on the morrow, calling Fabricius to be sent
for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who standing at their backs behind
the hangings, as they were discouraging, the hangings being on a sudden withdrawn, at the Masters
command laid his snout on Fabricius his head, making a most horrid noise; but he, being a
goldentime me, war to day your beast terrifie me. Afterwards being let at supper, when he heard
Cynar discouraging of the Grecian Philosphers of the Self of Epicurus, that they esteemed Plea-
sure the greatest good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefest hindrance of Felicity:
That the gods in their opinion led such a life free from the care of humane affairs, free from all Pains
afflictions either of anger against the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themselves over wholly to
idleness and pleasure: Fabricius thereupon is said to cry out, The gods grant that Pyrrhus and Cal-
Pamphili would practice this wisdom while they wage War with the people of Rome. These
were the manners of those times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth
or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counsel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither
were these hidden Motions and fits, or speeches premeditated out of hypocrisie for the present
occasion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the constant Tenour of their Lives,
whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The same Fabricius when all
his silver plate consisted of one Salt-celler and a little dish, which yet was sustained by an harning
foot, the Samnite Embassadors presenting him with a gift of money and very rich household
stuff, set his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at length to his be-
lief, saying, As long as I can command these, nothing shall be wanting to me, carry ye back your
money to those who stand in need of it.

After the same manner he freed

After the same manner he spent his whole life, in fomuch as in all his Patrimony there was Senate cauled money for that Purpoe to be disbursed out of the Publick Treasury, being afham'd to let those Virgins paffe without Dowry, whose Father was not afham'd to leave fo. *Pal. Maximus 4-10*

The who had fo often been in Chiefe command, and having once borne the Centourifhip denied to be made Centour againe, faying, *It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that fams men fhould often be chofen Centour;* he died with the fame Testimony both of his poverty, and the peoples Love; for after his Death they beflow'd fo much money that his fon *Q. Gurgus* gallantly of mind refus'd the gifts of the Sabines as *Fabricius* did the Samnites: *Q. Amilius Papas,* Citero in Lelio

who was in moft offices Colleague with *Fabricius*, alfo *Tib. Coruncianus*, and many other friendship: So that the Poet feems to me to have conceived in his mind the Idea of thofe times, when he faid, *The Roman State was upheld by men and manners of the old Fabian.* *Pylrrius* *Dif. 2. 11*

feriously confidering and pondering thefe things, was inflam'd with a great defire of compoling all thefe differences with this Nation, and immediately reitor'd two hundred of the Captives without Ranfome, and gave leave likewife to all the reft to go to Rome and vifit their friends at the Feaft of Saturn now approaching, relying only on the word of *Fabricius*, who promifed, *That when the Holy-days were pafft they fhould return, unleffe peace were in the mean time concluded.* *Plutarch Pyrrho c. 44*

And fuch was the Cravie-
And fuch was the Cravie-
And fuch was the Cravie-

And such was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every single Person, that at a thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpose, while the Romans being mollified with the fight of their dearest friends, and desirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hostility, resolved now to send an Embassage to Rome to Treat of Peace on those Conditions he had propounded to Fabricius in Perfon, He defiring ^{that the Tarantines might be comprehended in the League, & That the other Grecians inhabiting Italy might continue free; living according to their own LAWES :} That whatsoever the Apollinians might continue free; living according to their own LAWES : That whatsoever the Apollinians might continue free; living according to their own LAWES :

Romans had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians might be restored; and in Livie, the Romans should receive their Captives without Ransom. Cinesas of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with Pyrrhus, a man as of great knowledge in Civil affairs, so of very honest principles, and who had by exercise improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For these his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, *He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of Cinesas, than by his own Arms.* This man being sent Ambassador to Rome, with much cunning delay'd making his address to the Senate, till he had in Pyrrhus his name distributed many gifts in the houses of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, extolled the virtues of Pyrrhus, and his inclination towards the Romans, he discoursed of the Equity of the conditions he brought, inasmuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: because besides other conveniences, he promised, if they would desist molesting his friends, he would furnish them with aid sufficient for the Conquest of all the rest of Italy. But, because the Consultation lasted many days (the Fathers being very solicitous in a business of so great consequence) and thereby a suspicion and rumor was spread, that peace would be concluded, Appian Claudius, who by reason of his Age and blindness, had of a long time been absent from the Senate, caused himself now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no sooner appeared, but his sons and sons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being silent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the respect they bore his person, and expecting for what cause, after so long absence and retirement he should now come into the Senate: he beginning his discourse with the affliction of his sickness, said, *His Blindness had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now* 'he was not only delighted in it, lest he should behold those things which were doing, but was 'sorry that his ears also were not deaf, that he might not hear things so sordid and unworthy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whether are your 'spirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of Alexander the 'Macedonian renowned as of an invincible King, that his glory was more to be imputed to his 'Fortune than his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, and likewise his esteem amongst men would have proved far different. But now, behold how 'ye are degenerated from your Magnanimity; ye once thought ye were able to conquer the Macedonians, and now ye stand in fear of Molossians and Chaonians, the perpetual prey 'of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned Alexander, and now are frighted by Pyrrhus, not the servant of Alexander, but his servants servant, who flying from his old enemies rather 'than seeking new, is come over into Italy with a resolution, should it please the gods, to obtain the Empire of Rome, with those forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his little share of Macedonia. Unless therefore we send him back well beaten, laden with great 'misfortune, assure your selves, any other Party, deservedly slighting and scornful our Power, will greedily venture into Italy, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can be thought of us, but that we are a cowardly slothful people, if Pyrrhus, being received into 'friendship, shall carry back a Reward for that Disgrace he hath done us, in as much as by his means it is come to pass that the Romans are become a Laughing-stock to the Tarentines and 'Samnites?

This was the main scope of Appian his Oration, which did so inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a severe Sentence, they with one consent decreed, *That the War should be prosecuted, that Cinesas should the same day depart the City, that Pyrrhus should be given to understand, That neither he should be admitted into the City, (for that also was desired) neither would they, much as treat of friendship and society, till he had quitted Italy.* A like law decreed by Appian his motion was made concerning the Captives, *That they should not be led in War against Pyrrhus, neither should they any where be joined in the same company, nor that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a note of injury, change their manner of fighting, that they who before served on horse-back, should now be lifted among the foot, and they who were of the Legion, should now serve in light armature; That no man should receive his former order, till he had brought in the spoil of two enemies.* 'Tis reported, when the Ambassadors returned with this sharp answer, the King although at the wonderful constancy of the Romans, asked, *What they thought of the City and of the Senate?* and that Cinesas answered, *The City seemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Assembly of Kings.*

After these Translations, some think, Fabricius was sent an Embassage to the King: but they are easily convinc'd of Error as by the Testimony of other Authors, so by a right Consideration of the Series of Affairs. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and busied themselves on both sides all winter in making diligent preparations. There I take to be the Times wherein Pyrrhus is reported, (for the avoiding the Dangers of shipwreck, and a more convenient passage of the Italian and Epirot Succours one to the other) to have had thoughts of making Bridges between Hydrunt, where Italy gets furthest into the sea, and Apollonia, a Town situate on the adverse shore, some fifty miles distant: For that is the Breadth of the Sea in those places between the Græcians and Italian Shores. *M. Terevsius Varro* is said afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being *Cn. Megnius* his Lieutenant

tenant in the war against the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas with his Navy. In the midst of these doings *Tib. Coruncianus* the Consul Triumphed *A. D.* of the Calends first made by one of a Plebeian Rock. There were cessed two hundred seventy eight thousand two hundred twenty two Citizens. About these times it was that *Q. Fabius Maximus* was Consul at that Time. *Cn. Domitius* certainly was, for he lulstrated the Army, and his name is calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into Apulia, where he took many *pietis Saverriis*, and *P. Decius Mus* went forth with two Armies pitching Camp against Canine, was made of Fighting, but they were many days hindered as by a deep Torrent running between them, so by mutual fear on each side. The Romans were troubled with remembrance of the former Battell wherein Pyrrhus was victorious: The Epirots were daunted at Legions: For it was given out that *P. Decius* after the Example of his Father and Grandfather in they died, did make the expectation of the Decian Devotion to be terrible to all

Pyrrhus thinking it a matter not to be neglected, assembling his souldiers together, Thus instructed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddesses 'Earth, or the Infernal Deities, who were involv'd by that Charm, that they ought not to believe the Gods to be so unjust as to alter the fates of Armies, and below conquests for one 'mad-man's sake; that victories are not obtained by juggling tricks, and superstition, but by the field with troops of Priests and Prophets, but with Legions of armed souldiers to oppose the Enemy: But because the ignorant are commonly more terrified with their superstitious 'delusions, then with true causes of feare, he shewed that this feare might be prevented, by shewing the Habit wherein the former Decii had Devoted themselves, and warning the souldiers if they met any Man in the like accoutrement not to assault him with any weapon, but to take him alive. He caused likewise a Message to be sent to Decius, *That he should forbear playing the fool amongst armed men, neither should his Plot take Effect, that if he came alive into his hands he should perhaps endure more torment then he was willing.* 'Twas answer'd by the Consuls, *They had Confidence enough in their Arms, neither had any need of so desperate a Design, which that he might be assured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would come over the River interjacent, or Expect the Romans on his side the water; that they would willingly withdraw their forces to give him a safe passage over, or if he would retire, they would bring over their men, that on each side encountering with their strength entire, demonstration might be made, that they repos'd all their hopes of victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no other thing:* Pyrrhus was ashamed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted therefore of the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of fording the River. The Terror of the Elephants was not now so great to the Romans, as being accustomed to see them, so having had Experience that their snouts might easily be cut off, as one was in the last fight at one blow by *C. Atinucius* the foremost Pike-man of the Fourth Legion. But now they bethought themselves of safer guards and Defences; They caused horses clothed with Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewise full stuck with spears fastned in Iron sockets, in the Chariots were placed souldiers who with darts or fire should avert the fury of the Elephants. The Legions with this furniture having passed the River, Pyrrhus in a singular and Excellent manner martial'd his Army, according to his Custom wherein he was thought to exceed all Commanders of his Time. Observing therefore the Nature of the place, which would well admit of a foot Army only, he placed his horse and Elephants in the Reserve. Right wing he strengthened with his own souldiers and the Samnite Auxiliaries, The Brutians Lucanians and Sallentines he placed in the midst, the Tarentines whose virtue he least confided in, he order'd in the midst. The Consul's main body consisted of their Legions, some of the light Armature being conveniently intermixt; and with the like Discretion they distinguished the Orders of their Reserves. The horse were distributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the Foot fight, and yet upon occasion offer'd, ready for Action. The Arms being equal, not the only in Courage but in number (for they were forty thousand strong on both sides) disputed neither side, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morning Pyrrhus when he had guarded the most difficult places, forced the Romans to descend into a more even and open ground; there he had some use of his Elephants, which being suddenly brought in to that part of the Battell last fight) and caused them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this Fight is much different from that of the former, for some Authors affirm, The Ro-

Apian in Me-
thridich Te-
bula Capitulum.
Epirot Livie 13.
Plinius 7.11.
Pavus in Fa-
linis.

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Europius
Cluvius Italia,
Zonaras

Livie 8.9.

Zonaras

Plin 8.7.

Flor. 1.18.

Orosius 4.1.

Vigilius de Re

militari. 3. 34.

Zonaras

Amianus

Marcellinus

Prin. lib. 24.

Livie 35.14.

Plinius

Pyrrhus 46.

Frontinus

Strab. 3.3.

Plutarch

Plutarch
Zonaras
Frontinus b. 2
Plutarch
Florus 1. 18
Oronius 4. 1

Justinus
18. 1
Plutarch

Livie Ept. 13

Zonaras

Yul. Cael. quest.
1. 13
de Etruriis 2. 19

Plutarch
Zonaras
P. M. Pyrrhus
c. 20. 24
Plutarch
Diodori Eclog.
book 22

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Agellius 1. 8
G. de Officiis
3. 22
Val. Maximus
6. 1. 1
Zonaras
Agellius
Livie 39. 51
Agellius
Ammian. Mar-
cel 27. 5
Tacitus 1. 28
Plutarch
Pyrrhus c. 45
C. in Appen-
dix
Cicero in
Bello
Gildon v. 271
Florus 1. 18
Eutropius
Frontinus Hist.
4. 42

mans had the upper hand, their Victory being occasion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order sent against those who came to surprise the carriages) by their departure seeming to fly, by a mean error and false fear caus'd all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly inded. The number of the slain is likewise express'd, That on Pyrrhus his side twenty thousand, on the Romans side five thousand were wanting, that the King with a dart shot through his arm was grievously wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to stay the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the last, that on his side three and fifty Colours were left, on the Romans eleven, and that Fabricius the other Consul's Lieutenant was likewise wounded. But contrariwise, others say, This Battel had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reason of the vicinity of their Camps sustained not so much loss; but that they did conquer easily, and left six thousand men; that Pyrrhus left three thousand and five hundred and five, as it is in the Kings Chronicles registered, by the Testimony of Hieronimus.

And not only variety But Repugnancy of Authors moves me rather to incline to those who report the event of this Battel to have been doubtful: for 'tis ordinary after an equal encounter for each part to attribute the victory to themselves, which by the negligence or Impudence of others is committed to writing, doing every ill to deliver to Posterity for true and undoubted, those things which are grounded on Idle report only, or for affection are partially related. Wherefore their history seems more probable who affirmes, That there was but one Fight near Asculum, and that, after an hot dispute and much blood shed, the Sun being now set, the Kings wound and the loss of the Baggage did with much ado break off the fight: That then both Armies founded a Retreat, when on both sides there were slain about fifteen thousand, and that this was the time when Pyrrhus answer'd one who congratulated his victory, If the Romans are thus to be vanquish'd we are undone our selves. And indeed the sequel confirms this Opinion, for Pyrrhus retired to Tarentum, and the Consuls, making no pursuit after the enemy, distributed their forces into winter quarters in Apulia, whereas the time of year gave them leave, and Reasons of War might well have persuaded them, to have prosecuted so glorious a victory. Moreover I find not that these Consuls made any Triumph, and many think that P. Decius in this Battel devoted himself, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himself the Third sacrifice, without intermission out of the same family, for the good of the Commonwealth. Which as I had no thoughts to gain say, So should I not have related in the general history of all Histories, but that a grave Author M. Tullius Cicero in his books of Philology more than once maketh mention of it. The fight at Asculum thus ended, the rest of the year was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time spent in Consultation and preparations. Pyrrhus, having lost most of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, sent into Epirus with order for a supply of Men and money for next spring. But before that Navy could be set forth, new hopes arising alter'd the Kings Counsels. Pyrrhus had sometime the possession of Macedonia, wresting it out of the hands of Demetrius, and again lost it by the Power of Lysimachus. Now while Pyrrhus waged war in Italy, Ptolemaeus Ceraunus being slain by the Gauls, there seem'd a new way open into Macedonia, being deliv'd of a Prince and the state of affairs in Confusion. This Reason persuad'd him not to leave Epirus naked of soldiers, lest it should be obnoxious to the injuries of the Gauls who now oppress'd the Neighbour nation Macedonia. But Pyrrhus did not as then steer his Course homeward, being upon other Occasions (as shall be related) call'd into Sicily. The winter being past over in these Cares the New Consuls came to the Army C. Fabricius Luscinus, and Q. Emilius Papus (who before had born a Consulship together) which Pyrrhus understanding drew forth his forces, intending to observe the Marches and Counsels of his enemy. Their Camps being not far distant, there hapned an Accident very remarkable, and by most men related much after the same manner: One Timotheus an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, secretly came to Fabricius, and promised him, if he would give him an answerable reward to Poison the King; which he thought was easie for him to accomplish by his sons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. Fabricius, no way delighted with the Treason, inform'd the Senate of it. The Senate, not discovering the Treason of Timotheus, who had (by what means soever) intended the Roman profit, sent Embassadors to Pyrrhus, who should only in general warn him, That he should look well about him, and take heed of what men's service he made use of, and enquire into their faithfulness and honesty. Thus Valerius Antius relates the business, and that notice was given not by the Senate but by the Consuls, reciting also the Letter of the Consuls, wherein they discover Nicetas his design. That they are unwilling to fight by craft, or with money, and with the King safe from Treason, hoping he will become an Illustrious Ornament to their Victory and Triumph.

Some Report it was the Kings Physician who treated with Fabricius either in person or by Letter, and that upon his discovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in these Circumstances, so no question they are deceived who say that Curius sent back the Physician to the King. This said that Pyrrhus at this time wondering at the Experience of so great Virtue in Enemies, cry'd out, This is that Fabricius, who can with no little difficulty serve from the Rules of Justice and Honesty, then the Sun be turned out of his Course. He did immediately, lest he should be Overcome with Kindness, return the Romans all the prisoners he had, and sent Cineas again

to

to obtaine peace and friendship. It seem'd dishonourable to receive a gift from the enemy, where-tue, they therefore thought to have abhorred wickedness more for gain then for the love of Victory, might not be received gratis. This publick abstinence was to their greater Credit Grounded by the virtue and resolution of private persons, when the gifts of Pyrrhus (which Cinetium, and others, and others again, there was not so much as one man or woman to be found so mean or covetous as to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The former answer was now again returned to the Embassadors, That until Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would esteem him an Enemy to the people of Rome. While Pyrrhus was much perplexed at these passages, not knowing how to prosecute the War with any cheerfulness, he relolv'd to undertake (after long and doubtful deliberation) he relolv'd to undertake, the management whereof (after war might with credit be declined, and the command of a most Rich Island obtained, he them. For they suspecting the Kings designs, had a little before hand sent Magas with a Navy of an hundred and twenty ships, saying, The Romans ought to be assisted against a foreign enemy. And though the Romans used not their assistance, making answer, That they this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

To the former Articles it was added, That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be specially excepted, that they might assist one the other, which sever-nians were provoked to War; And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthagi-nians should provide ships, each party pay their own soldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans Magas went to Pyrrhus under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to discover the Kings Counsels, whom the Carthaginians had understood to be invited into Sicily. And they offer'd to involve Pyrrhus in his Italian War, lest he should spoil their successes in Sicily which shou-Beer, pretending the siege of Rhegium, but indeed relolving to hinder Pyrrhus from transmi-ting his Army. For these causes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affairs, which fil-tered him with great hope, as by the state of things, so by the frequent Embassies which came one only remedy of their calamities whereunto they were more sharply afflicted then the most miserabl-ed, one Mamo, born at Agestis, a City of Sicily, more lamentable then under serv-tyranny to usurp the government, was by Hicetas the Pretor expelled the City, and fled to the Carth-ginian forces: Hence arose an heavy war and unfortunate to the Syracusans, by which ne-of Agrigentum, he held the Island long time in trouble, till by the boldness of one Theno he-tain the Sovereignty, was reliev'd by Systratus a Syracusan Nobleman. These two along re-time contested, Theno possessing Naxos, an Island which is part of Syracuse, Systratus ex-ercising the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by these discords they-saw nothing but destruction likely to ensue, with one consent they decreed to lend for Pyr-Lanassa, was thought fittest to bear rule, and next in succession, as having a son by Diogenes their affairs. Moreover, the principal men of Agrigentum and Leontium, offering the Go-vernment of their Cities, and consequently of the whole Island, unanimously intended him, Theno-boring under the heavy burden of a Barbarous slavery. For the Carthaginians having wait'd Diodorus hundred ships, and an Army of fifty thousand men, Pyrrhus therefore without delay sendeth Articles of friendship with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian con-federates, promising, That if they were oppress'd by the Romans he would in speed come out of the-neighbor Island much increased with new forces. But when he was about to leave a Gari-son on these conditions he was call'd in, or that at least he would leave their City free. They-lesure. The Epitot King being thus employ'd, the Consuls had the easier war against their-enemies. I find they had about this time good success against the Etrurians, Lucanians, there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engag'd, by the Samnites, who found themselves left naked by the departure of Pyrrhus. Among the

D

other

Enropius b. 2
Cicero pro
Balb. c. 23
Tab. Capitula

other nations as the war was more heavy, so was the Victory more Illustrious over them. C. Fabricius the Consul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into *Etruria*, inasmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Consular Army was thought sufficient) overcame the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites: Some Cities, among which were *Heraclea*, he drew into Covenant's, and over those people he Triumphed before the Ides of *December*.

Quintilian's 1.

An assembly of the people being held, New Consuls were chosen for the year ensuing, P. Cornelius Rufinus again, and C. Junius Brutus again. Other Nobles were Candidates with Rufinus, but by Fabricius his favour he was chosen. Wherein Fabricius considering the times, prefer'd the publick safety before private quarrels; For by reason of their difference in Manners there was Enmity betweene these two, Fabricius being of proove against Momy was guided only by his care of the common good; Rufinus more greedy of wealth then ordinary, many times order'd his counsels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwise Industrious and a good commander, Fabricius judg'd him to be prefer'd before his Competitors who were far inferior to him in Marshal affairs. 'Tis reported, when Rufinus gave him thanks,

Cicero de Off. 2. 66
Agellum 4. 8

That being at enmity with him he had helped him to the Consulship, especially when so great a War was on foot; he answer'd, 'Twas not much to be wonder'd, if he had rather be pillag'd, then sold to the enemy. For there was great War remaining in Italy, and Pyrrhus finding all things goe according to his desire in Sicily (whether he now was gone) 'twas reasonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Access of the strength of so Noble an Island.



BOOK IV.

I. f. Ept. 14
Apian.
Diodori Belg.
i. 22
D. o. 194
V. f. sum
Diodori Belg.
I. f. 23. 2



W H I L E these things were doing in Italy, Pyrrhus having shipp'd his Army and Elephants, sail'd from the Tarentine Port into Sicily, after he had continued two years and four moneths in Italy. Being conducted by *Thasio*, who met him with his Navy, he was received by the Sicilians with wonderful cheerfulness, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their Money and their Ships. Being thus in a short time possessor of the dominion of the Græcian Cities, he did also by force of arms extort from the Carthaginians all whatsoever they held, excepting only the City of *Lilybaum*, which the Carthaginians

being helped by its convenient situation, defended against all its assaults. Whence justly conceiving great and vast hopes in his mind, he resolv'd, leaving his eldest son the Patrimony of his Father, to settle the other two, the one King of Italy, the other King of Sicily. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the Sicilians having for many years sustained both foreign and civil wars, and a plague worse then both, the tyranny of usurpers, seem'd willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raise moneys against their wills, and put to death some of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreas'd by the covetousness and arrogance of his Officers, whose vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the first and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themselves Egregiously good, 'tis for their honour and safety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, seeing private men are blam'd only for their own faults, but other mens crimes are imputed to Princes. But these things

Plutarch
Pyrr. c. 51
Diodorus

things; hapned afterwards. Now at Present, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the highest Honour and magnificence received, first by *Tyndarion* Prince of the Tauromitians (for in that part of the Island he landed) then by the People of *Catana*, and so pass'd with his host-Army to *Syracuse*: His fleet he commanded to be brought about not farre from the shore, ready without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the Carthaginians the Admirall refus'd to venture on the Fight with the Rest. Wherefore Entering without Resistance, an hundred and twenty Covered ships, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre.

Dionys.
Diodorus

In the Interim came Embassadours from the Leontines, whose Prince *Heracidas* offer'd the City and all his Forces. Four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Neither were other Cities slower in their submission, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. Pyrrhus treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, sent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more Ample Hopes in his mind, intending if any one should cease so favourably to pass over into Africa. Things went not so well with his Confederates in the hostility of the Romans, now in the absence of the King and his main strength. But Zonasus as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the Tarentine warre, both their Castles surpriz'd, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forsaken by their Friends) being inferior both in strength and Courage, forsaking their Townes and Villages, betook themselves to the high and craggy Mountains, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of most value they could in such a Tumult and feare conceat Negligence and Carelessness (the Inseparable Companion of Prosperity) caused by their Disgrace; for their souldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult passages were beaten back and destroy'd by the Samnites, who had posses'd themselves of advantageous places; many others having no convenience either of retreating or fighting were taken alive. This Accident caus'd the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Misfortune upon his Colleague, boasted he could have managed the business with better success if he had forces against the Lucanians and Brutians; where carrying about the Terror of his Armes, In the utmost parts of the Italian shore, towards the East and the Ionian sea, where the pro-allo considerable for it's Wealth. Through the midst of it in those dayes ran the River *Acheron*, Old Matam on each side whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encompass'd with a wall of Twelve miles circumference. This City the Consul not daring to beleagere, had thoughts of obtaining by Treachery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now destitute of foreign Aide, he might easily take it by the help and assistance of those who were weary of Pyrrhus his Domination. But it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or suspicion of Treason, which is seldom long hid, the Crotonians had procur'd aid from *Atile*: *Nicias* Frontinus aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) beat him back with the slaughter and wounding of many of his Men. Rufinus desiring by Council to remedy that loss he had by his Rashness sustain'd, on set purpose encreaseth the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might seem strucken with the greater fear pretends to desert from his Enterprize, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a sudden Departure. This News was quickly blaz'd about the City (as from a Camp so near mult needs be) and besides a probable cause of the business, their Credulity was help'd forward by their desire to have it so, born on a sudden (their minds being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being therunto furnished by the Consul, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as if in this hally departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Escape; He informs them that Cornelius Rufinus, having not strength enough to force Croton, was gone to Locri, being invited by some who promised to bury it to him. By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, That the Romans were now on their March. And withall they Zonasus being deluded by this Wile, marcheth swiftly with his forces the neerer way to Locri, intending to defend it, which when Rufinus by secret Messengers understood, he turneth back presently to Croton, as upon better advice, so with better success then before. His diligence was for a thick mist chanced to surround him, so that he was almost within the walls with his Zonasus for a Victorious

Plutarch

Diodori

Bel. c. 51

Zonasus

15.

Livie 24. 3.

Zonasus

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Zonasus

Victorious army before the Crotonians understood he was returned. The joy of this victory, of it self ample enough, was abundantly encreased by other as glorious successes; Fortune seldom observing a mean on either hand. For *Nicomachus* perceiving himself to have fallen into a remediless Error, not knowing what to do, as he returned to *Tarentum*, was met by *Rufinus*, lost great part of his men, and very hardly escaped himself with the Rest; When not being content to defend one Cite he lost two. For the Locrians likewise being animated with this success, having slain the garrison *Pyrhus* left among them, with the governour of it, whose oppression they could no longer endure, betook themselves to the friendship of the Romans. Notwithstanding this Procelle of affaires, the Samnites and other nations were not so far dejected, but that still they resolved to endure the worst that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, beside their own innate obduracy, with their Hops of *Pyrhus's* Return, hearing the news of his victories in *Sicily*. For *Pyrhus* (that we may relate his actions out of *Italy* also, which were performed in those times and places, having influence upon, and being joyned with the Roman affaires) having settled things at *Syracuse* and *Leontium*, went about the same time with his Army to *Agigentum*, meeting Messengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Garison was thrust out of the City, and that the *Agigentines* yielded themselves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For *Sisistratus* (who had delivered up *Syracuse* to him) together with the Cite, presented him with eight thousand foote, proper young men, and eight hundred horse, a force nothing inferior to the *Epirotes* *Pyrhus* brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which *Sisistratus* had the command of, did by his means submit themselves to the Kings discretion.

These things thus transacted, he sent to *Syracuse* for all sorts of weapons and engines, which were of use in the siege of Cities. For now his design was to assault the Cities under the Carthaginian Jurisdiction, having an army of thirty thousand, besides fifteen hundred horse, and the Elephants he brought over into *Sicily*. The first he tooke was *Heraclæa*, where was a Punic garrison, then *Acrona*; After which the *Selinuntians*, *Halicyans*, and *Agellians* following his fortune forsook the Carthaginian party, giving an Example to many other Townes in the same quarter of doing the like. The *Erycines*, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and strength of the place, he was resolved with all his power to assault, having therefore ordered his men, himselfe armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to *Hercules*, if that day he should manifest himself to the *Graecians* a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the signe was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrows being driven from their stations, gave way to the placing ladders upon the walls, the King himselfe first of all men entered into a most noble fight against all opposers, tumbling some down with his shield, slaying others with his sword, and terrifying all with the greatness of his Courage and strength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every consideration prosperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gained the Cite at that one storm, his soldiers being no lesse animated by his Example then fearful of his danger, for both which reasons they fought with the greater contention. He then did sacrifice to *Hercules* according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of several kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* before the Nones of *January*. But I wonder to find it ascribed to *C. Iunius*, seeing *Rufinus* his Province was amongst them, and that he tooke two famous Cities, and that other Authors stile him a Triumphant Man.

Rome being not very secure, considering the progress of *Pyrhus* his affairs, was otherwise much terrified with Prodigies and Pestilence. The most horrid Omen was, that the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus* being smitten with Thunder, the head thereof was stricken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the art and care of the South-ayers. The Plague likewise committed great slaughter amongst them, taking away man and beast by a common Murrain; but was most formidable in *Athorinas*, for there was no young ones almost of man or beast which came forth safe and entire, inasmuch as it was believed the anger of the gods would consume all living creatures. Which Affliction made the other Consulship of *Q. Fabius Maximus* *Gurgus* very famous, wherein he had *C. Genucius Clepsius* for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war against the Samnites and *Lucanians*; and two certain arguments there are that they made great slaughter of their enemies, for the same year *Q. Fabius* the Consul Triumphed over the Samnites, *Lucanians* and *Brutians* in the Quirinals; and those people sent Letters to *Pyrhus* and Embassadors, declaring, *They were utterly undone without speedy help, that they could no longer sustain the power of the Romans, but must of necessity prevent the uttermost extremity by yielding up themselves*. This thing much inclined *Pyrhus* to depart the Island and transport his forces again into *Italy*, seeing also his affairs now to be more difficult in *Sicily*, by reason the affections of men grew cold; and by the consideration of some injuries received, were turned into hatred against him.

Which his resolution, and the series of ensuing affairs, that they may the better be understood, I have thought good more at large to relate his Actions at the present. When therefore he had possessed himself of *Eryx*, and placed a Garison in it, he marched to the City of the *Æginæ* which is of a very convenient situation, near the Haven of *Panormus*, and well fenced with works; there being received with the good will of the Citizens, he removed his

Camp

Camp to *Panormus* it self, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewise taken a place called *Epiride*, located in possession of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only *Lilybæum*. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Mæzians, whose town *Dionysius* the Tyndomians in *Sicily*, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, resolved with their utmost strength to defend it against the preparations they understood of Soldiers, seeing that of all their Wherefore bringing in either a considerable strength of Souldiers, with plentiful provision, as of the seas) they diligently adhibited all care possible to fence it on every side: Especially ditched: Their work was the sooner finished, in regard the town being for the most part of it built upon the Rocks of the sea, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, equal conditions, to assist him with money and ships. *Pyrhus* would hear no mention of money, desiring only to retain those Cities he had taken, seeming willing to allow them the possession of *Lilybæum*. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforming him, That so long as the Carthaginians held *Lilybæum*, (as a ladder ready prepared whereby to scale all the rest of *Sicily*) the Island would never be void of the fear of them; caused him to return answer, That here and suffer the sea to be the bounds of either's dominions. The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he lay his forces forthwith toward the City, and Marshalling his army not far from began the assault. But the *Lilybæans* having a sufficient number of Souldiers to defend them, brought in many Catapults and Scorpions that the whole compass of the walls was not able to receive them.

When therefore a shower of all sorts of weapons and darts overwhelmed the Kings Men, slaying many and wounding more, they desisted from their Enterprize. *Pyrhus* likewise felt himselfe to work to make Engines of Battery, beside those he brought from *Syracuse*, and digging resisting, when he had for almost two months wearied himself in yaine, and saw that the besieged having free egress and regress at sea, the Cite could not be taken, he broke up his siege being compelled to pay tribute, implored his assistance against the *Mamertines*, living upon the sea coast. *Pyrhus* therefore leading his Army in halt, when he had taken and slain some *Mamertines* he found gathering Taxes in those places, Encountering their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demolish'd many of their Garrison. And hitherto the King by his illustrious performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beside his other Vertues, with his singular Humanity not only won, but deserv'd the Love and Affections of the Cities. But this so great Felicity, which one would think so firmly grounded, was in the moment destroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, so chiefly by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adversity irreprehensibly good, was puff'd up with pride in his prosperity, in which Condition Mens Fickles necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ships, yet they were not well furnish'd with Sea men, he very much offended the City with strict Pre's of Sea-men; being now on a sudden changed, and from his former gentleness proterolatered, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they saw those very men to be slain, by whose good will and assistance chiefly he had obtained *Sicily*, many people, not by ship, and applied themselves (as for every one was most opportune) some to the Carthaginians, some to the *Mamertines*. So that cruelty, which when it is alone is always grievous, traffeth (beside the hatred properly due to it self) the detestation of an unthankful and perfidious mind. He seemeth to have brought himself to this necessity of governing by violence, them (being no whit better) did he bestow the riches which were sequestered from the friends and kinsmen of *Agathocles*. The chief Magistracies of Cities he committed to the Penioners and Captains, not according to the statutes and customs of the Cities, nor for the due time prescribed, whole administration of publick busineses he assumed to himself, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avarice and luxury; a like intent upon gaining and spending money by wickedness, who being greedy to satisfy their own lust, make no distinction between

between Right and Wrong. Mens minds being hereby in confes they began first to murmur, afterward openly to Complain, why they had repented of their former Condition, if now the very same things were to be born Withall? that in vain was Pyrrhus invited and received, if he studied to imitate those manners: he came to punish; that no injury can possibly be so sharp sense and Apprehension, as that whereof he is the Author who ought to have been the Avenger. And now many began not very obscurely to move sedition, and cause a Revolution of things, whereas he hearkening to pernicious Council, chose rather to encrease causes of Offence, then take them away: as if what evil was by Injustice committed, were by Cruelty to be mended. In the mean time the Carthaginians, observing that Pyrrhus was not very strong in his own Country forces, and was daily less affected by the Sicilians, conceiving hopes of recovering their lost Province, had sent over a new Army which found business enough for the Epirots, many flying over to them who stood in fear of Pyrrhus's cruelty. Pyrrhus under pretence of the Punick War, introducing Garrisons into the Cities, resolved by false accusations of Treason to take away the lives of the greatest men, thinking afterward the more easily to keep the people in awe. At length he aimed at *Thenio* and *Sosistratus*, the principal men of the whole Island, by whose assistance chiefly (as we have declared) he obtained the command of *Sicily*. *Thenio* was slain, *Sosistratus* fled to the enemy, affording him no less help and authority to the calling Pyrrhus out of *Sicily*, then he had before to the bringing him in and confirming him there.

Upon this many Cities revolting, greater part to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines, Pyrrhus his affairs were reduced from a most flourishing Condition to a very narrow and evil state. In this Conjunction the embassage of his Italian confederates came not unwelcome to him, complaining, That having lost all things, they had very few Cities left which were able with much ado to keep the Enemy from entering their walls. This gave him a faire and honourable Pretence of departing, that he might seeme, not expelled out of *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, But to return into *Italy* for the Relief of his oppressed associates. Being now full going, when he seriously considered the situation and wealth of the Island, and disposition of the Inhabitants, O (saith he) what a fair field do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in for Supremacy! And his Prefage proved true, as was witnessed by the wars suddenly ensuing, wherein four many Navies were destroyed, and Armies routed.

But the Enemies Courage increasing with their Fortune, Pyrrhus had neither a safe departing out of *Sicily*, nor a quiet Voyage to the Tarentines in *Italy*. The Carthaginians assailing him in his Passage cross the sea, sunk seventy of his ships, and made the rest useless; the Epirots almost utterly unskilful in Maritime affairs, being not able to grapple with men of such Experience therein) so he fled out of the Fight with Twelve ships into *Italy*, who had come thence, with above an hundred, besides a greater number of ships of Burthen. But gathering together those fouldiers who made a shift from the Overthrow to escape to shore, he had presently a strength so great that he conceived hopes of taking *Rhegium* by storme. But being beaten off by the Campanians who defended it, he presently fell into a great danger. For as he led his Army through blind and difficult passages, the Enemy out of Ambush fell upon his Reare, and slew a great Number of his Men, with two Elephants. 'Twas no contemptible force, neither for Number nor the quality of the Warriours, which thus assaulted him; they were little less then ten thousand old fouldiers, most of them Mamertines, who trusting in their friendship and cognation with the Rhegians, having understood that Pyrrhus intended to return for *Italy*, had crossed the sea before him, and in hope of prey had privily disposed of themselves in advantageous places to make a sudden irruption upon him.

Pyrrhus, according to his wonted Boldness fighting in the front of his Battel, received a wound in his head, when he was gone aside to dress, one of the enemies of large stature, and gallant in his Armour, advancing before the rest of his Fellows, Challeng'd him with a loud Voice, bidding him, If he were alive, to come forth. Pyrrhus burning with anger, and Terrible in Countenance, the blood running about his face, his men not being able to hold him, made a sudden assault upon him, and with a blow on his head struck him to the ground. 'Tis reported, his sword was so well temper'd and his Arms so strong, that at one stroke he cleft the Man in sunder, even from the head to the bottom of his body, his parts on each side divided falling to the ground. The enemy terrified with the strange novelty of this spectacle, and admiring him as above the ordinary Rank of Men, left off the fight. Pyrrhus, being rid of this trouble, had notwithstanding little joy. For, inasmuch as he now lost part of his Carriages, and that the wealth he had gather'd by the spoils of the Sicilians, was lost in his last fight with the Carthaginians, he was in great want of moneys, so that his fouldiers murmuring for pay, knowing not how elsewhere to provide it, he was compell'd to seize upon the Treasury of *Proserpine*: Her Church at *Lacri* was in those dayes most famous for the Reputation of its holiness; which town, when Pyrrhus had taken by the assistance of his Faction within it, he committed many horrid facts by laughter and rapine, more then the just revenge of his slain Garrison did require. But there being nothing left which men would or could contribute to him, he laid hands on the holy money, being urged thereto by his worst friends, who had most commonly been the authors of every pernicious counsel: These were *Evagoras* the son of *Theodorus*, *Balacer* the son of *Nicander*, and *Dinarchus* the son of *Nicias*. They did not only per-

swade

swade Pyrrhus, telling him that all things must yield to Necessity, but were themselves involved in the sacrifice, digging up a vast summe of Gold, which had many years been preserved in vaults under ground. Pyrrhus rejoicing said, there is nothing more foolish then not to follow Reasonable Devotion, and not to accept of Money ready prepar'd to one's hand is the part of a mad Assin. And putting it into his ships he gave order to have it carried to *Tarentum*, himself going by land.

But this his fact was not more foule in the Commission, then it was unhappy in the Issue. A storme suddenly arising upon the change of Wind, in the night time, turned about the ships, conveyed the Holy Money being shatter'd and torne into pieces, were sunk with all the men in them, but the money it self lying upon some loose planks, was by the waves carried to the shore very near the Temple, from whence it was the day before taken. Pyrrhus understanding the Accident, commanded the money to be diligently gather'd up and returned to his place, thinking thereby to appease the Angry Deity. Nevertheless henceforward he had no better success, Fortune Eluding all his Designs whatsoever, even those which were upon good advice, and Virtuously undertaken. Which he did always after constantly impute to the Anger of the Offended Goddesse, as *Proserpine* the writer of his History, and himself in his Commake propitiation to *Proserpine*, he put to death all the Authors of that unhappy Council, the instruments of the Fact, and every one who had but slightly consented to the Commission of it. And these being executed according to their Deserts, Pyrrhus prosecuting his De- both Divine and Humane for their Relief. 'Twas an old opinion, that the Pestilence might be Rayed by the Dictators striking in of a Naile, for the Experiment of which hopes 'tis probable that *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was chosen Dictator, for as the greatness of the Calamity might well provoke them to try all Remedies, so we find that *Rufinus* was the year after taken notice of by the Censours, when he had been twice Consul and twice Dictator, neither can there be found a more certain monument of, or a more convenient place for that his Dictatorship. Against the sickness providing what Remedy they could, their Chiefest care and diligence. Besides the length of the Warre, the continuance of the Pestilence had made men weary of service. But the severity and constancy of *M. Curius Dentatus* the second time Consul overcame their wishfulness, for he now had entered the Magistracy with *L. Cornelius Lentini* his Colleague. When therefore in the Capitoll he first began his Leavy, because no man answered, he caused the names of all the Tribes to be cast into an Urne, and the *Pellian* Tribe was first called, he caused the first man of that Tribe whose name was drawn to be summoned to the Tribunes complaining of the Consuls Injustice, he sold him also, saying, The Common wealth had no need of such Citizens who knew not how to obey. The Tribunes nevertheless did not relieve him, and afterward the example being judged very wholesome grew into Custom for a slave. Others being terrified by this Precedent did the more readily give in their Names, and having filled up their Legions both the Consuls marched into the Enemies Country; Lustered his army at *Tarentum*, and found himself almost twenty Thousand strong in Foot, together with three thousand horse.

With these and the choice young men of the Tarentines he entred *Sammium*, but found not the Inhabitants so obedient as heretofore, they came not in so freely and readily as they had done, not only because their courage was over-wearied with the great and many losses they had sustained, but because they were justly exasperated, imputing all their calamities to Pyrrhus's ates. Nevertheless he gathered together to great a strength, that he sent one part into *Lucania* to buse the other Consul, while himself encountered *Man. Curius*, thinking if he once over-derstanding, that there is no *Battalia* comparable to the Macedonian Phalanx, when it hath expected help from *Lucania*, and that the Auguries also and Enrallies of bealls promised no good success, he declined fight as much as might be: so much the more earnest was Pyrrhus to Army those who were most forward, he resolved to assault the Roman Camp in the night time, when he might not be discovered. But while he prepared all things for his intended purpose, he fell into a deep sleep and dreamt, that the greater part of his Teeth fell out, and that abundance of blood flowed out of his mouth; in consideration whereof being much perplex'd, he intended to desert from his enterprize, but his friends earnestly perswading him, Left he should never again have the same opportunity offer'd him, he gave order to advance. Near the City of antiqua 4.8.

Male.

Maleventum (for that was the name of it in those dayes) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees stretching themselves into somewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the *Taurinus Fields*.

Plutarch
Now *Pyrrius* beginning his journey from the Lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wildered for want of knowledge in the wayes, in so much that (the day breaking) he was discovered from the Roman Camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemy, yet, (because there was no doubt made but fight they must, and their sacrifices now proving more favourable) with the Consul's conduct cheerfully issued out, and falling upon the foremost of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and not in very good order) drove them backward, killing no small number of men, and taking some Elephants which the enemy left behind. This success encouraged *Curius*, to follow his Fortune and defend into the open field in Battel-array prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both sides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmish, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, *Pyrrius* now again sought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire even to their Reserve. There had the Consul placed a strong force (resolving upon this occasion to engage himself) which he commanded, being now fresh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an easie and ready way to oppose these beasts, that they were sooner diverted by fire than the sword: Against them therefore were provided Iron instruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being set on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beasts, or on the wood of the Towers, they stuck fast by reason of their hooked sharp points. These instruments and divers sorts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, so that their masters not being able to govern them, they rushed back upon their own battel, filling it with fear and slaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young Elephant, which being wounded in his head, sent forth a querulous noise, at which known voice the Dam was first startled, and the increasing tumult, at length the rest were all in confusion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the slain and the fruit of the victory. For *Pyrrius* being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the rest of *Italy* long hold out, neither, after *Italy*, was any other Nation and King able to stand against them. 'Tis said the King in that Battel had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourscore thousand foot, and fix thousand horse; of these they who report the most say, fix and thirty thousand were slain, they who report the least, say six and twenty thousand, thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, and eight Elephants. *Pyrrius* with a few horsemen escaped to *Tarentum*. The Camp of *Pyrrius* being taken, as it caused admiration, so was it of great use to the Romans. For they heretofore, as other people, ordered their Camp scattering by companies in the manner of Cottages: *Pyrrius* is held to be the first who rightly measuring and dividing spaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being assisted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that most perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they used.

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reason also of Domestick affairs, and the notable severity of their City Discipline. *Q. Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, being Censors together, took away from many the Publick honours, and passed by many in calling the Senate. But most remarkable was *Cornelius Rufinus* his note of Infamy, who having been twice Consul and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Censors, and this reason given of his Punishment, *That they found in his house the weight of ten pounds in plate to serve at meals*: And in this Condition not only himself but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the highest honours, but *Sylla* the Dictator.

Such was the Parlimony of this Citie in those dayes, and afterward to great the extravagancy, that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would shortly esteem but a base and contemptible piece of household stuffe: Every mans estate being ceased and valued, the Army was purged by sacrifices; there were ceased two hundred seventy one thousand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Consuls entered the Capitoll in triumph, first *Curius*, whose triumph was the more illustrious, as for the fame of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, so did it exceed in Pomp and splendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were set out only with broken armes and Gallick waggons, nor any spoiles led but flocks and herds of Cattel. But now there was a worthy shew both for the variety of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the Spoils. Epirots, Thessalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, Brutians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond sea rarities, and the instrument of the Tarentine Luxury. But the most wonderful and joyfull spectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs (for the rest were dead of their wounds) This was the first time they were ever seen at *Rome*; the common people called them *Luca-Buli*, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto best acquainted with, and their

deno-

denomination from the place they first saw them in; within few dayes after was the other Con-sulls Triumph nothing so gallant, though his performances were not to be despised, he had overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in comparison of *Curius* stood on them for their Courage, he gave to *Srv. Cornelius Merenda* a Crown of Gold out of the spoiles, because by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Samnites was taken. While the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different happy fight, their mindes were so filled with fear and Indignation that they could take no Rest.

The King having been a long time averse from the Roman Warre, now utterly despairing of the Conquest, thought of nothing more then how to get safely and honourably out of *Italy*. But keeping his Countell to himselfe, he encouraged his Associates, *That they should not be cast down by one unlucky Overthrow, that they had not received so much loss by the last fight, as upon equal Conditions; That now they should imitate the Roman Constancy, and reserve themselves for better fortune, and all would yet go well; That there is yet strength sufficient left, whereby to maintain a long Warre; That in Greece he had many Potent Friends, from whom he might certainly expect succour.* Neither were these things incredible, For he had already, especially *Ptolomy* (who was then King of *Macedon*) been manifestly assisted; he being then in great Estimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honour'd by the Epirots (then a most powerful Nation) as also by the Macedonians and the Kings of *Ilyrium*, having obliged some by Courtreies, others by Fear. Yet all his boasting was more with intent, to retain his Confederates (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the seas were open for his Returne, then to continue the Warre in *Italy*, or that he put any Trust in Foreign Aid. Sending nevertheless his Embassadors to the Kings of *Asia* and *Macedonia*, of some he craved moneys, of others Men, of *Antigonus* (who was then King of *Macedon*) he craved both. With these hopes keeping his associates firme to him (having in the mean time underhand provided all fore his own and the *Italian* Princes, he read upon them not those Letters which now he readily to be sent; By this Craft having deluded both his own Associates, as also the Romans made the *Ceraunian* Mountaines a Promontory of *Epirus*. But that he might seem not disappointed the Design he was call'd aside for, he left behind him *Asila* to defend the Castle ment, continue faithfull, he gave him a seat whose cover was made of *Nicias* his skin, whom he had put to death for his Treason against him. Leaving therefore with him a garrison of souldiers, with the Rest (to wit eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse) he returned into his Kingdom, having been six yeares absent. At *Rome* not knowing but that *Pyrrius* had renewed the warre, they did at their Assembly chooe *M. Curius* Consul again, because he only having had good success against the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with greatest Authority, and best fortune, of the Patricians *Srv. Cornelius Merenda* was chosen, under whose command he was last year; These being made Consul, converted the heat of the warre against the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, who defending themselves rather by the Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occasion of any Memorable action like the for-Valiant K. *Pyrrius* fled not so much for the overthrow sustain'd, as fearing such a Captain as having chosed *Pyrrius* out of *Italy*, and finishing the Warre. In that year which followed *Curius* his Third Consulship, there came Ambassadors from the Alexandrine Kings with gifts to *Rome*, and in the Consulship of *C. Dors* and *C. Claudius Canina*, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* hearing of *Pyrrius* his flight, sent to congratulate with the Romans, and to desire to be esteemed their Friend and Associate. The Romans thought it very honourable that their Friendship was sought by Kings so Potent and farre distant, therefore courteously receiving and whereof, and to return the like kind office to the Kings, they sent Ambassadors to him chosen out of their Principal Men, of the Consuls *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and with him *C. Fabius* *Epi. Livie*, *Pistor*, and *Numerius* *Fabius Pistor*, and *Q. Ogulnius*. These being gone, the Consuls had good success against the *Italian* People, who kill out of Necessity and Despaire kept up their Armes. The Triumph which *Claudius Canina* made in the *Quirinals* over the *Lucanians*, Samnites and Brutians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Consequence: But the Joy of all this Prosperity was somewhat diminish'd by *Sexilia* a Vestall Vir-gin, who against the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Incest, was thought to provoke

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But appealing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buried her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Consuls there were Colonies planted, *Cela* among the Volscians, and in *Lucania Paphlagonia*, which the Greeks call *Pepidonia*; this City the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius* the second time Consuls, having *Lucania, Samnium*, with the Brutians and Tarentines for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfil the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Consuls was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquer'd by *Carvilius* the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. *Lu. Papirius* with great slaughter having overcome the Brutians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territories were interchangeably mixed) *Papirius* had to do also with the Samnites, *Carvilius* with the Brutians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines routed and put to flight, but their City also recover'd into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehendeth the death of *Pyrhus*, the subtility of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Pyrhus, when two years since he failed from *Italy*, left a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentus*, thereby to beget hopes of his return, which afterward being the more confidently expected by reason of his success in *Macedonia*, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce stirring spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon *Antigonus*, because he sent him no assistance into *Italy*, and overcoming him in a set battel, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear lest he should return into *Italy* with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being insatiably desirous of encreasing his power, under pretence of retelling *Cleomenes* in his Kingdom of *Sparta* (being then at odds with *Arens*) he entred *Peloponnesus* with a purpose to keep it in his own hands, and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he afflicted the Lacedemonians with great calamities. In *Argos*, in the mean time, there being two Factions, *Arifippus* the head of the one called in *Antigonus*, *Arifias* Patron of the other invited *Pyrhus* to his relief and for the pulling down his adversary. For *Antigonus* was also come into *Peloponnesus* to assist the Lacedemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. *Pyrhus* understanding his men were hard put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Brafs Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was justly possessed with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an ancient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolv'd to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and souldiers coming in to his succour, meeting *Helennus* the son of *Pyrhus*, quite stopped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise fore pressing upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedemonians who came along with *Arens*, some Elephants also, all crowding and being crowded one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pyrhus in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of *Argos* lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (sitting among others upon the house top to behold the fight) when the saw *Pyrhus* in fury and violence setting upon him who wounded him, being astonished at her son's danger, suddenly snatched up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was *Pyrhus* his death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Council or skill in Marshal affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroy'd the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumspection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

This news, being brought into *Italy*, did diversly, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what terms they could; But the Garrison of the Epirots, and *Milo* governor of the Castle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees from lighter injuries and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadors to crave succour from *Carthage*. The Carthaginians, who possessed great part of *Sicily* and wished the

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Coast-Towns of *Italy* rather in their own hands then the Romans, readily came with a high-maintenance to only to call out *Milo*, but resolving, if they gained *Tarentus*, to Livie Epitom. maintain it against the Romans. When therefore *L. Papirius* the Consul was also come, *Tarentus* was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguering that part of the City and Castle by land, the Carthaginians beleaguering the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affairs, being no less solicitous lest the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should take it; but by his means they obtained *Tarentus*, they would suffer himself, with all his Men, safely to depart with bag and baggage. *Milo*, sending nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the Tarentines. That joining Councils together to prevent more convenient for him, safety: and at length persuades them, To send himself Embassadors to *Papirius*, to Livie Epitom. conclude on Articles for all their Benefits. As they had willingly heretofore assented out of weariness of Cares and dangers: *Milo* accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contrived his Designe, brings back pretty faire conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous Tarentines hereupon with much security and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving *Milo* opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the City it self up to the Romans. The Carthaginians, who were not whit contented with this Event, nevertheless pretending, That they did nothing with evil Conscience, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel *Milo*, hoisted sails and returned. Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, That if they intended to Livie Epitom. ed this admonition, they would make a breach of the League, and that they not only lighted chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*; though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, That they did nothing with evil Conscience, or deceitful intent. As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly discourse so, while the Romans brook not the others preference, and the Carthaginian endeavour'd to keep close their design; so I think there afterwards arose more probable causes of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the Mamertines account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians.

The Consuls returning home, were received with the joy and salutes of all, and triumphed in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time *Q. Fabius Gurgus*, more Capitoline Mur. and the others who were sent to *Alexandria*, relate in Senate the Result of their Embassy, *Capitoline Mur.* That they were received and Entertained with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, *Capitoline Mur.* great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that they thought it to become the Roman dignity and assistance, modestly to refuse the gifts, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that at *Alexandria*, when being invited to publick feasts, *Capitoline Mur.* in the night time put them upon the King's Statues, they did for luck's sake receive them, but *Capitoline Mur.* they had by their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassy, giving them thanks, *Capitoline Mur.* ed the gifts they had conveyed into the Treasury to be restored them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the safe means of *Capitoline Mur.* growing rich by Publick employments were taken away: And the Questors, according to command, willingly restoring the money, the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Egyptian gifts as they had refused them. *Capitoline Mur.* was prime man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before his equals, being now, by reason of the Nobility of the Senate by *M. Curium* and *L. Papirius* the Centumvirs, and as many Triumphs, inferior to none in Honour. The same men being Consuls, *Capitoline Mur.* the Centor was at coast, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River on a time by some ill-willers taxed of encrease his private wealth by them, that being wood which he was wont to use in sacrifice, took Oath, That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house. He was a man indeed of high deserts, as for the great by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings; For I count it not unworthy or unbecomingly the Office of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to be by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the Sabine War (when there was had the first taste of Riches) *Curium*, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but to have and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardiness of life. For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Common wealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contented with the same Measure he had meted to others, said, He

Plutarch Was no good Citizen who would not be satisfied with as much as others were. This was afterward the Curian Cottage among the Sabines, where when the Samnites (being lately overcome) found him frying of Carrots, and presented him with a vast summe of Gold, I had rather, sayes he, *Plutarch* eat these out of my Earthen platters, and rule over those who are rich in gold. Near this place *Cato* the Elder having a Farm, went often thither, and contemplating in his mind the poore Tenement and Little Ground, which so Eminent a Man after three Triumphs, tilled with his own hands, together with the Temperance and abstinence of his Life, did thereby provoke himself, out of the Emulation of his virtue, to the like Confrancy and simplicity of Manners. And truly there needed such men to lay the foundations of a future Empire so firm, as it might bear the weight of the superstructure, and not only resist the forms of the Enemy from abroad, but scarcely and with much adoe be ruined by its own inbred Vices.



BOOK V.



H E most potent enemy of *Rome* being now after many battels vanquished, and peace settled throughout all *Italy*, The Senators entred into Consultation how to make a good use of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had born Arms against them; the loss of part of their Territories, taking a more severe revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended, they were therefore commanded to resign up all their Arms and Ships, their Walls were demolished, a Tribute imposed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was now nothing of an old score more to be intended, then to punish the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years possessed their City. They foreseeing that the Roman affairs proceeding so prosperously, their wickedness would not pass unrevenged, had very diligently taken care for whatsoever belonged to strengthening the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conscious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the same arts be maintained. Besides their own innate Fierceness, they much confided in the friendship of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their success against the Carthaginians and *Pyræus*, whereby they had sufficiently made experiment of the strength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulsed the enemies from the siege. They forced therefore to such an height of Rebellion, that daring to take *Pyron*, which was by some betrayed to them, they flew the Roman Garrison and demolished the City. Wherefore *L. Genucius* the Consul, who was that year Colleague with *C. Quirinus*, had commission to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was besieged. But while they strongly resisted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Consul having sustained some inconveniences, and become in want of necessary provisions, was assisted with Corn and men by *Hiero*, who was at that time Prince of *Syracuse*. For he, being offended with the Mamertines, did likewise hate their associates of *Rhegium*; he was likewise moved by the encrease of the Roman power, to preoblige them to future benefits, as occasion should serve.

The City being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Consul dismissed upon certaine Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a sanctu-

Zonaras
Livie Epit. 15.
Polybius 1.7

Zonaras
Origines 4.3
482

Zonaras

Livie Epit. 5
Zonaras
Or. 155

In place of Livie's Fifteenth Book.

ry, were put to death: The Legionary soldiers were carried to *Rome* that the Senate might pass Judgement upon them. Herein was shewed a notable Example of publick severity, for *Seneca* decreed, first, They should all be secured in prison, and afterward, be led to *Exsecr.* *Val. Max.* 2.9 *For* when *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declare, 15 *For* of their Forefathers, The Senatours persisting in their Resolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Justice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But left by so severe an act they might contract an odium, and the sorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if such a multitude should at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty, first scourging, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies should be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. *Dacius Fabellius* (who had lived unto that day, after the *Frontinus* *littera*: 4.4 *Loss* of his fight, that he might die with the more griefe) took away his own life in prison. Following the greatest number of Authors I have reported the whole Legion, even four thousand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at *Rome*; but I think it more probable what is related by *Polybius*, That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the *Polib.* 1. 2 *Roman* power, that the rest, at the taking of the City, desperately fighting, chose rather to be slain, as well knowing that after such heinous villainies, nothing could be expected upon surrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death. The City of *Rhegium* with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was restored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

This act of Justice did much increase the Reputation of the City of *Rome*, and thereby was gained no lesse Love from all the *Italians* and neighbouring People, then their armes had caused fear. In the Consulship of *C. Genucius*, and *Cn. Cornelius* there was war with the *Sarinites*, a people of *Umbria*, inhabiting the *Apennine* Mountains: By what reason provoked, or in what hopes trusting, they now opposed the Formidable power of the *Romans* (those writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine; Likewise the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly lost, and of the memory of these things, nothing elsie come to our knowledge, but that *Cn. Cornelius* Triumphed over the *Sarinites*. *Plutarch* reported there was a most sharp winter in these Consuls time, in so much that the Sap being chilled, Trees withered, That *Tiber* was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattel perished for want of Fodder; *Zonaras* 483 *Columna* *Ca-* so great and vehement was the coldness of the air, that monstrous hills of snow lay unmelting the Market place for forty daies together. The thing being unusual in that Climat, and by many my look upon as a Prodigie, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being long after much encreased, when *Q. Ogulnius Gellus* and *C. Fabius Pictor* being Consuls, many frange unheard of sights were seen, and many more reported. At *Rome* the Temple of *Salus* 484 *Aug. de Civ.* a carcass half eaten into the City, and being themselves feared by the noise of men, left it in the market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

At *Fo-mii* the walls were said to be often struck and cast down with thunderbolts; and news was brought that in the *Calenian* fields, the earth opened, and fire suddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to ashes, infomuch that not only all the fruits on that place were blasted, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. These things caused more feare then misery, but that a War was made against the *Picentines*, which being the next year finished, added likewise that province to the Roman Jurisdiccions. Now in the City began the Coining silver, (their wealth being encreased by their victories) whereas before Brasse only was used in all Exchanges; but then pennies and half pennies were made of silver, which went for ten, and five pounds of brasse; from their value called, *Sestercius*. It was called, *Moneta*, because it was coined in the Temple of *Juno*, to whom that Name was given, by reason the did *Movere*, that is, admonish the *Romans* when in the War of *Pyræus* and the Tarentines they Consulted about their wants, *Sextus* in *That money would not be wanting to those, who observed Justice and prosecuted Wars.* The Con- *Sextus* *in* *moneta* *Hostage* at *Rome* had privily escaped, and now possessing a certain Cattle, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, stirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were scarce well composed by the last peace.

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the most part unarmed) could not long remain near the *Frontenae*, where the *Romans* assaulted a well fenced place, the Receptacle of *Lollius* his spoils, and from great hopes falling into as great fear, did at length obtain the Victory Moon-thy night and the Townsmen murthering themselves together upon the tumult, when they first began to fight a great drift of snow fell and took away their sight: This accident was great help to the *Carcines* against the *Romans*, who were ignorant of the Passages, in so much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much loss) when on a sudden the snow ceased and the Moon shone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to *Vic.*

Plutarch

Tacitus 1.1.12.6 ward their Taxes and Customs encreasing with the Commonwealth, there was a necessity of
489 doubling the number. *Appius Claudius* who in the time of his Magistracy was surnamed *Caudex*,
Agellum 17.11 and *M. Fulvius* were Consul the year ensuing, which was very memorable, in that then
first began the war between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*. Then first brake out Hostility
between two most potent Cities, which after many years, after many bloody overthrowes gi-
ven and received, could not at length be ended without the utter ruine and destruction of one of
them.

But, before we enter upon the History of the War, it will be necessary to relate something of former times concerning *Carthage*; for in the ensuing Narrative many things will occur, hard to be understood and judged of, unless both the Original and increase of that City be first known.



B O O K V I.



H A T *Carthage* was built by the Tyrians of *Phœnicia* (besides the constant agreement of old Histories) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners both clearly testify. 'Tis reported that *Elissa* (who was likewise called *Dido*) the daughter of *Agenor* the son of *Belus*, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred she bore to her brother *Pigmalion* for the unjust slaughter of her husband *Sichæus*) entred that Creek of *Africa*, and possessed that *Peninsula* where *Carthage* was afterward built: her small beginnings promising little:

hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained: For he believed *Dido* purchased no more ground than might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender things contained a larger space, than the fellers did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to erect a Castle, which from thence is thought to be called *Bryta*. Afterwards seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick sake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men forrich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkened to the counsel sent from *Vtica* (which was also a Colonie of the Tyrians) which advised them, *After their example to build a City*. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the *Phanicians* in recompence thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

The work being finish'd, *Dido* gave it a name in her own Language, *Carthago*, the Greeks call'd it *Cartheda*, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, *Carthage*. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Indulgent people, and what was above all, a Wife Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increas'd. These things seeme to have beene a faine (seventy years) before the foundation of *Rome*; for about for ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as *Eliza* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. *Parbas* a Pettit King of some African Province, fought to marry her, threatening upon refusal to raise war against her. But as she was averse from marriage by reason of her singular Chastity and love of her former husband, so she very well understood that in these tender beginnings of affairs, a war would prove fatal and destructive; therefore taking time to deliberate, as if she had at length overcome her own Resolution, and were inclin'd to marry the African, caus'd a

Pile of wood to be erected before her intended marriage, wherein to sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behalf of her husband Sichæus: And after many Sacrifices offered, she did at length alight the pile, and killed her self with a sword the brought with her; her love to her Husband and Sub-jects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipped her as a Goddess, with this Temple in the place where she died. *Silius Italic.*

[illegible]

Neither did a lesser crop of misery spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers
 were cied by mutual conuance exercise Extortion and Purloin the fate without punishment; for
 that 'tis the lesse to be wondered, that a war arising between these two Cities, the Romans proud
 conquerors, when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick Stock, and
 the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together
 with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were prey well born withall, afterward
 for a while the greatness of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made
 them the lesse sensible, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the
 happines that ever attended *Carthage*. Their first beginning in Arms was againt the Africans,
 requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on; neither could they exort that right out
 of their hands but by many battels, whereby they enlarged their Empire, and the best planted
 part of *Africa* was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them the
 fairest

Justin. 18.5
Appian
Libyc.
Strabo b. 17

Livie 34.61.

Justinus.
Strabo

Cato apud Solin.
ררשה קרת
Berneggerum
ad Justinum
18.6.9
Justinus

and *Living* 32, 33

Julianus 10

¹ *West. 1922*

the loss of it then the Prince.

Having reigned therefore four and fifty years, in such a time when two molt potent Citizens on each hand had with molt sharp contentions, fight for the dominion of the world, troubled with no War abroad (unless in his first year) not assaulted by any Treason at home, he died being above ninety years old, his fences being at that age entire and his body found, as a certain argument of his Temperance, being not only beloved by his own people, but had in great Estimation both with the Romans and Grecians ; when he would often have davelled himself of the Principality, the Citizens did openly prohibit him ; And his son *Gelon*, who, at above fifty years of age, died before him, did all his lifetime, even to the last, with constant faith and obedience honour him, shewing a rare example of Moderation, in that he choise rather to ever to want a Kingdom then lose his Father. This *Hiero* was by his Father *Hierocles* (who derived his Pedegree from *Gelon* an ancient Tyrant of *Sicily*) exposed to the mercy of the world ; forasmuch as he being a Noble man was shamed to bring up a child which he had begotten on a servant. But being delitute of all human succour, the Bees for many days fed him, put together honey into his mouth as he lay upon the ground. *Hierocles* being much affected with this Prodigie, and the answers of the Southlayers, who affirmed, That hereby Kingly power was pre-

sented

In place of Livie's Sixteenth Book

Cis, feeling all lost, and desiring nothing more than to dye, was taken prisoner, fore wounded, and conveyed into the Syracusan campe, finding the Prediction of the Entailtes and Southlayers true in another sense then he expected. For before the Battel the Prophets looking into the Intellines of the sacrifice promised, *He should lie in the Enemies Camp that night*: Which he esteeming an argument of victory too late found himself deluded by another

strab. b. 6
Dionys

Polyb. 1. 9

Polybim

Zonar. 1.
Polybim.

Zonar. 1.

Polybim

Salustii frag.

C. Silius Varron. 12. 14

Cassiodorus
strab.
strabo b. 6
Macrobius

Interpretation, with grief and sickness cast down, when the next day among other horres, he espied that his son rode upon in the field, conjecturing thereby his death, he resolutely pulling the cloaths and plasters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, understanding their overthrow, grew full of despair, and were now ready to present their humble supplication to the Conquerours, when an unexpected accident prevented them. It happened that at the same time Hannibal, the Carthaginian Pretor, was in the Liparian Islands, which are adjacent to Sicily. He having intelligence of Hiero's Victory, fearing lest (the Mamertines being utterly vanquished) the Syracusan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came suddenly over under pretence of congratulating with Hiero for his Victory, and hindering him from directly marching to Messana, did himself make first entrance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only possess them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a strong Garrison of his own souldiers amongst them. Hiero understanding himself by this craft deluded, & being not sufficiently prepared for a siege, made now more difficult, returned to Syracuse, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by an universal acclamation saluted King, which Title he afterward retained with the consent both of the Citizens and others of the Island without.

When Hiero was retreated, the Mamertines having a little space of resuming confidence, began to deliberate upon their present condition, but were divided into two Factions; some thought it not to be disputed, 'But that they should commit themselves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which was for many other reasons it was convenient, so having admitted their Garrison, 'was little less than necessary. On the other side 'twas said, 'The Carthaginians were no less enemies to the Mamertines than Hiero, that without doubt their purpose of defending of the City was not out of good will, but desire of Dominion; That of a long time they had aspired to the Empire of Sicily, neither were cast down from their bold hopes by loss of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in Africa, and fear of their own state at home; That therefore without exception they must prove Vassals if they commit themselves to those who have so strong a Navy, and possess the greatest part of Sicily itself. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to desire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them than they could fear from the Syracusans. If the Punick Garrison came only with intent to preserve the City from Hiero, they may now upon fair terms be dismissed, having done the work: But if they have some other clandestine design, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendship. That they should rather implore assistance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unquestionable faith and sincerity, who will have neither occasion nor opportunity of keeping Messana under their jurisdiction, as having not a foot of ground in Sicily, nor any use of sea affairs, and consequently taking no care therein. That they would be abundantly content to keep Italy secure from Hiero and the Carthaginians, having made Messana strong as an obstacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they should continue to rely upon the Roman faith rather than any other Nation; that indeed they could neither with honesty or any convenience change their former counsels, having already sent Embassadors and obtained hope of succour and relief. For the Mamertines before their last battle with Hiero, beginning then to distrust in their own strength had craved assistance of the Romans as their Kinmen. And the people being persuaded by the Consuls who were desirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid should be sent to them; but the Senate out of shame to be counted authors of the business, did defer it. For they who had lately so severely punished their own Legion for the wicked surprize of Rhegium, if they should now assist the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the mastery of Messana, they saw they should clearly lose the reputation of their Justice and Fidelity, which by their former aid they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forsaken by the Romans, they would apply themselves to the Carthaginians, with one consent they ordained to lend them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreseeing that otherwise Messana quickly, and not long after all Sicily would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it were once come to pass, they should be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own possessions in Italy.

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reason of the insatiable desire of Rome in those who are potent, as by the convenient situation of the places. For Italy, proceeding in a long tract between the two seas from the Ligurians and Venetians, to the Brutians, is there divided from Sicily by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that these Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the sea; whether the grounds being low were easily overflown, or whether some earthquake or strength of the Tides cut off the Isthmus. From hence many think that Town to be called Rhegium, because things which are broken, are by some such word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the first inhabitants of Sicily came out of Italy, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are said to have built a Citie on the adverse shore over against Italy, which because it was situate in a Creek of the sea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I believe, Sicilia, which the Grecians afterward coming, called Zancle, both those words in the several Languages signifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Island, Which was by many called both Zancle and Sicilia.

This

This Island far excelleth all others in the Mediterranean Sea, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulness of Soile, yielding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the best, adorned with the Havens, and situation of the whole Island, there is scarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chief seat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to Italy, on the contrary side divided from Græcia by the Ionian sea: On every hand the voyage is short, and the passage alleged, yet the only cause of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great desire each of them had to be Masters of this Island. The Romans found fault, That the Carthaginians contrary to the league had assisted the Tarentines; the Carthaginians But to great a power were now both these Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at some time or other for some cause they must needs find occasion to fall out. For as to some bignesse betwixt one the other of Juice and nourishment from the earth, and at full growth entering both root and branches mutually destroy one the other: So rising Empires cannot nions, desire to try the superiority between themselves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents. To these causes may be added the great power the Commonalty had in each City, together with their earnest desire of undertaking the War. In Carthage the vulgar sort did much prevail for gains sake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars sustained damage in their estates, they hoped by the riches of Sicily to recompense themselves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their sentence who perswaded the war. Hiero assisted, overpowering the votes of those who stood to old Rules without delay sendeth Claudius a Tribune of souldiers beforehand with some few ships, to observe an opportunity, and if his ships because he saw the seas obstructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entred as a fishermen's vessel and crossed over to Messana; there discoursing with the Mamertines as the present occasion required, being not able to overcome the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his business. But while after understanding there was a dissention at Messana, some pleading against the Roman assistance, the greater part bearing ill sent purpose told them, His coming was only to set the City at liberty, which when he had effected selves for the liberty of a City which was under their jurisdiction, the Carthaginians had already out of their good will taken care that the Mamertines should not be compelled to be subject to the Syracusans: That therefore he might depart, or else give some other reason of his being at Messana. Claudius denied, The City was free so long as a Foreign Garrison continued therein contrary to their pleasure.

To this when no man returned any answer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, 'Tis plain, saith he, by this your general silence, that the Carthaginians cause is unjust, and that the Mamertines are detesters, if they consented with the Carthaginians, having no cause to dissemble, would freely and openly speak their minds. At this there arising a kind of a noise in the assembly, many praising the present, sufficiently moved by their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for back to Rhegium. And not long after, having made ready his ships, he attempted to pass over; but being much inferior to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of vessels, and skill in sea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a sudden storming nothing terrified with this misadventure, he new trinned his ships, resolving upon a better opportunity once more to make trial of Fortune: When behold messengers came from them all the ships and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: Hanno's desolation complained, That they had by force attempted to sail in those seas which were in the possession of the Carthaginians; and furthermore perswaded them to have a great care of preserving peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that Claudius would not admit of any conditions unless they would withdraw their force out of Messana, and that again he endeavoured to cross the sea, he vaunted, That he would not suffer the Romans so much as to wash their hands in that sea. Nevertheless he could not

Dionys. Edit. book 23

Florus. 2. 2. L. Ampleius c. 45

Aristot. Telli.

Zonar. 1. 11

Polyb. 1. 11

Livie Ephor.

16 Zonar. 1.

Arist. de virtut.

lib. 1. c. 27

Zonar. 1.

not prevent *Claudius*, who observing the Nature of the sea, laid hold of an opportunity when the wind happily helped the Tide, and arrived in *Sicily* without opposition. There calling a Counsel of those *Mamertines* he found in the Haven, he persuaded them, To call *Hanno* to them, as if they had some business at present to consult with him about. For *Hanno*, not much confiding in the Townsmen's doubtful minds, had with the souldiers possessed the Castle, neither was he willing to trust himself in any of their Assemblies: Yet fearing if he betrayed his Diffidence he might encrease their complaints, and by his absence give them occasion to joyn with the Romans, he came to discourse with them, where the time being spun out with dispute and wrangling, the Romans, with the *Mamertines* their approbation, laid hands on him and call him into prison. So being circumvented by craft, and frightened with menaces, when no other condition would be accepted, he was compelled to refore the *Mamertines* their Castle, and draw away his Garrison. The *Carthaginians* upon intelligence of the business, were above measure exasperated, and (whereas otherwise they used to punish their Commanders for evil counsels though they prospered) exclaiming both against the folly and cowardize of *Hanno*, miserably crucified him, and immediately sent both sea and land forces to *Messana* with another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, to order affairs in *Sicily*: He drawing his forces together at *Lybeum*, marched to *Selinus*, where pitching his Camp, he left his foot army and went to *Argigentum*, and (having fenced the Castle there) he drew the people, being friends to the *Carthaginians*, into arms against the Romans: From whence being returned to his Camp, Embassadors came to him from *Hiero*, who being no whit content with the Romans arrival into *Sicily*, thought this the fittest season wherein joyning forces for a time with the *Carthaginians*, both they and also the Barbarians in possession of *Messana* might be driven out of *Sicily*. Having therefore had discourse with the *Carthaginian* General, they easily agreed to enter into confederacy against the Romans, who had supplanted both to their equal losse, each of them having failed of their hopes of *Messana*: 'twas ordered they should jointly besiege *Messana*, and suffer no part of *Sicily* to be subject to any power but the *Carthaginians* or *Syraculans*. So the *Carthaginian* Commander with his whole strength moved against the *Mamertines*, having first sent an Herald to charge the Romans, if they would be esteemed friends of the *Carthaginians* to depart *Messana*, and within a time pressed to quit *Sicily*. The ships were commanded to keep their station about *Pelorus*; the foot army fortified their Camp at a place not far from *Messana*, called *Cubilia*, in the Greek tongue *Evoia*. *Hiero* likewise, according to agreement, came with his *Syraculan* Army, and laid siege to the City on the other side, about the Hill *Chalcidicus*, for the *Castle*, being round begin, could not safely receive succour either by land or sea.

About the same time, when the Herald brought back no peaceful answer from *Messana*, the *Carthaginians*, partly out of anger, partly out of distrust, cruelly put to death all their Mercenary souldiers which were Italians by Nation. These things were no sooner heard at *Rome*, but the Consul *Appian* was forthwith sent with a strong Army to *Rhegium*, thence he sent some before, to treat with the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero* about breaking up the siege, in the mean time, seeing the seas so strongly guarded, he was very solicitous and intent in contriving how to cross over with the least danger. The Consul's Embassadors brought back no friendly answer from the *Carthaginians*, but were by *Hiero* with an accurate oration sharply reprehended, he first having recounted the many good offices he had done the Romans, proceed saying, 'I am in doubt, Romans, whether I should grieve for my self or for you; I indeed have lost friends of your somewhat worse than I took you to be, but ye have lost that Reputation of Justice and Integrity for which ye were so famous among all Nations. With the *Mamertines* ye never had any friendship or society, ye had heretofore League with the *Carthaginians*, and lately entered into one with Me. Being now willing to breake these Leagues, can ye give an account, by what injury from us, or merit of the *Mamertines* ye are thereunto provoked? But because the *Carthaginians* are able to speake for themselves, omitting what concerneth them, I shall at present put you in mind of things in reference to my self alone. The *Mamertines* your good Country men, did, as you know, receive pay under the *Syraculan* Banners, and being dismissed for their Returne for *Italy*, after they had been entertained as friends and Companions by the poore credulous *Messanians*, committed a most horrid fact, as hath not been remembered by man, slaying in the night time their Land-lords, and keeping in their own power, their goods, wives, children and the City it self. Which unless your selves (being of the same opinion with other men) had judged to be a most vile and execrable villany, you would not so severely have punished the self same fact of the Campanians committed upon the *Rhegian*, by the *Mamertines* Example. By the same indigotie therefore wherewith ye were moved to take revenge of wicked villanies, by the same am I moved not to let the *Mamertines* goe unpunished, especially seeing they have since committed so many Robberies almost all *Sicily* over, by what it were the memory of their first offence with others afterward committed. For (to omit other things) in that they destroyed the Cities of *Camarina* and *Gela*, then under the *Syraculan* protection, is reason sufficient why I should with a just and pious War prosecute the boldnesse of such most injudicious Men. If ye therefore undertake to defend them because, being born in the same *Italy*, they are as it were your kinsmen, how much more justly might you have spared the *Rhegians* which were your fellow-Citizens? When in the taking of *Rhegium* I helped you with Auxiliaries and Provisions, how should I possibly then Divine that ye would hereafter hinder

hinder me when I should upon as just causes besiege *Messana*? But what need I use many words? if you have any care left of your reputation and faithfulness, if any sense of honesty, at least if any shame, I thought not to doubt but that you will with your forces rather assist me in my just cause than oppose me. But if the consideration of these things seem light unto you, however the event of war be doubtful, 'tis most certain all the world will plainly understand you. That the Romans were incited to base actions against us, not out of any colour of Justice and Equity, not by any injuries received (for that ye can no way pretend) not out of any pity or doing this Noble Island to their Empire.

When this answer was returned, *Appian* having observed that so strong a Navy guarding the passage he could not without manifest danger cross over, plotted a very subtil and cunning device, he said, He did by no means desire that *Hiero* should be alienated from the Romans, that the day therefore appointed he commanded his Sea-men to be ready, having their ships prepared for the voyage as if he would sail home. Now he was not ignorant that there were many both *Carthaginian* and *Syraculan* souldiers in the *Rhegian* Port, under the pretence of being Merchants, and it hapned accordingly as he had foreseen for he no sooner had entered into what he would make any Sea-ship day, and sailed along the Italian shore, but presently news was carried to the *Carthaginian* fleet which guarded the seas, whereupon they now not fearing the enemy would make any attempt that way, left the passage open, failing themselves likewise away whether it pleased them. The Consul, who had forethought it would be come to pass, feared his course backward in the night time, and arrived in *Sicily* with his whole Navy, no body so much as observing, much less hindring his coming.

It was a bold Enterprize and full of hazard, for an army unskilful in sea-affaires, in the night time, blindly to venture with rude and illbuilt ships through a sea dangerous in it self, though it had not been dark, nor any enemy to be feared: And the exploit was thought worthy to be made known to Posterity, by a new Cognomen thereupon given to the Consul. For, because he made use of many vessels, made of the Trunks of trees, for the transportation of his souldiers, he was, in admiration of the fact, by the simplicity of that age firmamed *Caudex*, which signifieth the trunk of a tree. For the Romans having no use of sea affairs, had neither any covered ship or long boate, or good skiff in a business of such concernment as this was; but made use of those *Trivemes* which the *Tarentines* and *Locrians* had lent the *Eleats* and *Neapolitans*, together with little vessels of Traffick of fifty Oars. But *Appian* landing not far from the place where the *Syraculans* had pitched their Camp, Encouraged his souldiers and declaring to them, The Victory would be certain if they came upon the Enemy unawares, immediately proceeded to assault their Camp. *Hiero* being awakened with the sudden tumult, marched out with what forces were ready; for a time the fight was very sharp, the Roman horsemen were beaten back, but the Legions stoutly standing to it, *Hiero* was overthrown, and with his men fearfully retreated into his works. *Appian* having commanded the dead bodies to be plunder'd, entered into *Messana*, freeing the *Mamertines* from great fear, and filling them with better hopes for hereafter. *Hiero* seeing himself beaten before he could see the enemy (as himself afterwards confessed) and suspecting that the *Carthaginians* had betrayed the passage over the sea, when he had revolved many things in his doubtful mind, began to be in fear of the main chance and in the dead time of the next night he drew his army out of their Trenches, and marched directly without halting to *Syracusa*. When he was gone, *Appian* thought fit to make use of the terror of his late Victory in vanquishing the *Carthaginians* also, and having ordered his souldiers to refresh themselves in time, marched out in the dawning of the day to assault the *Carthaginian* side the sea, on the other side deep Marishes and Bogs encompassed it in the form of a Peninsula: That narrow space of ground where was passage to firm land was fenced with a strong wall against all assaults. Here the Roman souldiers beginning the storm, could not prevail against the strength of the place and multitude of defendants, but being beaten back with darts and stones (as in the storm of a City) they were forced to retire without having done their work.

Many times it hapneth in war that ill success in the beginning giveth occasion of better fortune, while they who are worsted endeavour with better advice and more courage to make up their losse, and the enemy on the other side being bewitched with a flattering opinion of felicity, came to pass to the *Carthaginians*, for they not being content to have repulged the enemies, issued out of their Camp and pursued them as if they had fled, thinking the Romans had yielded not so much to the difficulty of the place, as to their virtue and courage.

When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were slain, some fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about; neither durst they any more stir out of their place as long as *Cladius* was at *Messana*. The Consul, considering the nature of the place *Zonaras*, and difficulty of its situation, thought it no wisdom to make a second assault, and seeing his time

Varræ apud Ma-
cedoniam Saturni

Capitulus
Marmara
Livie Ept.
17.
Vellius 1. 14
491
Polih. 1. 17

Zonaras

Polihus

Valerius placed upon a Pillar in publick near the Rostra: He also on the side of the Court built by Hostilius set up a Table, whereon was painted the Battel wherein he overcame Hiero and the Carthaginians, which before his time was not done by any man, but afterward by many. This Valerius had his Surname *Messalla* from *Messana*; but I wonder that some Authors of no small note should imagine it was derived from his taking that City, whereas the series of affairs does evidently demonstrate, that it rather proceeded from his delivering that City from the troubles it sustained (after *Appius Claudius* his departure) from the Carthaginians and Hiero, removing the one enemy and reconciling the other.

In the mean while the Pestilence still raging, a Dictator was named for the knocking in of a Nail, who was *Cn. Fulvius, Cn. F. Cn. N. Maximus Centumalus*, he chose for Master of the Horse *Q. Marcus, Q. F. Q. N. Philippus*. In the same year the Æternian Colony was planted, whereas the year before one was deduced to *Firmum*, or as some will have it to *Castitum*. After this *L. Posthumus, L. F. L. N. Megellus*, and *Q. Manilius, Q. F. M. N. Vitulus* were created Consuls, and both of them had *Sicily* allotted for their Province: There were but two Legions allowed them, which were thought sufficient, because now having Amity with Hiero the war was more easie, they considered likewise that provisions would be the better procured if the Army were but small. The Consuls having transported their forces into *Sicily*, and being joined with their associates, passing by things of lesser moment, thought fit with their whole strength to besiege *Aggrigentum*, which City the Carthaginians had plentifully furnished with all manner of accommodations, intending it for the Magazine of their wars. For they seeing Hiero had forsaken them, and that the Romans made *Sicily* their chiefest care, they thought it behooved them to make the more diligent preparation for the war. In the first place therefore they sent the greater part of their forces into *Sardinia*, to lie in wait against the Italian shore, by that means to divert the Romans from *Sicily*, or at least to compel them to send the smaller forces then otherwise they would have done.

But being frustrated of their hopes (for the Romans had strength sufficient, both wherewith to guard their own Coasts, and invade *Sicily* with a new army) they hired many Mercenary soldiers of the Ligurians and Gauls, but more out of *Spain*, whom, together with great plenty of provisions, they sent to *Aggrigentum*, resolving to make that their Magazine of Corn, and the Receiptable of their Armies, being, by reason of its convenient situation, and multitude of buildings, fitter for such occasions than any other City of *Sicily* of their Jurisdiction. The only seat of War therefore being about that City, the Romans, having confined the Carthaginians within their works, pitched their Camp within a mile thereof. The grain was then ripe in the fields, and because they foresaw the siege would prove long, the soldiers sent out to reap and bring in Corn, wandered somewhat too far and more carelessly then ought to have been done having an enemy so near. The Carthaginians omitted not to make use of this occasion, and had indeed given a great overthrow to the Romans, but that they regained as much by their courage, as they had lost by their negligence. For, when they who were sent out to forrage were not able to resist the assault of the Enemy, the Carthaginians pursued them even to the Camp, where deviding their forces, some prepared to storm the works, while the others maintained the fight with the guards without. Then, as often at other times, the Laws of warfare duly observed and the incorrupted Rigour of the Roman Discipline saved them from an hazard tending to the destruction of their whole army. For (it being a deadly crime among the Romans for any cause whatsoever to forsake their station) the guard without, knowing it was to no purpose to fly back, though they were much overpowered in number, maintained the fight with wonderful courage, losing many of their own men, but killing more of the enemies, till the Troupes had time to arme themselves and come to their Relief, so the Enemy being there repulsed, and those who had now almost entered the works surrounded, the Romans made a very great slaughter of them, and pursued the rest even to the City. This accident made both the Enemy more fearful of issuing out, and the Romans more wary in their Forrage. Henceforth the heat of their Contention being not so great as before, (for the Carthaginians seldom made a sally, and then only in manner pickering and light skirmish) the Romans thought fit to divide their forces, and plant their Camps on two sides of the City, on the one side near to *Æsculapius* his Temple, on the other in the high way leading to *Heraclea*. Their Camps were fenced with Trenches on both sides, toward the City, against their Sallies, and toward the Country both to secure themselves from any invasion, and to hinder Relief from entering the City. The space between the two Camps was guarded with many companies of soldiers.

In all these affairs they were much assisted by the Sicilians, who lately had made friendship with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thousand. They brought provisions as far as *Erbessus*, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it into their Campe. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Necessaries. At this stay the siege continued for almost five months, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmishes) till at length the Carthaginians began to have the work on't. For a great number of men, little less than fifty thousand warriors, having been so long shut up in one town, had spent almost all their corn, and saw no likelihood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the passages, so that they were much afflicted both with their present misery,

Zonaras

ferie, and expectation of future. Therefore *Hannibal* the son of *Gisco* (who was Commander in chief at *Aggrigentum*) by many messengers craving relief against hunger and other dangers, *Hanno* the elder was sent into *Sicily* with some Elephants and Soldiers which were for that purpose raised. His Army consisted of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and three score Elephants, with which forces he sailed to *Lilybæum*, thence he marched to *Heraclea*, whither forthwith came messengers promising to deliver up *Erbessus* to him: Being by their means made effected a business of great moment, as much assisting the Romans now for want of necessities as they had done the Agrigentines.

And now the Romans began to consult about raising the siege, which they were very near giving over for a desperate business, had not the King of *Syracuse*, by trying all ways, made a shift by stealth to convey to them some corn and other commodities, whereby their present want was in some measure relieved. *Hanno* considering the Romans now to be faint with hunger and other infirmities following it, whereas his own men were well and lusty and in perfect strength, therefore with his fifty Elephants, and whole army from *Heraclea*, he sends his Numidian horsemen before to play about the enemies Camp, to provoke the Roman horsemen, and, if possible, to draw them out into ambush. The Numidians according to order carelessly flying about the Consul's Camp, the Romans issue out, beat back those who opposed, and pursued them as they fled out of order, that way which they knew *Hanno* to be coming. The further they followed the pursuit, the more difficult was their return to their own works inasmuch that many of them were lost after they had met with fresh forces, which caused those who fled likewise to turn and fight. *Hanno* being by this much encouraged with hopes of the main Victory, placeth himself upon an hill called *Torus*, about a mile and a half distance from the Roman Camp; nevertheless the battel was deferred longer then was expected between two Armies so near one the other; sometimes the Carthaginian, sometimes the Roman unwilling to hazard their whole fortune in one battel, while *Hanno* was desirous to fight, the Romans contained themselves within their Trenches, because they were exceeded by the enemy both in number and chearfulness, being themselves terrified and dejected with the losse their horsemen had sustained.

But when they, (seeing their associates troubled and daunted at this their fear, the Enemy on the contrary grow more confident, and thinking it better to fight with the Carthaginians than endure such want) were resolved upon the Battel, then *Hanno* began to fear, and decline the encounter. Two months were thus spent; nothing of greater moment being performed, but light skirmishes which happened every day. At length being moved with frequent entreaties from *Hannibal*, who had daily sent out Messengers, and by lighted fires given him often notice, that the besieged were no longer able to endure hunger, and that many were thereby compelled to flee to the enemy; *Hanno* was resolved no longer to defer the battel, giving order to *Hannibal* at the same time to issue out of the City. The Consuls having intelligence hereof, kept themselves very quietly within their Camps; *Hanno* the more furiously presents himself in Battel array, marcheth up to their very Works, boldly provokes them to fight, reproaching them with fear and cowardize. They on the contrary being content to repulse the enemy from their Trenches, neither ranged battel against them while they stood, nor pursued them when they retreated. When things had been thus transacted for some dayes together, and the Carthaginians were fully persuaded the Romans durst not venture on any further action, *L. Posthumus* the Consul wisely made use of the enemies security and contempt to his own good. For silently ordering his whole battel within the works, when the Carthaginians according to their custom came up to the works, he issued out with a few and held them in action with light skirmishes from day break till noon, then the enemy withdrawing themselves, he brought forth his Legions and made a charge upon them.

Hanno, though he saw a necessity of fighting contrary to his expectation, stoutly entering into battel, maintained it doubtful till the day was almost spent. But the Romans, having on purpose well refreshed their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not so much troubled with heat, thirst and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battel, being weary with fasting and standing all day, the longer they fought, were the less able to resist by reason of the weakness of their Bodies. At length the Mercenary soldiers who stood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themselves, but falling in disorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind, routed the whole battel and caused successe in the other place, for *Hannibal*, issuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater losse, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty thousand men came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the same fortune, for of eight an Army very few escaped with their General to *Heraclea*; they who were shut up in the City, seeing no way or means of safety left them, were afflicted with very great terror and despair: When *Hannibal* following the best counsel his ill fortune had left him observing that the Romans, with what weariness of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not the guard, so he tricked as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Mercenaries, and having crossed the Trenches filled up with beats stuffed with

straw (which he had beforehand prepared for this purpose) he was a good way on his journey before the Romans, at break of day perceiving what was in hand, a fortified part of the hindmost Troops; *Hannibal* with the rest betook himself into places of security. The Agrigentines seeing themselves forsaken by the Carthaginians, either out of anger, or to curry favour with the Conqueror, slew many of those who remained in the City. The Town was not therefore saved from destruction, above five and twenty thousand Free-men were sold into slavery.

slavery. In this manner was Agrigentum taken, in the seventh month after it had been first besieged, to the great profit and glory of the Romans, but with the expence of much blood, for of the Consul's Army and his Auxiliaries, there perished by several means above thirty thousand during this siege; for which cause, and by reason of the same, These Commanders going to Rome in hope could be undertaken, they returned to *Messina*, *C.M.F. Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, *C.F.M. Hope* of Triumph, the next year *L. Paterculus* and *Sicily*. The Carthaginians having let forth a great Navy *Craffus* being made Consul went into *Sicily*, thought thereby to divert the Consuls from the care of *Sicily*, but they having sufficient guard upon the coasts to repel the invaders, did nevertheless pro- cress over into *Sicily*, where they received many towns which yielded themselves to their pro- tection, being deceived by the late example of the Agrigentine overthrow. The Carthaginians in the mean time made no resistance, for besides their late ill successe they were vexed with the Edition of their Mercenaries, the *Gauls* being chief in the Mustiny for want of many moneths pay; for the punishment of whom, *Hanno* devised this stratagem, first soothing them with fair speeche; he deities them, At present for a while to be quiet, telling them, He was in certain hopes of suddenly surprizing a very rich town, by the plunder wherof the Gauls should be sufficiently *As- sisted*, both for their pay, as also for the forbearance of it. Having by this mean to treat with the appeased them, and moreover received thanks, he takes a convenient time to treat with the *Carthagi- nians*, who were not far off, and says to them, I have sent for *Scipio*, *Otacilius* the fierer, (who was most faithful to him) That he would, as a *Ruegado*, first to *Scipio*, *Otacilius* the fierer, under pretence of having perverted his *Accounts*, and inform him, That next night he might circumvent four thousand Gauls, who would come to *Entella* to take it with the help of some *Troians* within.

The Consul thought he gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a bulineſſe apt to be neglected, did ſend a Choice Brigade of ſouldiers upon the deſign; the *Gauls* came accordingly as they had been deceived by *Hanno*, and the Romans ſuddenly ariſing out of ambuſh to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the *Gauls* were ſlain and becauſe they died not unrevenged, *Hanno* was doubly polluted, both that he was rid of his inſolent Muteeners, and that he had cunningly puniſhed them to the no little loſs of the enemy. At Rome, in the mean time, *Mincius* the Prætor propounded in the Senate, the bringing of the water of the River *Anien* to the City; which work *M. Curius* the Cenſour had deſigned out of the enemies ſpoiles, but ſeveral impediments ariſing, the bulineſſe for nine years deferred, was now again conſulted about; and two men appointed as ſupervifours, *Curius* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, but *Curius* dying within five days, the Glory of finiſhing the work was attributed to *Fulvius* alone. About the ſame time *Hamilcar* came from *Carthage* into *Sicilie* as ſuccellour to *Hanno*. For the Carthaginians, when *Hanno* returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominy, fined him in his fix thouſand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being deceived by the likeſells of Names, have delivered, that this *Amilcar* was Father of *Hannibal* who managed the ſecond Punick War againſt the Romans; but not rightly, for *Hamilcar* the Father of *Hannibal* came into *Sicilie* with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great force prevailed, that the acts of another leſſe known *Amilcar* were aſcribed to *Amilcar Barca* the moſt Noble and Egregeous of that Name. *Hamilcar* therefore the ſuccellour of *Hanno* ſeeing the Romans far stronger then himſelf in their land army, durſt not aſſault any In-land Cities, nor depend out of the Mountains and difficult places into the Campaigne: but having a ſtrong Navy whereby he was doubleſs Maſter of the ſea, made diligent uſe of ſailing his Forces, and, having ſent *Hannibal* againe to plunder the Coaſts of *Italy*, himſelf ſtole about the Sicilian ſhores, eaſily recovered many Port Townes which had joyned themſelves with the Romans. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Romans eaſily taking and defending the In-land places, the Carthaginians the Maritime, the Feare and hopes were on both ſides very equal, and it was hard to judge to which of theſe two Nations the Victory of the whole War would enſue.

BOOK



BOOK VII.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, the Supreme Court has ruled that a state may not require a woman to carry a fetus to term and deliver it, even if the fetus is viable. The decision, handed down on June 30, 1992, in *Roe v. Wade*, is a landmark ruling that will have far-reaching implications for the rights of women and the role of the federal government in regulating state law.

HOUR years were now expired since the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cause to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battle, both over Carthaginians and Syraculans as often as they durst encounter: They had taken selves; but as long as they waged war in an Island, they could not at Carthaginian ships with free and unexpected arrival being themselves free, did not only molest and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the shore, but likewise wasted the coasts of *Italy*, both to the losse of the Roman Empire, and likewise to the disgrace; whereas the African throne was clear and free from the enemies invasion. *Polibius.* The Senate therefore and people of *Rome* diligently consulting upon the matter, did resolve to pretry their fortune at sea also. This was the very first serious thought the Romans had concerning sea affairs, which they accomplished with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wildom and Resolution: Inlomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by sea to encounter a people most awful in sea affairs, wanted neither Boldnesse to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Constancy to perform it. For the Romans to that day being so utterly ignorant of sea affairs, there was not a man amongst them who ever had seen one, neither had any one Man of War of detaken the design, they did in a very short time both learn to sail and venture to fight and overcome those people who for many ages had experience in sea affairs.

The care of building the ships was committed to *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Asina*, *Ompis.* and *C. Duilius*, who had newly entered the Consulship. They had one Carthaginian ship of 437
five Oars, which *Claudius* took with his foot army (at what time he was studying to pass *Lucif. de viris*
over into Sicily) while in heat of fight it came near the shore and was grounded upon the *Lucif. c. 37*
sands in a shallow place. The Consuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Paternæ
and to diligently prosecuted the work, that in threefore days after the timber was felled, they
had threefore ships standing at Anchor. But the Consuls halted there the timber was felled, they
wit, then by their Industry, For, (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskil-
cising men on purpose) they contrived a device, which though it may at first seem ridicu-
lous, yet in the use and event proved exceeding Commendable. That, while the ships were
in building, their Men should sit on shore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For
in the middle of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again
to forbear, even as if they were failing.

By this exercising themselves in fancy onely they were so improved: that when the ships were ready, after a few daies real paines-taking, the Confuts were willing to trust themselves

437
Auct. de viri
Illus. c. 37
Plinie 16.39

Zonars.
Polyb.Orosius.
deasy.
Polyb.Livie Epit. 17.
Zonars
Florus

Orosius 47

Polyb.

Florus. 2. 2.

Florus.
Polyb.Frontinus
Strata. 2. 3.
Polyb.Pal. Maximus
7. 3. 7. 8. 9.

and the safety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were cast for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to *C. Duilius*, the Fleet to *Cn. Cornelius*; who, taking along with him seventeen ships, sailed before hand to *Messana*, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered suddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to pass by the cunning of *Bodes*, *Hannibal's* Vice-Admiral, and his own Credulity, giving credit to some *Liparaans*, who were suborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of *Lipara* by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ships, he nevertheless resolved to encounter them, and seek his safety by fighting; but that *Bodes* by another fraud, trained him and his Colonells into his own ship, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no sooner come but clapt up in chains, the others being hereby terrified did without blows yield themselves up; *Bodes* gaining all the Vessels sent the Prisoners to *Carthage*. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater shame, in that the fresh example of the Consul's incogitancy did not learn him to be more circumspect. He had understood that the Roman Navy sailing by the Italian shore, was putting forth to sea, and that they could not now be farre off. Desiring therefore, as neer as might be, to observe it, that he might accurately know the number of their ships, their swiftness, and in what fashion and plight their new made Vessels were in, he sailed forward with fifty ships, not foreseeing any danger, his ships being confusedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any safe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, suddenly falling into the Roman Fleet, which came prepared and sailing in good order; he was vanquished before he could prepare himself to fight, and having lost the greater part of his Navy, himself likewise being in great Danger, he very hardly escaped with the rest. The Victorious Navy, understanding *Cornelius* his misfap, sent Messengers to *C. Duilius* to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themselves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ships were not farre off. There while they diligently considered the inconvenience of their own Vessels, that they were rudely made, and farre inferior to the Carthaginians in swiftness, it came into the mind of a certain ingenious man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep fast the Enemies ships; which Engine they afterward called a *Raven*, or *Crow*; the fashion of it was this. There was a straight round piece of Timber, four ualues long, some nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof a pully or windlass, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fixed a bridge, six ualues broad, and four feet long, made of planks fastned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fitted to the piece of Timber, by the space of four ualues, even the whole length of the Timber. The other part of the bridge or ladder, which was not inserted in the Timber, being of two ualves long, was so fastned by hinges, that it might be pulled up, or let fall, to the end of the bridge was affixed a strong sharp piece of iron, with a ring at it's head, whereto a rope being tied, through the pully of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredeck; Then as they listed, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its sharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping fast whatsoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Consul *C. Duilius*, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonells, came to the Navy, and understanding that the Enemies spoiled the Region of *Mylære*, sailed with his whole fleet to that shore.

The Carthaginians were glad of this, assuredly promising themselves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskillful in sea affairs; whereby they became an example, That so Enemy whatsoever ought to be despised, as to cause one to remit ordinary discipline, and grow careless. *Hannibal* the Admirall, who had conveyed his Forces out of *Agrigentum*, was in a Vessell of seven oars on a side, which formerly belonged to King *Pyrrhus*, the other ships followed him: not as to a fight, in any distinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making halt to their despicable Enemy. But, when approaching neerer, they saw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman ships, wondering at the novelty of the business, they passed a while, at length the most Courageous men laughing at the rude invention of an unskillful Enemy, the foremost ships with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down, into what ships soever they light, so pierced the planks thereof that they held them fast against their wills. The Roman soldiers, if the ships were fastned side to side, did on every part leap in and assault the Enemy; if they were joynd only in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with so much the more facility, because on each side of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their passage safer, and their footing more secure: They who went foremost, holding their bucklers before, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, those who followed held their shields down to the little fence, so guarding their sides, and entering the Enemies ships; so that the fight was not performed with the beaks of ships, but with swords and hands, like to a set Battell. The Romans therefore excelling in strength and Courage, had an easy victory over men lightly armed, and trusting more in the nimbleness of their ships, then in their hands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ships among which the Admirall's frigate was taken, but *Hannibal* leaping out of his ship, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boat escaped Captivity, and sending a trusty friend in post-haste to *Carthage*, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capital punishment which otherwise had attended him. His friend entering the Senate, as if all things had been well,

well, asked their Advice, whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy should be fought withall? and every one unanimously agreeing, That there was no scruple to be made, and that the business should not be deferred, he told them, 'Tis already done, and we are beaten; wherupon, no body daring to accuse the Fact, wherof every one in his own Person would have been Author, *Hannibal* escaped the sentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admirallship. The rest of the Carthaginian ships, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admirall, were very much troubled and doubtful in Council what to do; they were ashamed to set upon the Roman ships they were afraid, by reason of their Engines; At length falling round about, and finding on every side the foredecks of the ships opposed against them, with those formidable Engines, having used all the art they could, they despairing of the victory went

with seven thousand men, three thousand having been slain. With this success did *C. Duilius* Orosius 4. 7. fight with the Carthaginians neer the *Liparaan Islands*, where the Romans got much prey, but *Florus* 2. 2. much more ample Glory and Renown. The Consul taking charge again of his Land Army, Zonars. 1. 1. 138. Marched to *Segesta*, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmost extremity by the Carthaginians: after that he took *Macella* by storm, *Hamilcar* never daring to encounter with him: and so having confirmed the mindes of the Associate Cities, Summer prosper. For sixt the Romans after seven months continuance were faine to raise their siege of *Musistrum*, having lost many men before it. When afterward a Diffusion arose between *Dialer* the Romans and their Auxiliaries, and that the Associates encamped themselves apart between *Edage* 232 *Paropus* and *Therma*: *Hamilcar* thought fit to make use of this their madnes, and falling on them unawares slew four thousand of them: and it wanted little but that the whole Roman Army had likewise been involved in the same overthrow.

Then again many Townes were taken by *Hannibal*, some by force, some by Treachery: which though it was no good news at *Rome*, yet the loss was counted small in respect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it self invincible by strength by sea all. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themselves as to the whole Warfare, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy alike to the whole Warfare, for was the first who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewise bore with him, when, not coming from supper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Mintrells Sang; A Beaked *Livie* Epit. 17. Pillar likewise was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white *Parian* Marble, which is yet to be seen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) containing the Number of ships taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thousand seven hundred pieces, of silver above an hundred thousand, of heavy Bras seven score hundred thousand pounds. The Triumph being accomplished, *Duilius* called an Assembly, wherein *L. Cornelius*, *L. Jo. Cn. N. Scipio* and *C. Aquilius M. Navy*. The Admirall had permission, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. This Charge happening to *L. Cornelius*, having prepared his ships be

This was the first Roman expedition into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; the Islands are so near adjoining that they seem but one and the same, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, so in the Dispositions of the inhabitants. *Sardinia* as bearing the shape of a mans foot- *Sals* Hist. 2. 1. for of Hercules of *Lybia* much frequenting the Island, gave it the name it is now known by. Old *Strabo* l. 5. 2. Tables affirm that the Grecians came into those places with *Ariflexus*, and after the Trojan war *Sals* Hist. 2. 1. the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulness of soil, it yieldeth not much to the biggest *Sals* Hist. 2. 1. and best Islands of those seas. It breeds excellent catel, very fruitful it is of the best Corn, *Strabo* lib. 5. and rich in Metals, especially Silver. But the air is not so wholesome, inasmuch as foreign Nations *Sals* Hist. 2. 1. commended not so much its Fertility as they dispraised its Pelilent air; for in Summer it is sickly *Sals* Hist. 2. 1. of very violent Poyson, being eaten it produceth likewise an Herb, much like the Bee flower, *Strabo* lib. 5. disorteth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, unless after vomiting you drink *Matthiol*, in good store of milk and honied water: the present force of the disease is so remedied, that the *Dioscor* 6. 14. other incommodities thereof are cured by the same means as other Convulsions of the Nerves.

Likewise there is a very little creature called *Salpuga*, a kind of Pismire, which is deadly to those who unawares sit upon it, it is so much the more dangerous, because hardly to be seen or taken notice of by those who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed *Plin* 20. 4. of divers sorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty chuse rather to live by robbery *Plin* 20. 4. and plunder, then by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and short Sword, their *Strabo* *Brell*.

o Elinus
Claudian de
bel. Gauden
Eustathia
Dion. xxiij.
Sals. lili. a. 1
Strabo

Brest-plates they sew together the out skins of their Rams, which they call *Musones*, bearing not wool as others, but in stead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefest City is *Caralis*, looking towards *Africa* and from thence built, with a very fair Haven. *Corfica* is not to be compared with *Sardinia* either for largeness of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigness of all those Islands. The inhabitants derive the name from one *Corfo* a woman, out of whose Head a Bull crossed over into this Island from *Liguria*; the Greeks called it *Cyprus*. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almost impassible, and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild beasts. When they are taken prisoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of impatience of labour and servitude kill themselves, or by their contumacy and stubbornness are troublesome to their masters.

The Island is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter taste, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholesome, and many think your Corsicans to be therefore long-lived, because they ordinarily use that Honey. Their Towns are not very great nor very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are *Aleria* a Colony of the Phocæans, and *Nicea* of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troublesome, and therefore the seas rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with these nations, and obtained the dominion of both Islands, except places inaccessible. But because wild and rude men were easier to be vanquished than tamed, they bestowed themselves of many means whereby to keep them under, they likewise corrupted all the fruits of the Island, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to sow or plant any such thing, that they might be forced to fetch all necessaries from *Africa*, till at length grown somewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

To these Islands at this time did *Cn. Cornelius* steer his course, and first in *Corfica* stormed the City *Aleria*, after which without much labour or danger he took the rest. From thence as he sailed towards *Sardinia*, he met the enemies Fleet, which he presently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to *Olbia*, where seeing many Carthaginian ships in the Haven, and thinking himself not strong enough in foot to storm a City so well situated, and defended by a great multitude, for the present he omitted the business, and sailed home for a recruit of men.

About the same time a servile Commotion, in the City, which was in the beginning happily suppressed, did both afflict the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewise secure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were pressed for sea service, whereof there were then four thousand in *Rome*, most of them Samnites; these men abhorring the sea, did secretly bemoane their own Condition and so far exasperated one another that they were resolved to burn the City and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thousand accomplices into the conspiracy, which daily gathered more strength, when *Erius Potellius*, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wisdom prevent all danger. For he feigning himself engaged in the same faction, was made privy to all their Contrivances, he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular person in the conspiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accomplishment of his own private design, but only to discover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunity of going, because the Samnites would never suffer him to walk alone; at length having devised this trick, he perswaded them, That when the Senate next met, they should come by hands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Measure of their Corn, that they should have occasion offered of executing their Purpose, or at least understand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon such sudden motions and stirs. And to gaine the more Credit in the business, he went along with them, manifesting himself not only a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he discovered to them the danger of the secret Plot and cause of his own dissimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, sent Messengers with good words to pacify the Rout, and command them home, assuring them with all, That the Senate would take order for Redress of their Grievance, and that every one should enjoy his Right. The Conspirators, thinking their Designs was still kept close, went their way: The following evening Master bound his servants, whom according to *Potellius* his Information, he knew guilty of the treason, the Samnites also were most of them seized upon in their Quarters. Either the care of this or some other business, or sickness was an hindrance to *C. Florus*, that he did not goe into *Sicily* so soon as ordinary, whereby *Hannibal* after his last Victory had time much to encrease the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken *Camarina* and *Enna* by Treachery, he fortified *Dræpanus*, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the Eryneis thither to Dwell, whose Cite, left it should be servicable to the Romans he totally demolished, excepting the Temple of *Venus*. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceit or by force, and was in a likelihood of conquering all *Sicilia*, but that *Florus*, for this reason not daring in winter to forsake the Island, tarried to oppose him. The other Consul had an Easier Task with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at *Olbia*; whether being returned with encrease of strength, he found *Hanno* there, who after the removal of *Hannibal* was made Admiral. The battel waxing

Diodori Eclog.
b. 23

Zonaras

Orosius 4.7

ing vehemently hot, *Hanno* courageously fighting, seeing his own party worsted, rushed in to the thickest of the Enemies and was there slain: After which the Town yielded it self. The Consul much graced the fame of his Victory by his singular humanity toward the Enemy. For he took care to have the Body of *Hanno* to be conveyed out of his Cabbin to Burial, and made a large Funeral for him, laying aside hatred after Death, and rightly judging that virtue is to be honoured even in an enemy. Then not suffering the Terror of his late Victory to grow stale and be forgotten, he took many other Cities of *Sardinia*, furthering his Courage with Councils and stratagems. For he used in the night time to land some choice bands not far off those townes he meant to assault, who conveniently placing themselves in Ambush lay quiet, till the Consul coming to the walls and giving an Alarm, had under pretence of Fight drawn the Townsmen a good way out of their works, then they in Ambush hastily arising took the Cite void of Defendants: By this wise he obtained many places, and so prosecuted his Atchevements, that the Carthaginian armies had no abiding place either in *Sardinia* or *Corfica*. For which cause, at his Return, there was no doubt made, but a most ample Triumph decreed him, which he made over the Carthaginians, *Sardinia* and *Corfica* the fifth of the Isles of *Mare*, having brought great store of plunder out of those Islands and many thousands of Captives. But in *Sicily* *C. Florus* besieged *Mysistræus*, which was attempted in vain, neither could it be gained till the new Consul *A. Atilius A.F. C.N.* came thither. For to him was allotted *Sicily* for his Province, the Navy was committed to his Colleague *C. Sulpicius L. F. Q. N. Paternulus*. They understanding that *Pannorus* was the Carthaginians winter Quarter, marched thither with all their Forces, and, ordering their Men, presented Battel to the Enemy, but no man coming out against them, they went thence to *Hippæa*, which Cite in their journey they stormed and presently mastered. Thence *Atilius* marched to *Mysistræus*, which being stoutly defended, at length the Garrison soldiers, being wearied with the cries and Lamentations of women and Children, forsook it. The Carthaginians went out in the night time; at break of day the Townsmen opened the Gates. But the Romans bearing too much in mind the Inconmodities they had endured in the siege thereof, flew every one they met without distinction of age or sex, till *A. Atilius* the Consul caused proclamation to be made, That both Plunder and Prisoners should belong to those who took them. Then at length Covetousness overruled and demolished. The Army being thence led towards *Camarina*, fell into very great danger, for want of knowledge in the Country. For the Carthaginian General meeting them had first possessed the higher places, and as it were besieged the Romans rashly entered into a disadvantageous vallie, every one thought they saw before their Eyes the very picture of the *Caudine* overthrow; but the wisdom and Valour of *M. Calpurnius Flaminius* a Colonel in the Army, in their utmost point of despair did relieve them. For he following the Example of *P. Decius*, who being a Colonel in *Saminius* had done the like, taking three hundred soldiers along with him, went up to possess a certain Hillock, not out of hope to escape, but both he and his soldiers being animated with the Love of honour, and desire of saving the whole army; 'Tis said when he had brought them thither, he thus spake unto them, *Let us die, fellow Soldiers, and by our death drive the Legions now roundly besieged. And so it came to passe, for while the enemy converted themselves wholly upon these men, they being resolved to die, did so long maintain a sharp fight with the greater number, that the Consul had time to expiate himself out of that unhappy place. The Carthaginians having slain those who did indeed on purpose offer up themselves (putting no hope in their ambush which was now discovered) departed. The fortune of *Calpurnius* was next to a Miracle, for he being found among the heaps of his own and the enemies dead bodies, was the only man had breath left in him; and being carried off from his away and diligently fomented (among many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful service to the Commonwealth, and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among the Grecians performed such a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have bestowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor: *M. Cato* apud But being a Roman all the reward of such an exploit was a Garland made of Grass; nay, they were so negligent in the memory of the very Fact, that the name of this valiant man is scarcely known: Most Authors call him *Calpurnius*, but *M. Cato* calls him *Q. Cædicius*; *Claudius Quadrigarius* gives him the name of *Labrinus*. But the Consul being freed from those straits he was in, made his error an argument of shame, and his danger of watchfulness and circumspection. Therefore with the greater courage and care he proceeds to the assault of the City, and being not able to prevail against it without Engines of battery, he borrowed some of *Hiero*. With them he brake down the walls, and reduced *Camarina* into his power, the Citizens for the most part he sold for slaves. Thence he marched to *Enna*, and had that by treachery delivered to him; the Garrison soldiers were part of them slain by the Romans after they were entered, the rest fled away and betook themselves to places possessed by their own party. *Sittana* was obtained not by craft but courage, the defendants being driven back and the City stormed. Some smaller Towns in that part of *Sicily* made no delay, but forthwith sent messengers with promise of submission. The Consul placing Garrisons in all places convenient, marched into the *Agrygentine* Territories, and by treachery had the Castle *Camicus* delivered to him. Where-*

Pat. Maximus.
Silius b.6

Provincus
3.9 & 3.10

Florus 2.2

Post. Capit.
Eu. repus b.2

Zonaras
Diodorus

159.
Polybius 1.24.

Zonaras

Diodorus
Zonaras

Agellius 3.7.
Frontinus lili.

4. 10.
Livie Ept. 17.

Autor de virtis
lib. c. 29.

M. Cato apud
Plinie 22.6.

Frontinus.

Agellius

Diodorus
Polybius 1.24.

Diodorus.

Polybius.

Zonaras.

Diodorus.
Florus 22.

Whereupon the Garrison of *Erbesus* being disheartened, forsook the Town. So *Erbesus* came again into the Romans hands. The Consul encouraged with this success, and thinking that many of the *Liparens* favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City. But there he had not the like Fortune. For *Hamilear* having intelligence of the Romans Design, privately entered *Lipara*, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans being ignorant of this, boldly and unwarily coming up to the walls, were by a sudden fall of the Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflict, and no small number slain. In the mean time *C. Sulpicius* the Consul had many encounters with the Enemy in *Sardinia*, and all prosperous. And his mind was so erected, that he made bold to sail toward *Africa*.

The Carthaginians by no means enduring any such Attempt, once more made *Hannibal* Admiral, who since his flight out of *Sicily* had continued at *Carthage*, along with him they sent their best Sea Commanders, with Order, *Tochus* the Enemies Navy from their Country-here. He puts to Sea with a resolution to fight, but a Tempest prevented the Encounter, which being very violent on both Navies, drove them against their wills into more calime places: Both Admiralls fortuneed into *Sardinian* Ports. There lying at Anchor, *Sulpicius* to draw the Carthaginians out to sea, suborned some, under pretence of Runnagates, to periwade *Hannibal*, that the Romans were again sailing to *Africa*. He being deluded by this Craft, suddenly setting sail, before he was aware, met with the Consul, who in a convenient place waited for him: Many Carthaginian ships were sunk, before they knew what they were about, the Consul's stratagem being much favoured by a Mist opportunely arising: At length understanding what was the matter, the other ships went some back into the Haven, others drove themselves on shore, where the men landing themselves, most of the Vessels were taken empty: *Hannibal* despairing to recover the Port, betook himself to *Sulci*, where, in a sedition, being apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of the same fight, he was by them Crucified, saying, that his Folly and Rashness was the cause of their Overthrow. But this Victory of the Romans was an occasion of some loss to them afterwards. For being freed from fear of the Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and securely waited the Grounds, they were suddenly routed by an unexpected incursion of *Sardinians* and Carthaginians, one *Hanno* being Commander. *C. Duilius* was this year Consul, and built the Temple of *Janus* in the Herb-Market. After this two Triumphs were made, the one of *C. Aquilius Flavius* Pro-consul over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of October, the other of *C. Sulpicius* the Consul over the Carthaginians and *Sardinians*, the third of the Nones. When *C. Atilius* *M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornilius* *L. F. Cn. N. Blaesus* again were Consuls, the Senate ordered Sacrifices to be made for avoiding the Omens of some Prodigious. In the *Alban* Mount, and other places, and in the City it self many stones fell as Haile: 'Twas thought fit to Solemnize the *Latins* Festival, and in order to that, a Dictator was created, *Q. Ogulnius* *L. F. A. N. Gallus*. The Master of Horse was *M. Latorius* *M. F. M. N. P. Mancianus*, *C. Atilius*, the Admirall having sailed to *Tynderides* in *Sicily*, when he espied the Carthaginian Navy passing by, out of order, suddenly resolved to set upon it: And commanding the other ships to follow, hastily sets forward with ten, which were Ready, and with all speed both of sail and Oar endeavoured to overtake the Carthaginians, still before him. *Hamilear*, a very considerable Commander, was in that Fleet, who seeing but few ships near him, others scarce yet out of the Haven, the greater part still at Anchor, steering back, circumvented *Atilius* and his ships with his whole Navy, nine of them he sunk presently, not able to maintain fight with so great a Number. The Admirals Frigate being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged by the presence of the Consul, broke out from amongst them by main strength and saved it self. For the other Roman Vessels were now come up, by whose help the Fortune of the Battell was changed, eight of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, ten with all their men taken; the rest steered to the *Liparens* Islands. These things were done at Sea. The Land Forces were not so quick at their Work, having in vain assaulted the City *Lipara*: But with all hostility they spoiled the open Fields, the same Calamity also attended the Island *Melita*, not farre distant. For these Exploits *C. Atilius* the Consul made a Naval Triumph over the Carthaginians. The same year *M. Atilius* for the Pro-Consul Triumphed over the Carthaginians of *Sicily* the fourteenth of the Calends of February. The Romans were then in a very joyfull state and Condition, being Victorious not only at Land, but at sea also: And did now begin to Consul not only of the Conquest of *Sicily* and the Neighbouring Islands, which they thought sure enough their own; but of invading *Africa* also, and bring the Terror of the War to the Gates of *Carthage* it self.

Livie Epit. 17.
Zonas.

Capitula
Magr.

Tacitus 2. 49.
Capitula.

Marmora.
496

Zonas

Fragmenta
Capitula.

Polyb.

Zonas
Polyb.

Zonas.

Orfel. 4. 17.

Capitol. Celum.
Antiqua de viris
Illyc. 39.

Gnom. Capitula.



BOOK VIII.



Afterwards *L. Manlius*, *A. F. P. N.* commonly called *Longus*, did enter upon the Consulship, and *L. Cæcilius*, *Q. F. Q. N.* after whose death, *M. Atilius*, *M. F. L. N. Regulus*, who had been sometimes Consul, succeeded in his Office. Then only in this year *Africa*, which hitherto had been free from any miseries by an Enemy, began to be sensible of a war, when the Romans had made an invasion therein to, after they had in a great Sea-fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians fleet, which exploits, as they were achieved, we fill in this

Book set forth, and both the one and the other frume of that same *Regulus*, and his end not suitable to the gallantry of the man. The year before when the *Carthaginians*, *C. Atilius* being Consul, did so strive to get the best in a Sea-conflict, that when they had lost many ships, they first gave over fighting, yet because they had sunk some certain of the Roman Vessels, they would not take themselves to have been of lesser reputation; On the other part, the Romans did judge that event as an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vast multitude therefore the Consuls being charged to remove the warre into *Africa*, when they were come to *Messana*, with an Armado of three hundred and thirty ships, and from thence passing by the Coast of *Sicily* on the right hand beyond *Pachinus*, to take in the Foot Forces, they having also some Forts near the Hill *Ecnomus*, they sailed forward. And about the same time *Hamilear* General of the Carthaginians, and *Hanno* the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and sixty ships, having passed by *Lilybæum* in *Carthage*, and then *Hiraclea* *Mineas*, in that bay they consult of calling Anchor, observing the motions of the Romans, and if they durst bend towards *Africa*, they were in a posture to stop their course; which when the Consuls were informed of, they with good advice make all things ready for either chance; that they might not be to seek for Counsell, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or to draw home whither for safety: therefore committing the ships to some of the flower Soldiers, they make four Squadrons, as so many parts of the whole fleet; the choicest men they set in the first Squadron, the two next Squadrons they place in the order, in the Rear-guard they put their choicest men for strength, the Triarii, these forces they dispose of in such array, that each ship did carry 300 rowers, and six score Souldiers. So the Muller Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thousand men.

The Carthaginians did somewhat exceed that number, leading more souldiers then an hundred and fifty thousand. And indeed the Consuls did scarce esteem of any other sort of souldiers in comparison of their own. There was so much the more consulting, when it did appear, they must needs fight in the deep Ocean; where the swiftness of the ships, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell array against that danger; finally they consider of placing the whole Fleet aright. They set two Gallies wherein the Consuls themselves were carried, very even in the Van, to both those Gallies they joyn on this side the first Squadron, on that side the second in a long continued row; the ships being placed in such manner, that the fore castles of them all were turned outwards, and

Zenar.

Polyb.

Zenar.

Aul. de viris
illust. c. 40.

Zenar.

Aul.
Zenar.

Polyb.

Frontin.
Strategem. 1. 1.
Polyb.

Frontin. 1. 5.

Polyb.

Frontin.
Strategem. 1. 1.
Polyb.

such evident reasons of that his judgement, that scarce ought to be more manifest; he shews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joyning Battell, it was their manner not still to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would listen to his advice, he does assure them not his only of safety, but also of Victory. When severall of the Chief Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders also themselves, and with becoming modestly preferring the welfare of their Country before his single opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army should be committed to a foreigner; *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge, of his Army should be committed to a foreigner; *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge, and dayly drawing his souldiers out of the City, he does accustom the field Forces to observe and change their ranks, and instantly to do what they are commanded, and the confidence of better success does fill the souldiers with admiration of him, the whole City being cherishe'd even in desperation, is rais'd up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this U-derperation, they also taking heart thereby, resolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their souldiers as opportunity did require, they march out against the Romans, even with almost twelve thousand Foot, with four hundred horse, and well nigh as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they saw the Carthaginians make their inroads through the plain fields, having changed their first design, avoiding all steep and craggy places: But being puff'd up with pride through their constant felicity, they let at nought the souldiers that were wont to vanquish, and *Graculus* their Leader. And *Regulus* was not corrupted with that fawning poyson of fortune waiting on him. When he well considered that he had routed the Sea Forces of the Carthaginians, and the foot Souldiers too, that he had taken almost two hundred Townes, two hundred thousand men, and that *Carthage* being fore streighten'd, might be enforced to surrender, he denied them peace when they sued for it on reasonable termes, and wrote to *Rome*, That the very Gates of *Carthage* which he had begirt did tremble at him. So also moderation hath often deserted great Spirits in prosperity, then constancy in adversity. But the Carthaginians having pitcht their tents in a plain field, *M. Regulus* whose chiefest strength was in his infantry, and thither he could not be followed but over Mountainous and steep difficult places, thinking it all one to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to trust himself in the Camp, even to the greater wanting of his confidence, passing over the river that was in the midlt, and distant from the Enemy even two hundred thousand paces. *Xanthippus* perceiving the indifferencie of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promised the Carthaginians; for he had got the Romans even tired with long Marching, where his heart could with them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; the time also did seem most commodious for the fight, because if they now drawing towards the evening, the *Africans* knowing well all places thereabout, if the should be overcome, they might make their escape the better in the night, or if they should conquer, the night would not hinder the pursuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians consulting what was to be done, *Xanthippus* calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they might not lose such a singular opportunity he did earnestly perswade him to undertake the Battell, so much the easier, because the souldiers themselves crying out to *Xanthippus*, they did of their own accord with unuall cheerfulness desire to encounter with the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the *Spartan*, he draws out the Army, and does exercise them after this manner. A four square body of 8000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Chosen men of all their foot, was set for a reserve, before this body, a convenient space being left between, the Elephants are set in order, being drawn up as broad as that square body, on either Wing the Horse are placed, behind these on the Right Wing stands the main body of hired souldiers. The Army being set in such array, for the advantage of their own side, and when their darts, they should stand in open order, they should violently break out again from the Wings, main body should joyn with the Enemy, they should violently break out again from the Wings, and should on a sudden furiously flanke the Romans, when they were charging the opposite reserve. On the contrary part *Regulus* having well drawn up his Army, when he saw the Elephants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he soon takes advice, he brings his souldiers lightly armed to the Van, he sets the well Compact foot Companies in the Reserve, the Horse are drawn up in the Wings, the Army is firme in respect of depth, but much narrower then before, so that the chief danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horsemen, they did indeed take a right course against the Elephants, but being in an open and Champain Country, there was room sufficient for the Horse to surround, the whole Army being so close compacted. The Fight was began by the Elephants, which *Xanthippus* commanded to be led against the opposite Regiments, and the Romans making a great shout, set forward to meet them. The Horse were likewise engaged in both Wings; but there the Romans being much inferior in Number, not able to resist the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot which were of the Left Wing, (whether it were to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more easily to obtain the Victory) charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, pursued them to their camp. The rest of the foot had an harder taske against the Elephants, by whose vast bodies their ranks were disordered, themselves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling house, struck down to the ground, yet the very thicknes of the Battell hindered them from breaking through; till at last they were disfiled on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were broken by the Horse, the foremost which made it to break through the Elephants, were slain by

Enemy

Evenly standing yet Entire, and the light-armed men flying in upon them. There was no less execution done in the Fight, the Elephants and *Numidian* Horse pursuing them in an open plain place. *Regulus* with almost five hundred souldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army who beyond all Hope, by their halt, got safe into *Cluspea*; of the Romans and their Associates were slain about thirty thousand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting beside eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought against the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to *Carthage* after so great a Victory, carrying the Roman General Prisoner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others standing in the streets, or in their houses, beheld the spectacle with wonderfull Pleasure, which they durst lately scarce hope for; late to near despair, giving not only their Country, but very City for lost; they durst scarce believe to great a Change, though they saw it with their eyes. But they took most special notice of the General, every ones eye and thought being settled on them, looking sometimes on *Xanthippus*, soetimes on *Regulus*, Extolling the greatness of their own Commander, by the so fast a General, so fortunate a Warrior, a proud Conquerour, an implacable Enemy, the his ancient Fame and Liberty together. Their Admiration was encreased by the habit and Garbe of the Man, who under a small body, and none of the best looks, carried a large and virtuous mind. For this Exploit *Xanthippus* had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he used as much art in flustering the Warre, for whereas he might justly expect an everlasting reward of his good service at *Carthage*, yet he resolved to leave those doubtful hopes altered. For this is for the most part the disposition of men, that openly they profess the love of their Country, but really study their own private good; as long as their City being in safety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty loves to their Country: But where there is danger left they should bestow the same benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, than have him in the least way hinder their private commodity: As long as they think themselves able to equal others, their envy is hidden and more remis, but when they see themselves farre exceeded, and that Honour duely given to others which they desired for themselves, then what they were not able by virtue to obtain, they seek it by Calumnies and Criminations. So that the best men have ordinarily most Enemies and are most subject to Treachery: But a Native of the Country hath so ne remedy against this Evil in his Friends and kindred: A stranger being void of all helpe and assistance encreaseth the Malice of degenerate mindes by his being easy to be hurt, in that he is more exposed to Treasons, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That *Xanthippus* apprehended and considered these things, the sequel doth evidently demonstrate. 'Tis reported he was drowned by some sent after him from the Carthaginians, who after so great a benefit received, hated the Author of it, who being once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Country was preserved by a Foreigner.

Others deny *Xanthippus* thus to have perished, yet confesse the Treachery of the Carthaginians, who at his Departure allotted him an old ship, full of Leakes, fairly pitcht over as if it had been found, but that he discovering the Cheat, went aboard on another ship and escaped the danger. About the same time they committed another fact of no less Treachery, but much more cruel, by reason of the number that perished thereby. The Mercenaries in somewhat tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their paines taken, and happy Valour, were put into ships being made believe that in some other place they should have their Desire: But the Captains of the ships who had such private Order, landed them and left them in a Barren Island, where being destitute of all helpe from man, without food, without ships, having famine on one side, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and perished, a fowl and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracusans and Carthaginians, and that the Island was thereupon called *Offender*, or the *Bone* Island, it lieth in the main Sea beyond *Lipara* Westward. These deeds whensoever and howsoever performed, do nothing disfigure with the Carthaginians usuall Cruelty. And if thus they served their Friends and Associates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily severe against their Enemies. Other Prisoners indeed were somewhat tolerably well used, for they likewise had many Captives at *Rome*, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But against *M. Regulus* they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of ways; they allowed him food which was neither pleasant to the Palate, nor strengthening to the rest, they would frequently on a sudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noise and ugly shape of it, not suffering him to rest neither in Mind or body, and being thus miserably handled, and brought low, they call him into the common Gaole.

Florus 1. 1.

Polyb.

Diodor.

Euseb.

Europ.

Polyb.

Diodor. 1. 2.
apud Farr. non.

Silus. 6.

Polyb.

Orfes. 4. 9.

Polyb.

Polyb.

Polyb.

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Polyb.

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Zenar
Frontinus Strategus 4. 1.
Val. Max. 3. 74.
Zenar
Val. Maximus
Onop.
de Rep.
Livie 5. 18.
Diodorus
Zenar
Appianus apud
Frontin.
Livie Epitom.
 18.
Tabule Roman.
 2.
Val. Maximus.
 2. 9. 7.
Frontinus Strategus.
 4. 1.
Columna
Capitolina
 502
Orfius 4. 9.
Polibius
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 502
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Polibius
Enropius

and *L. Manlius A.F. P.N. Vulsus*, to these was committed the charge of preparing the Navy and men for the ships; *L. Metellus* was continued in his Command, with Commission to manage the War in *Sicily* as Proconsul. *503*
Polib. 1. 39

Asdrubal understanding that one of the Romans Generals was absent with half their forces, and computing with himself, that though the Armies had long stood in Battell-array one against the other, the Romans had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own souldiers who accused him of cowardice, he drew all his forces out of *Lilybæum*, and after a long and difficult march through the Selinuntian Territories, he invaded the shore of *Panormus* and there pitched his Camp. It fortund, that the Proconsul, with the remainder of the Roman strength was then at *Panormus* to guard their Associates, with the regrew on, in reaping and carrying in their grain. He, having intelligence that some of the enemy spies lay secretly at *Panormus*, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Assembly, then giving order they should examine one another, and question those who were least known, *What they were, or what business they had at Panormus*, found out the spies and seized on them. By them he underlood the enemies designs, and observing there was more rafhness then good counsel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himself within the works of the City, that so he might encrease their foolish confidence. Whereupon *Asdrubal* growing bolder, advanced his forces, spoiling and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconsul regarded neither the loss sustained nor the disgrace thence redounding, foreseeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians till they crossed the River *Orestus*, which runneth on the South side of the Town, and then he had contrived a sure and sudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to finish his fear, so he placed but few souldiers upon the walls, desiring that the enemy should not expectation, both the enemy by his confidence, and fortune by a sudden chance furthering the design: For *Asdrubal* Forded the River with his Foot, Horse and Elephants, and planted his Camp close under the walls of the City, with so much contempt of the enemies Cowardice, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark. *Polibius*
Frontinus
Sicil. 3. 17
Diodorus

Thither the Suters and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank stoutly, and elevating their voices according to their several dialects, in much noise and confusion gave good notice of their present temper, that they were not very sober. Then did the Proconsul think the fittest time to send those his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it succeeded so happily, that fill sending out by degrees fresh supplies, part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, *If the Elephants approached to sling their darts at them, and if they found themselves sore pressed to retire into the Trench, and thence come out again to a fresh charge.* The mean Artificers and common rout he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and sing them over the wall that the light armed men should not want plenty of them. Himself with his companies completely armed, stood in Rank and File times being overpowered in number retreated in good order, sometimes being assailed by supemulation to seem Authors of the Victory as well as *Asdrubal*, and advancing with their beasts, beat back those who opposed them, and rashly pressing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a shower of Arrows flying from the wounded began to rage, and balking themselves with fire forever anger and pain led them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and disorder'd whole companies of armed men. *Frontinus*
Sicil. 3. 5

Whereupon the Proconsul crying, *This is the time of the long look't for Victory*, issueth out, and being fresh and in good rank had an easie victory over the confused multitude of the enemy; there was a great slaughter made both in the field and in the pursuit, their calamity being encreased by a sudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For *Diodorus*
Zenar
 many were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to swim, and many too hastily amongst all their prosperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans resumed their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was so disheartened with fear, that they cast off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army so long as that War lasted. *Florus* 2. 2
Orfius 3. 9
Zenar

Twenty thousand Carthaginians are said to be slain, six and twenty Elephants were presently taken, and afterward all the rest. For the Proconsul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beasts being loose and enraged, commanded a Crier by Proclamation to promise *Liberty and safety to any prisoner by whose means the Elephants should be taken*; hereby laying

Frontin.
Stratagem. 1.7.
Zet. a. 34
Liv. 8.9
Zet. a. 34

Orosius

Zonas.

Appian apud
Fulvium Irfp.
num.
De apud
Fulvium
Urfpium.
Cicero de Offic.
3. 17

Dionys. apud
Fulvium.
Urfpium.
Liv. Ept. 18
Zonas

Silius b. 6
Cic. de Offic.
3. 17

first hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the rest. *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transportation; for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hog-heads, fastening a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part one from the other, then planking them over. Spreading earth and durt upon them, and erecting walls on each side in the form of stables the Elephants otherwise very fearful of sailing by water, entered on them and were safely conveyed to *Rhegium*.

A druball from this overthrow escaped to *Lilybeum*, but being condemned at *Carthage* while he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost except *Lilybeum* and *Drepanus*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable conditions. Whereupon they remembered *M. Regulus* and the conditions he once propounded to them, and persuaded themselves that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at least for what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners; nothing doubting but that for his own sake he would effectually interpose himself in such a business: *For what man can be imagined so obstinate as not to free himself from the miseries of a Galle, and desire to see his dearst relations, and enjoy his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours?* *M. Regulus* hath a wife and children at *Rome*, friends and kindred in the Senate and publick offices, a Cousin German now Consul, he is both much beloved by the Senate and people of *Rome* for his former victories, and pitted for his afflictions; if therefore he bareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no man certainly will be more earnest in procuring, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design. He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward appeared, but that he might in person the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of the Commonwealth. So being joyned with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come to the City he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alleging, *The Customs of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City.* The Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his Message, *That himself also being by the War a servant to the Carthaginians, had command from his Masters to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem fit to both parties, or that at least an exchange of prisoners would be granted.* The Embassadors presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited, would he be present in the Senate at the debate of the business till the Carthaginians assented to it. Then sitting silent till his opinion was required, he thus expressed himself, *Conscrip* Fathers, I am still a Roman; my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the enemies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the same. Following therefore the reason of my Soul, which is my own, rather than the inclinations of my Body, which is anothers, my advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to restore the Captives while the war continueth is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold but my self who am an old man, you have many, and those young, amongst which are some no way to be despised. And to finish the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is pernicious to the Commonwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs can be transacted without great pains and cost: But if you rightly consider the state of *Carthage*, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We were indeed once overcome in a great Battel, whether it were my fault or fortunes, but we have so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now, by the Victory at *Panormus*, pressed down to the utmost despair. They have lost all *Sicily*, except one or two Cities, and in the other Islands their condition is naught. You have a Navy which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war ye are also superiours. And the losses ye have sustained by Tempest hath not bereaved you of so much strength as it hath taught you Circumspection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Italians are more obedient to you then are the Africans to the Carthaginians, whom as they never truly loved, so have they of late learnt to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former masters have waited their Grounds plundered their Cattel, exacted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do you think they can more desire, then that a new Army would come from hence into *Africa*? But that your leavies of men are easie and large, that your souldiers are valiant, of the same Language, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great an advantage, that if in all things else ye were exceeded, this one only thing would be sufficient to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what help is there in a company of Mercenaries against such a force? and if there were any, the Carthaginians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as difficult to hire strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xanthippus* to whom *Carthage* is indebted for its preservation, having been so ingratiously and treacherously used, is sufficient warning to others how they lend their assistance to such a people who know not how to recompence the greatest desert but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest

Bar-

* Barbarians, a Brutish and slavish sort of men, will be deterred by Cruelties so often exercised upon their Fellowes, who have been sometimes murdered by hangmen, or their fellow Soldiers, sometimes exposed into barren and uninhabited Islands, receiving instead of the pay they have fought for, most inhumane punishments, and horrible deaths. And this Conscrip of Prisoners granted.

This Council displeased not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the safety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himself for the Common good, the more they prized him, and manifestly inclined upon any termes whatsoever to restore to Gallant and Generous a Person to his Country. And voices were given out, that seeing he was now so happily returned from foreign Captivity, he might lawfully tarry in the City, or be detained there. *Frontin* *Metellus* *in Euripidum.* High Priest likewise affirmed, that he might stay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury. But he to the Amazement of the Senate, it selfe, with a fierce Spirit, and severe Countenance, proceeded, saying, *Why do ye not resolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me.* Ye in vain attempt that which will be neither pleasing to your selves, nor profitable to the Country, 'not honest in me. For suppose, for a while ye would be willing and joyfull to see me amongst you, when once the short spurt of this affection is vanished, the Balenest of my Return will make me more odious to you, then my absence made me desirable. For my part I am resolved not to live in that City, where after an African slavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of an honest Citizen, and if I should desire it, my fidelity would hinder it, the remembrance of an sacred Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I assured the Carthaginians of my return. And should I forswear my selfe, I fear that Revenge Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Punishment be affronted by the Perjuries and Contempts of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be absolved, that the bookes of the *Angurs* mention expiations of such crimes, and that Attorneys understand the Majesty of the Gods is more severe, then being offended by Perjury, to be appeased by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reason, that a Guilt contracted by the sins of man, should be washed away with the blood of Beasts. As for my selfe, I am not ignorant that great and exquisite torments are prepared for me at *Carthage*. But to deceive a trust, I think to be worse then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Torments they hurt only something about me. Think not that man miserable who is able to endure evil, but now by a long custom they have left off to be troublesome to me. That they are tolerable, I have learnt by suffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other calamities. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not death, which is easie at any time to obtain, and truly I had inflicted it on my selfe, but that I thought it the part of a man rather to overcome sorrow then to avoid it. I have spoken these few and consuled words, that ye may understand, I am not to be persuaded from my Opinion, and withall that you should not bewaile me as an unfortunate and miserable Man: My Resolution is easie and constant: 'Tis my care to return to *Carthage*, what I shall there suffer I leave to the Gods.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, that before he was dismissed from *Carthage*, they had given him a gentle Poison, which by slow degrees feeding on his vitall spirits, should consume him after the exchange was made. Wonderful was the constancy of this Man, who, rather then suerve from the Rule of Honesty, did with more earnestness pursue Contumelies, Torments and Death, then others avoid them, a true and profitable Lesson to posterity. That those men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are constant in their resolution, who have a sense of their own nobility, and think themselves borne not onerous for this world. For certainly *M. Regulus* would not willingly have undergone so great miseries, if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great punishment for evil men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of *M. Regulus*, he with a settled countenance followed his Sullen and angry Malters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repulse upon his Person, informing him up, neither would they hinder his going. So he refusing to discourse with his Wife, and his over him up, neither would they hinder his going. So he refusing to discourse with his Wife, and his Children making Lamentable complaints, the Consuls said, if he carried they would not deliver him, the Embraces and kisses of his little Children, was carried back to *Carthage*, where with cruel torments he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the Sunne they suddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the sky, at length they put him into a Wooden chest (right over against the Sun) full of nails on the inside, and so narrow that he was forced alwayes to stand upright; if at any time he leant on one side to ease his weary body, he was pricked and goared with the nails, and so in torment and continual watching yielded up the Ghost.

This was the end of *M. Atilius Regulus*, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with

Frontin
Metellus
in Euripidum.

Silius b. 2

Zonas.

Silius b. 6

Zonas.

Silius

Dion. apud

Fulv. Irfp.

Horat. car. 3

5

ppian

Liv. Ept. 18

Aulus de viris

Aug. de Civ.

Dion. 1. 15

Silius

Metellus

1. 1. ex

Tubero apud

Agellum.

Cic. de Off. 3. 17

Dis. apud
Valefium.Zonaras.
Tudinan. apud
Agell. 6. 4
Diodorus b. 14
Valef apud

with great honesty and Honour: He was a man of great Integrity of Manners, of an Invincible Spirit, and for his Counsell not to be despised, wherein neither his own nor after ages could accrue him, but that he seemed not very moderately to bear his prosperous Fortune, and that by denying the Carthaginians request he was the occasion of the wars continuance for many years after to the great detriment of both Cities. But he wiped off this his fault by his other many egregious virtues, and chiefly by his wonderful constancy at his death, being more happy in suffering calamitie then if he could have avoided it. The Senate hearing the news of his death, and the Barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians, delivered up the Noblest of the Captives to *Marcia* and her children, whom they shut up in an Engine thrust through with sharp irons, resolving to put them to the like death as *Regulus* had suffered; for five whole daies they had no food allowed them, in which *Bostar* with grief and hunger pined to death; *Hamilcar* being stronger in body continued five dayes longer, shut together with the carcase of *Bostar*, with sustenance sufficient only to prolong his miserable life. Till at length the Magistrates understanding what was in doing, did restrain their cruelty, commanding that the Ashes of *Bostar* should be conveyed into his own Country, and that the other prisoners should be handled with more mercy. Whereby appears a remarkable difference of manners in the two Cities, in that the one being not unjustly offended, nor able with security to offend, with horrid punishments extinguished that virtue they ought to have revered; the other mitigated a most just revenge not regarding their own enraged grief, but the Rules of Humanity, and that moderation which becometh illustrious Empires.



BOOK IX.



Polyb. 1. 41

Erymologus in
Kapod. 6.

UPON the departure of the Carthaginian Embassadors the Consuls having Order from the Senate to transport their Army into *Sicily*, did very readily obey, being highly incensed against the enemy for *M. Regulus* his fake, and likewise provoked with emulation and conceiving great hopes from the Victory of *L. Metellus* Proconsul. For they measured not the greatness of the business so much by the losse of the Carthaginians, who were much weakened by the losse of an Army and so many Elephants, but chiefly they were encouraged because the soldiers, having successfully fought against the beasts, did now no more stand in fear of them. And hopes were conceived the war might suddenly be finished if opportunities were not neglected. The Consuls therefore with a Navy of two hundred ships, and four Legions failed to *Panormus*, where taking in likewise of the other forces and ships (unless what were left for the guard and security of some places) they went to *Lilybaeum* with 240 Beaked ships, threefore Barks of a shorter size, called *Cremas*, and many other vessels of all sorts, with resolution to make an assault upon it. This is that famous siege of *Lilybaeum*, which beginning the fourteenth year of this war, lasted full ten years, and at length was ended, neither by the surprize of the City, nor with its surrender, but together with the whole War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well understanding of what concernment that City was, either to the Guard of the *African* Coast, or the Empire of *Sicily*, did with all their might, the

one assault, the other defend it. The Triumph of *L. Metellus* did somewhat comfort the City of *Rome*, after their sorrow for *M. Regulus*, not only with the memory and consideration of their successes, but with the sweetness of Revenge also over so cruel and confident a People: He Triumphed Proconsul over the Carthaginians, the seventh of the Ides of *Septembris*, thirteen of the Enemies Commanders were led before his Chariot, and a great troop of Elephants, even an hundred and Twenty; some reckon many more. These being afterwards produced when the Games were celebrated, were chased up and down the Circus with spears headed with iron, that the People might accustom themselves to contemne these beasts they had heretofore so terribly feared. *Virgilius Flaccus* affirms they were all slain, the Romans not caring to make use of them themselves, and thinking it no way for the advantage of the Common-wealth, to make a Present of so considerable a strength to any Prince. The same year Corn was very cheap at *Rome*, a bushell for a penny, at the same price was sold a gallon of wine, thirty pound of dried figgs, ten pounds of oil, and twelve pound of flesh. For there was greater store of these Commodities then of money, which by the long continuance of warre grew very scarce. While these things hapned at *Rome*, the Consuls in *Sicily* assaulted *Lilybaeum* with all their strength, and the besieged as stoutly resisted. The first attempt was against a Tower, which stood farthest toward the *Lilybaean* sea, this being demolished, they did by degrees proceed to those which were next, till they had destroyed six. For the more easy battering of the rest they began to fill up the Trenches, that they might draw over and plant their Engines. Though the labour were very great (for the ditch was threefore cubits broad, and forty deep) they did readily set upon and diligently promote the work. The Carthaginians hinder their design, made holes on the inside of the Trench, out of which they cast the rubbish again, but, the heapes still encreasing, and the ditch at length made even with the ground, (by reason of the multitude of Labourers) they changed their Counsell, and erected another wall within the former: *Himilco* being at all Workes indefatigable, who besides the multitude of Inhabitants in the City, had ten thousand Mercenaries, and did by his wisdom, Vigilance and constancy elude and overcome all the Enemies force and Stratagems. He suffered nothing to be out of order among his own men, not any thing to be secure on the Enemies part; he built Work against Work, digged Mine against Mine, opposed Armes to Armes, sometimes he issued forth, fighting with such resolution, that in these tumultuary skirmishes there were sometimes slain little fewer, then usually fall in set Battells.

The Romans undermining the Foundation of the Walls, *Himilco* made his countermine over against the place where he observed the Romans to cast out earth, and opening their Mine he sent in forthwith a Band of Armed soldiers, who set upon the naked Romans busie at work, and slew a great number; and as many were burnt with brush faggots (thrown into the Trench and set on fire) while they approached the Walls to help their fellows. Notwithstanding feare and confirmation of mind encreased among the besieged, whereby some Mercenary Commanders taking advantage, and pretending want of pay, plotted to betray the City to the Romans, nothing doubting but that they could easily induce every man his soldiers to approve of the design. On a certain night therefore slipping out of the Town into the Roman Camp, they declared the state of the City, and what they had intended; Amongst the other Mercenaries at *Lilybaeum*, there was one *Alexon* an *Achaian*, a Man not unskillfull in Martiall Affaires, and of singular Integrity: He understanding the Traytors design, without delay discovers it to *Himilco*, *Himilco* as in a great and imminent danger, immediately summons together all the Mercenary Commanders, who were yet in the Town, declares to them what was in agitation, and by whom, and vehemently inveighing against them, he exhorted those who are present, not to become partners in the rashness and Treachery of others, that persisting in their Duty, they should find all fair dealing from the Carthaginians, their Pay should be certain, and great Rewards moreover accumulated, that if they tainted themselves with the infamous crime of Treason, they would be accountable to God and man; withall, as much money as in halt and fear he could at present raise, he distributes among them, promising that, himselfe would take care to see the Common soldiers pay off as may be discharged.

An Oration made in season, hath certainly great power over the Minds of men, especially if the gravity of the speaker be mixed with truth and sincerity to be relied upon; Every one assented to what *Himilco* spake, and cheerfully offered their utmost endeavours to continue their soldiers in their Duty. *Himilco* commending them, and furthermore encouraging them with hopes, commands every one to apply himselfe to his own Company, and endeavour to keep them in *Subjection*: He sendeth likewise along with them *Hannibal*, the son of *Hannibal*, who resided in *Sardinia*, and *Alexon* the *Achaian*; *Hannibal* to the Gauls, with whom he was acquainted, and very gracious, by Reason of his former conversation with them in the Wars; *Alexon* to other Mercenaries of severall Nations, by all whom he was equally beloved. These engaging their Words, that whatsoever *Himilco* had promised should be performed, so effectually made up the business, that the Traytors a while after returning to the Walls, were not only kept out, but beaten back with darts, and reproached for their Villany. So they returning to the Consuls without effecting their Design, were nevertheless rewarded with Gifts, and had Land in *Sicily* bestowed on them.

Thus did the fidelity of *Alexon* at that time support the Carthaginian Affaires, brought almost

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Polyb.

Cicer. de nat. decur. 2. 3. command, because they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis said that *L. Junius* did likewise feel the Indication of the *Sibyls*. They fled therefore to a new and unusual Refuge, and created a Dictator to go into *Sicily*; whereas, before this time, never any one so impowered, had led an Army out of *Italy*. The Infolence of *P. Clodius* the Consul was then very notable, and almost incredible; For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, he named *M. Claudius Glycias*, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Sergeants; as if he had not sufficiently offended his Country, by what losses he had brought upon it, unless he had likewise abused the Majesty of the Empire with such a scoffe. Whereupon the whole Senate being justly incensed against him, he was forced to resign up his Office, and was referred to the censure of the People. What Authors *Cicero* had read, report he was condemned, but others have observed, that when no Question was to be made but that the People would condemn him, he escaped by a sudden chance, a Storm then arising which dissolved the Assembly. And it seeming hereby that the Gods interposed themselves, they thought not fit to ordain any other meeting for the purpose. But *Glycias* being forced to disclaim his Office, in that the City was ashamed to see a man of mean rank to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheless admitted to all Spectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room *A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus* was nominated Dictator, who made *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* Master of the Horse, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. These two went indeed into *Sicily*, but performed no very memorable action there.

In the mean time *L. Junius*, much troubled at his cross fortune, and desirous to wipe away the blot of his shipwreck, by some noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take *Eryx*, by the Treachery of some within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promises. *Eryx* is the highest Hill in *Sicily* except *Etna*, situate between *Panormus* and *Drepana*, in that part of the Island which lieth towards *Italy*, being more craggy towards *Drepana*. In the top thereof there is a Plain whereon standeth the Temple of *Venus*; therefore called *Erycina*, the Richest in all *Sicily*, just under the Top of the Mount, in the midst of the Ascent, is a City of the same name, very hard to be approached unto, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow passages from the foot of the Hill. *L. Junius* therefore well understanding the nature of the place, appointeth a strong guard both upon the Kidge of the Mountain, and likewise in the narrow passages below, being very safe himselfe, and having the advantage with much ease to repulse the Enemy. He also encompassed *Erycinus* with a wall, and strengthened it with a Garrison of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* landing his men there in the night time, stormed that Castle, and took and killed part of the Garrison soldiers, others escaped to *Eryx*.

The other passages concerning *L. Junius* are very doubtfully reported by Historians, some affirm he was taken by *Carthalo* at *Erycinus*; Others, that he killed himselfe fearing to be condemned for the loss of his Navy. There is no less uncertainty whether the *Scenar* Sports were celebrated this year, or fourteen years after, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus* were Consuls. I think it more probable they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrows, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereunto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitful year, inasmuch as twelve pound of oile was sold for an *Assis*. In the mean time the Dictatorship being expired, or *Atilius* having resigned it up, *C. Arelus L. F. C. N. Cotra*, and *P. Servilius Q. F. C. N. Geminus* were chosen Consuls. The Consuls were pretty successful in *Sicily*, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth. They kept in the Carthaginians of *Lilybaeum* and *Drepanum*, that they could make no large Excursions, nor so often as they had done, and took their Garrisons which were remote from the sea. *Carthalo* having made many attempts against them in vain, resolved at length to waste the *Italian* Coasts, that thereby he might divert the Consuls from *Sicily*, or if they refused to come back to succour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his designs. For the *Prætor* being sent out with the City-forces for defence of the Country, compelled him to return to *Sicily* without effecting his purpose.

Where when the Mercenaries mutinied for want of Pay, he exposed many of them in barren lands, and sent others to receive their Punishment at *Carthage*. The rest being incensed hereby, began manifestly to revolt, so that a new warre was feared from them: But *Hamilcar* who succeeded *Carthalo*, coming in season, fell upon them in the night time, slew some, and drowned others; the remainder submitting themselves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that *Hamilcar* surnamed *Barcar*, one of the best Commanders *Carthage* ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that *Hannibal* was his son. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans side; For having suddenly assailed the Mercenaries, he failed to *Italy*, and in very great compals spoiled the *Lorrian* and *Brutian* Territories.

But the Romans having found the faith of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* very constant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendship and society with him. In the interim *Hamilcar* being returned out of *Italy* landed in the *Panormitan* Grounds, and pitched his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, in a place by nature very strong, it is called *Epirite*, an Hill craggy and full of cliffs on all sides, exalting it self from the circumjacent Region to a very

very great height; The top of it is not sharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable soil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from sea, and void of all harmful and venomous creatures. Therein is a certain hillcock which supplieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for those that sail from *Drepanum* and *Lilybaeum* to *Italy*, with store of fresh water. There are three ways of ascending this Mount two from the Land, one from the Sea, but all very difficult and full of obstructions. Here did *Hamilcar* plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midst of affairs, he found the Romans work enough, and very well seised the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to succeed well at home also. For another Carthaginian General, *Hanno*, who had a great emulation of *Hamilcar's* Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealths cost out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of *Lybia* about *Heratompis*, and having obtained the City, sent three thousand Hostages to *Carthage*; yet they had some alay of this their prosperity. For *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* being the second time Consul, and *Nam. Fabius M. F. M. N. Butus* being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which waited the Coast of *Africa*. For though the Senate had again resolved against sending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens request they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they should safely restore those ships which were built at the publick Charge, reserving the prey to themselves; so that a Fleet was set out very considerable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coasts of *Africa* and assailing Kings: *Hippo*, none of the meanest Cities, they fired the ships of *Hippo* and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counsel they devised a way to explicate themselves out of present danger, for sailing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and so the Fore-Deck being lightened Stern likewise slid over, and they had free liberty of sailing, having delivered themselves from the imminent danger.

After this escape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed against them. The Roman Consuls divided their forces, *L. Metellus* besieged *Lilybaeum*, and *Nam. Fabius*, *Drepanum*. Not far from *Drepanum*, toward the South, lieth an island, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call *Pelias*, he *Columbaria*, which the Consul stormed in the night time, and slew the Carthaginian Garrison there. *Hamilcar*, who came to defend *Drepanum*, made no delay but at break of day set forth to recover the place again, which the Consul observing, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole strength assaulted *Drepanum*, whereby drawing of it in besieging *Drepanum*, he kept the island in possession, and afterward made much advantage because the Walls of the City were weakened on that side, he there began his assaults. But the thinks impossible to be described because they were so many, and judgeth it unfit, lest it might give an occasion of the like. For *Hamilcar*, having his Camp at *Epirite* for almost three ing before *Panormus* was scarce five furlongs distant from the enemy. For neither did they of a main battel having many hinderances, especially because their forces being equal and their which the party worst might quickly retire. Hence it came to pass that as in fight some were *Drepanum* was besieged, the Carthaginians Fleet infested not only the *Sicilian* but the *Italian* shores; and *Hamilcar* plundering as far as he could, waited the *Italian* territories even to *Cuma*, and the *Sicilian* lights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Prisoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of silver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the money accordingly.

I find two Colonies planted in *Italy* this year, one at *Asulum* the other at *Alifum*. There was likewise a Lustration made at *Rome* (being the eight and thirtieth) by *A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus*, and *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Atticus* being Censors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thousand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Lustration there were found little less then three hundred thousand; so great a number of Citizens were consumed by War and Shipwrecks. Nevertheless the *Sicilian* army was duly recruited, the supply being by the Consuls *M. Octavius C. F. M. N. Crassus* (the second time Consul) and *M. Fabius C. F. M. N. Licinus*. These had a very buis and difficult warfare, but not being able to dispossesse *Hamilcar* of his strong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewise to the succeeding Consuls for the same reason, as likewise because new Generals (being on the sudden every year elected against an old experienced Command) spent more time in making their preparations, chusing their ground, and insinuating themselves with the soldiery.

Livie Epitom.
Sueton in Tit.
Festus Capitoli.

Polyb. 1. 52.

Cicer. de nat. decur.
Val. Max. 8. 1. 4.

Livie Epitom.

Festus Capitoli.
Plin. 7. 41.
Dion. 36.

Zonaras
Polyb. 1. 55.
Diador. 24. 1.
Polyb.

Diador.

Zonaras.

Cicero de nat. decur.
Livius Valerius.

Antias
Atilius de Civ. Dei.
Plin. 1. 5. 1.
509.
Festus Capitoli.
Zonaras.

Diador. 23. 69.
24. apud ualfr.
Origen. 4. 1.
Polyb. 1. 56.

Atilius apud
Ennio Hirsin.
Barclay's Aeneid.

Diador. 26.

Polyb. 1. 73.

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Zonaras

Culterius 512.

Liv. 22. 23. 6.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1. 57.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1. 56.

Liv. 22. 23. 6.

Zonaras

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Zonaras

Fasti. Capitol.
Sueton Tiber. 2
Val. Max. 8. 1

Livic Epic.

Suetonio

**L. 29. (9^o seq. ff
de Legibus**

L.I. ff. de V.S.:

*Seneca de be-
nific. 6, 28*

diary, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded (when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to choose a DiCtator then to real-ize either of the Confults out of *Sicily*. *Ti. Cornelianus* *Ti.F. Ti.Nepos* was chosen to summon the Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse *M.Fulvius Q.F.M.N. Flaccus*. In the mean time the two Tribunes of the people, *C. Funderius* and *Ti. Sempronius* appointed a day for *Glandia* the daughter of *Appius Cæcus* to plead her cause before the people, being accused, for detaining the *Plays*, and for having taken away the suffrage from the crowd of people, the let fall a wicked speech *Oh! that my brother were alive again, and had Command of the Fleet.*

There was hardly an Noble Family in *Rome* but had had some relation to the Claudians, either by Cognation or Affinity, so that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, *The Nobility of her house, the merits of Appius her father, the frailty of her sex; that it was a thing unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgment: Neither was now the cause for great why new customs should be begun against* Claudia, *which had not by any plot or practice offended the Majority of the people, but only in a few words.* On the contrary, the Tribunes alleged, *What an impious and execrable speech the hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is there any need of Witnesses, she her self confessing it; neither indeed can she deny it if she would, because she spake openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude of Citizens round about her.* When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letters of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it. 'Tis objected, That it is unusual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why it is unusual likewise for a woman thus to offend: Neither hitherto did any Commonwealth ever afford to wicked and impudent a woman. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being desirous that (offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of against the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment, must of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth; who being skilful in the Laws cannot be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expressly made of women, yet in these words, *If any One,* and the like, both sexes are equally comprehended. What wonder is it then if we believe the Law against Treason to concern both sexes, seeing this very *Claudius* is an example that both sexes may offend against it? But they Extenuate the buffnere, and would have the crime seem feign, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was wanting, she did not joyn her endeavours, counsels and actions with the Carthaginians; she did not raise Troops, arme Slaves, seize on the Capitol, nor actually with her hands effect that wickedness against the City which in words she expressed: Notwithstanding this, the Laws provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and designs also; if indeed a mad man or an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions: yet the mind and intentions of others in many causes is made manifest by Words as by Deeds. She who made so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it to pass? Unless we despise the Judgment of other men (which we have no reason to do) we shall find that in other places wicked wives are accounted Crimes. At *Athens*, which for reputation of Wisdom exceedeth all Cities of *Greece*, there was a man whose office was to provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make great gains, which could not be unless a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But *Claudia* plainly, and without any ambiguity wished Destruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity to the whole Commonwealth. *Would my Brother were alive again!* A naughty wish it is, if he had made it only for her brothers sake, for why should life be restored to him by whose means so many Citizens lost their lives? who no less affronted the Commonwealth by his Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Rashness; who being by the votes of all men precon- demned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment? Would you, if you were wife, have this man to live again, whose memory if you could hide in the same Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merits of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to you if any name or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though perhaps foolishly she hath desired her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and charitable consideration. Yet, clearly absolve her, if the cause of her wish be not more abominable then the wish it self foolish and insolent. For why did you wish your brother alive again? that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinsman, that his labours might redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None of all these. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again: This, this wicked wretch, was the reason why you desired, as much as in you lay, to raise the Dead, to reduce Nature to its former habit, and unlock the Cloisters of the Grave that you might find a man by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impunity is craved by those who while they approve themselves good Kinsmen, regard not though they be esteemed ill Citizens. And truly no man is against it, that (according to their desire) ye should have

mercy on her, had the had any mercy toward you. But seeing the hath wished the death of some, the grief of others, that they should be childless and fatherless, nay, the general calamity of all: who will be so foolishly tender as to judge her hostile, cruel, inhumane full worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Censors upon the last Lustration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things these years last past succeeded prosperously, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very safe or good condition by reason the number of the Citizens was so much decreased. But this woman nothing moved at the loss of those who perished, therefore only grieveth because any are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, the wretched him alive by whose fault chiefly the number of Citizens is so small. But it may be said, The woman her self being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not pardon her crime for her Ancestors, for her Father's sake? Shall we then establish such a Law in our City, That if any man by any means do good to the Commonwealth his posterity shall have the liberty to offend it without punishment? Truly our Fathers were not of this Opinion, when they precipitated *M. Manlius* from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans last hope and refuge was, not by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himself defended from the *Gauls*. For favouring or assisting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be required but the confidence of the fact: But *Appius*, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth received abundant reward, being much enriched and full of honour, in which state he continued flourishing even to his last old age. Though perhaps it were safer not to make any mention of *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, then to put you in mind of those injuries, very high and bold ones, that Family (from its first Original never well affected to the people) hath committed against you. For what *Appius* is it they would have you remember, but him who always with an enemies mind, crossing your designs, chose rather to perish with his Army then be saved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who against the will of all the Degrees and Tribes perished in his Censorship beyond his due time? And now let them reckon up the merits of the *Clandian* Family, even from the time of the *Decemviri*, or from the first Original thereof, they shall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Ancestors in pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear she ought to be pardoned for their sakes. What cause therefore have these, or can any other man allege why this woman ought to go unpunished, unless it be feared the City should loose a woman of so good example? of which opinion if ye also are, O Romans, keep her, keep *Clandia* amongst you; that when our Matrons kneel at the feet of the gods, supplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble, she may hinder their devout Prayers by her Curses; that while they wish for Salvation for our Armies, she may with Defraction; while they desire to fee the soldiers return safe and found, she may desire to hear they are vanquished, captivated and slain; that while they solicit the gods that few or none may fall in battel, she may repine and accuse Providence if any return home. Keep the woman, that as other Matrons provoke and encourage their children and kinsmen, in emulation of Illustrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country, she may instruct hers by the example of *P. Claudius* to fight rashly, to run basely, wickedly to destroy the Citizens and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth itself in contempt. Let her propound these things unto young Nobles to be resolved upon from their Infancy, to be practised in their Youth; so let those men be educated to whom you must hereafter commit the charge of your *Navies* and *Armies*.

Such speeches being frequently vented *Pro* and *Con*, the People assembling in judgement, condemned them, in a fine of five and twenty thousand pound of heavy brass. With this and other fines, *T. Sempronius* the *Edile* built and dedicated the Temple of Liberty. After this *M. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buteo* and *C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bnbus* were made *Consuls*. There was a Colonie this year planted at *Fregene*, a *Maritime City of Etruria*, nine miles from *Alifum* whither one was led two years fine. These *Consuls* fought a very great Sea battell, the issue thereof was profitable to neither Party, for the Carthaginians lost a multitude of ships and men. And a tempest beavered the Romans of their rich spoils: In *Sicilie* affaires were managed with the same advice, and the same fortune as the year before; The Romans having an hard task not only by reason of the Cragginess of the places, but of *Hamilcar* his boldnesse and subtilty in martiall stratagems, whereby he so equally oppoled the Romans, that he not only defended what places he had possessed, and by frequent incursions vexed the Enemies associates both on the *Sicilian* and *Italian* Coasts; but minding other things also, did every where support the Carthaginian Power even ready to fall, being very indolentous, of a resolute minde, and of excellent judgement in takinge seasonable Counsells. Desirous therefore to relieve the Lilibatans from fear and want, being more closely beset by land, he commandeth part of his Navy to appear in the main feare, as leering their Course to *Lilybeum*, which while the Romans failed out to Encounter, he slipped himselfe into the Haven, with some ships he had for that purpose placed where they could not be discovered, and so streightened and encouraged the beleaged with his presence, and abundance of provisions which he brought. While the war was in this manner continued in *Sicilie*, *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus* *Africanus* and *C. Sempronius T. F. T. N. Blaesus* being againe *Consuls*, came and tooke charge of the Army. About this time the manner of their war was changed, not so much as ordered more closely and in

Azell.6.10

Liv. 24.14.16

508

Fasli, Ç. Şinol.

Table 1. *Continued*

Florus. 2. 2. 16

[illegible]

Frontinus

S:rar., 3.10

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First Capital

narrower bounds. The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City *Eryx* upon the Top of the Mountain, another below at the foot of the Hill. The natural strength and situation of the place, with the help of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surprize. But the boldness and Valour of *Hamilcar*, making any thing possible, which he lifted to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noisefcending thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprized the Romans unawares, and having slaine greatest part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the rest to *Drepanum*. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe, for *Hamilcar* being now in the midst of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible paynes and danger, and for almost two years next insueing performe the office of most Valiant souldiers, For the Camps being so neare there passed not a day, nay scarce an houre without alarmes and skirmishes, neither party all this while fainted or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but still they continued equall and unvanquished, deligning in the mean time to prosecute the Warre at Sea also.

Vellei. 1. 14. 8. This year a Colonie was planted at *Brundisium*, in the *Salentine* Territories, twenty years after that Countrey was subdued by the Romans. About this time *T. Cornelianus*, who was the first High Priest of the Plebeians, died in a great old age, and in his place succeeded *L. Caelius Metellus*. The next Confulls were *C. Fundanius C. F. Q. N. Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius C. F. Ser. N. Gallus*. By them the war with *Hamilcar* was managed in the same manner, and with the same fortune as before, onely the Mercenary Gauls, and others who kept Garrison in *Eryx*, being discontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavour'd to betray the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Confulls, and these were the first Forreigners the Romans ever entertained into society of Armes. Notwithstanding this access of strength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finish the War, chiefly by reason of *Hamilcar's* virtue, who could neither be circumvented by craft, nor vanquished by Force.

Once more therefore they consulted about setting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other means could the Carthaginians be kept from *Sicily*, unless they were mastered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their resolution, by reason of their former success, when the Navy was set forth at the cost of private men: But money was wanting, the Treasury being long ago exhausted with the charge of a continuall War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit feasonably relieve the wants of the Common-wealth, so generous were the Senators, that in a time of publick danger they scorned to spare their private purses, out of which on the sudden more money was raised than the building of a Navy required. Those who were richest did every man undertake to build a *Quinguereme*, setting it forth completely manned and armed; others according to their estates joynd two or three together in the same design, upon this condition, that when the Common-wealth was restored to a better Condition, every man's money should be paid back again. By this means two hundred ships of five Oares on a side were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from *Hannibal Rodius*. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their last refuge, they relied with this Navy of Necessity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While these things were in doing, *C. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius A. F. L. N. Albinus* entered the Confullship. *A. Posthumius* was then Priest of *Mars*, and therefore when he desired to call lots for his Province, *L. Metellus* the High Priest would not suffer him, pronouncing it unlawful for a Priest to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unperformed, which was likewise allowed of, and agreed upon by succeeding Generations. The Senate likewise at the same time shewed a like Example of defending their Countrey's Religion, for they forbade *C. Lutatius* the Confull to ask counsel at *Preneste*, and manage the Affaires of the Common-wealth by direction of outlandish Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (because both the Confulls could not be spared with safety of their Religion, and one seemed not sufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the *Pretors* (this being the first year wherein they began to create two) to accompany *C. Lutatius*, and it fell to the Lot of *Q. Valerius Falto*. These gathering together all the Publick and private ships to the number of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Vessels to the number of seven hundred, as soon as Winter was over, sailed to *Sicily*, whither being come, they find both the *Lilybæan* and *Drepanitan* Havens open for them; For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from *Italy*, were returned to *Africa* with all their ships. The Confull animated with this prosperous beginning, being by nature full of spirit, hating Idleness, and desirous of Action, besieged *Drepanum*, raising Workes against it, in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-souldiers, daily exercising them (as foreseeing sudden use of them in fight) in such as they who were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affaires and chances, seemed sufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

The City of *Drepanum* being fiercely assaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even to the utmost danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; It chanced that the Confulls

Confull Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; whereupon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, missed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even almost in their hands: Before the Confull had recovered the use of his foot, news was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of four hundred ships, stored with provision for their Army, with a very great strength of souldiers, and abundance of Armes and Money. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in Chief, his chiefe care was to get safe to *Eryx*, ease his ships of their burden, and so manning them with stout Souldiers from *Hamilcar*, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His design was well contrived, but prevented by the wisdom and circumspection of *C. Lutatius* the Confull, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ships were heavy laden, and encumbered with the burthen of their own provisions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ships with choice souldiers, he saileth to the Ilands *Ægates*, over against *Lilybæum*, where he discovereth *Hanno* coming from *Hieroneusius*; then encouraging his Sea-men and souldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began to doubt, because the wind was arisen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himselfe. Weighing then the Reasons on both sides, he thought it safer to fight with the winds, and *Hanno* while he was alone, and had his ships laden, then suffer him to pass by to unlade his ships, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and also *Hamilcar* himselfe, who at that time was very formidable. Observing therefore the Enemies ships as they passed by with full sail, he setteth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, causeth himselfe to be carried into the Admirall Gally, having not recovered the use of his limbe: signe of battell being given on both sides, *Q. Valerius* performed the Office of General, by reason of *C. Lutatius* his infirmity, not suffering to supply the place. The fight lasted not long before it plainly appeared on which side the Victory inclined; for the Roman ships being light and nimble, did on every side, at their pleasures assault the Carthaginians, being heavy, and almost immovable; they were likewise in every thing else superiours, being taught by experience to avoid and amend whatsoever heretofore they had found inconvenient, and harmful; Their ships were built after the best fashion, they had carefully laid aside all lumber which was of no use in fight, their Rowers were lusty, and well trained up, and they had a very considerable strength of Legionaries: All these were very great advantages toward the Victory. On the other side, the Carthaginian ships were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leaved, and their men negligent, as being in security; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it must needs be, where the difference is so great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians lost an hundred and twenty ships, seventy whereof were taken, with all the men, to the number of ten thousand, the rest upon an happy change of winde in the time of fight, escaped to *Hieroneusius*. This was that famous battell at the Ilands *Ægates*, as it is chiefly described by *Polybius*.

For other writers affirm, that seventy three ships were taken, an hundred and twenty five sunke, two and thirty thousand men taken prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain, the Prizes taken were very great, not only in Provisions and Armes, but in gold and silver also. Of the Roman Navy twelve ships were lost. 'Tis reported that from the beginning of the fight a fiery meteor was seen in the aire, threatening as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed against it, prefiguring the event which presently ensued. *Hanno*, with the rest of the ships which escaped out of the fight, except those which fled to *Lilybæum*, returning to *Carthage*, was put to death for this his Misfortune. *C. Lutatius* the Confull went to the Army before *Lilybæum*, where, while his wound was in curing, he spent his time in taking an account of the ships, and Captives, and ordering how they should be dismissed. Thence he went to *Eryx*, where he fought *Hamilcar* with good success, having slain two thousand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home understanding what a great Overthrow they had received, though their spirits were great, yet found that they wanted strength and meanes, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, so long as the Romans were Masters at sea, to supply their Army at *Eryx* with necessary accommodations; and, if that Army miscarried, they knew not where to raise any more souldiers, or find a Generally they durst confide in. Being by this Necessity driven into despair, they sent to *Hamilcar*, empowering him with full Commission to do what he himself should think fit or convenient for the Republick: He having hitherto performed the Office of an excellent General, did now no less behave himselfe as a good Citizen. For having duly and seriously considered all arguments on both sides, when he found there was no other means but Peace, whereby to preserve the Common-wealth; he sent Embassadors to the Confull to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not unweelcome to the Confull, for being now shortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any means hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that, of having finished the War; and to transmit that to his successeur which was in his own power to accomplish, and most properly belonged to him, he thought both unseafable and unadvised: He was the more forward, as being very well conscious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Countrey, after so many years continuall labour, should enjoy some rest. Wherefore after a long dispute of Articles on both sides, it was agreed, that the Carthaginians should totally depart *Sicily*; that they should not wage war against *Hierro*, and the *Syracusans*, or any of their

Orfius 4. 10

Eutropius Florus 2. 14.

Polyb. 1. 60

Livie 22. 14, 15

Eutropius Florus 2. 14.

Liv. Polybini.

Eutropius

Val. Max. 1. 8. 2

Florus

Polyb. 1. 61.

Florus

Polyb.

Diodorus 24

Eutropius

Orfius 4. 10.

Eutrop.

Zonaras.

Orfius

Zonaras.

Orfius

Polyb.

Cornel. Nepos

Hamilcar. 1. 3.

Polyb.

Cornel. Nepos.

Zonaras.

Polyb.

Appianus apud Fulvium Hifp. num. Polyb. 8. 27 & 29
Associates; that they should forthwith without ranfome restore all Captives, and deliver up all Runagades; that they should in the fpace of twenty years, by equal portions, pay twothoufand two hundred Euboican Talents of pure filver: That the confederates of each party might live fecure and unmolefted; That neither party fhould exerceife any command, or make any public building, or raife any fouldiers within the others jurisdiction, nor admit the others affociates into friendfhip and confederacy. 'Twas added, that thefe Articles were firmly concluded, if the people of Rome would agree thereto.

*Livie 2. 1. 41. 6
 Zon. 8. 63
 Polyb. 1. 63
 Zon. 1. 16
 Polyb. 8. 27
 Appian. Hifp. 1. 12*

But it could by no means be obtained (though the Conful earneftly infifted upon it) that the fouldiers within *Eryx* fhould refign up their Armes; *Hamilcar* protefting, *That he would rather fufcife himfelf and his country to deftruction, then yield to fuch a difgrace: Nevertheleffe he confcended, That every man at his departure thence fhould pay eighteen pence.* Hereupon meffengers were fent both by the Conful and the Carthaginians to inform the Senate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace, but fent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumftances, who being returned, they heightened the Conditions, *That the Carthaginians fhould prefently lay down a thoufand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thoufand two hundred, that they fhould clearly quit not only Sicily, but all other Ilands between that and Italy, that they fhould not fail in a long fhip either into Italy or any of the Romans Ilands, nor hire any fouldier from thence.*

*Livie 2. 1. 41. 6
 Zon. 8. 63
 Polyb. 1. 63
 Zon. 1. 16
 Polyb. 8. 27*

The Carthaginians, fo they might have peace, refufed nothing; *Hamilcar*, before the Articles were fworn unto, laid down his Command and went to *Lilybeam*, and from thence to *Carthage*, having approved himfelf, without comparifon, the moft excellent of all their Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counfel. After this manner was managed and finifhed the firft Carthaginian War, which lafted for four and twenty years with various chances and great loffes, but to the greater damage of them who at laft proved Victors. For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian fhips to have been loft, and feven hundred of the Romans, which is a great argument of the Romans Contancy and Refolution, that, not regarding to many loffes by fight, or fhipwracks fufained, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy, the frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pains, and the poverty of their Treafury.

*512
 Eufeb. Capit. 1. 66
 Zonaras 1. 64*

After this the Government of *C. Lutatius* the Conful was prorogued, that he might fettle affairs in *Sicily*; thither likewife was fent his brother one of the new Confuls, *Q. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco*, whose Colleague was *A. Manlius T. F. T. N.* Thefe did by their wifdom order the Province, and fetled all things in peace and quiet, defiding all controverfies and taking away all caufes of quarrels and tumults, which after fo great motions and alterations were unavoidably remaining. They difarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to *Hamilcar*, as likewife the *Gauls* who had revolted from him, furthermore the *Gauls* were commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire, becaufe, befides other offences, when they were in the Garrifon on the top of Mount *Eryx*, they plundered the Temple of *Venus*. The Sicilian Cities according to their feveral abilities were forced to pay Tribute and Cuftom; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was fent to command and govern yearly.

*Polyb. 2. 7
 Appian*

Eutropius b. 2

*Orosius 4. 10
 Aufon de Civ. Del. 18*

In the mean time Embaffadours came from *Carthage* to intreat, *They might redeem their Captives*, and by Order from the Senate they were all refored without Ranfome, as many as were in Publick cuftody; they who were prifoners to private men were redeemed at a certain rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treafury. But unlucky accidents at home did much diminifh the joy of the Roman people. The River *Tiber* did this year flow higher then ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the firft force thereof wafhed to the ground, and others, having their foundation rotted (for the Iundation continued many days) after the fall of the water, did much decay.

*Val. Max. 1. 4. 4
 Orosius*

*Val. Max. 1. 4. 4
 Livie 2. 1. 41. 6
 Aufon 1. 19
 Dionyfius 1. 67
 Orosius
 Plinius 7. 43*

After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which fuddenly beginning in the night time, and running through many ftreets of the City, deftroyed an incredible multitude of houfes and men; and, not content with private harmes, confumed all the buildings in the whole Circumference of the Forum. At length it feized upon the Temple of *Vefta*; but then *L. Cecilius* the Chief Prieft, feeing the *Holy things* and fecret Pledges of the Roman Empire to be in danger, behaved himfelf worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midft of the fire without any care of himfelf, fo he might but refcue the *Holy things* which the Virgins had forfaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himfelf having his Arme half burnt and his Eye-fight fpoiled, befide the comfort he received from his good act, was eminently rewarded by the people of *Rome*, who Deereed, That as often as he went to the Senate he fhould be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never granted to any man before.

In the mean time *Q. Lutatius* the Conful, with his brother *Catulus* and *Q. Valerius* the Propurator, having fetled affairs in *Sicily* returned home to the City and made each of them

them their Triumph; *C. Lutatius Catulus* on the fourth of the Nones of *October*, and *Q. Valerius* on the day before the Nones of the fame month. There was a memorable ftirre between thefe two concerning the Triumph of *Valerius*; for *Lutatius* his Triumph being without difpute agreed upon, *Q. Valerius* contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory desired the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. *Catulus* on the other fide alledged, That the leffer authority fhould not be equalized with the greater in the diftribution of honours.

The queftion being hotly argued, *Q. Valerius* challenged *Catulus* to ftand to arbitration, Whether or no the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduft? *Catulus* refufed not to anfwer him; whereupon *Atilius Calatinus* was chofen Arbitrator, who asked *Valerius*, Whether the Conful's authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in cafe they had differed in their confultation about fighting? and in cafe their *Anguries* had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed? To which when *Valerius* answered, That in both cafes the Conful's authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretor's; *Calatinus* not expecting till *Catulus* fpake, paffed fentence on his fide. But *Q. Valerius*, though he was call by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year *C. Anclius Cotta*, and *M. Fabius Buteo* being Cenfors, made the ninth and thirtieth Luftration. There were numbered two hundred and threefcore thoufand Citizens, two Tribes being fupraddeed, the one called *Felina* the other *Quirina*, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and fo continued. *Sicily* being now wholly fubdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things feemed not only quiet but very fafe and fecure; when behold a fudden war, arifing from whence it was leaft feared, did for a few days atonifh all *Italy* both with the terror and fear of an Intellunc broil, as likewife with wonder at the fpeedy difpatch and ifue of it.

The *Falifci*, I know not upon what account, grew fo mad as to rife up in arms againft the Romans; but the Confuls being fent with the Legions quelled them within fix days, and reduced them to fubjection. In the former battel, for 'tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their foot prevailed though their horfe were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans fide complete, caufed the *Falifci* to humble themfelves and beg peace, having loft fifteen thoufand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the loffe of their arms, horfe, houfhold-ftuff, fervants and half their Territories. Their City in whole ftrengh they confided was tranflated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of *Rome* were meditating a more fevere revenge, out of anger againft a City which had fo often rebelled, but reftraining their wrath by the advice of *Papirius* (who had written the form of fubmiffion by the Confuls own command) That the *Falifci* fubmitted not to the Power but the Faith of the Romans: And fo much did the facred name of Publick Faith prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party to no feever punifhment then was agreed upon. This war gave occafion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Confuls; *Q. Lutatius* Triumphed on the Calends of *March* over the *Falifci*, *A. Manlius* the fourth of the Nones of *March*.

Eufeb. Capit. 1. 66



BOOK X.



Anno 513.
Agel. 17.2.
Liv. 7.2.6.
Cic. Brut.
C. 18. 67. Cato
14. 67. Tull. 1.3
Cassiod. Cron.
Vellut. 1.14.8
Elin. 1.8.29
Ovid. Fast. 5.

ling. Varro de
Lud. Catine.

Ovidius
Tut. 1.2.49. 1.

Luc. Epit. 10
Tut. 1.14.8.

514.
Fasti Capitolini
Mac. Varro
apud Cicero.
Bruto. 1.8.
Livie Epit. 10
Orosius. 4.11.

Zonaras

Sirius Capito
et al. F. 11. 11.
vires. Ital. ve-
nules.

Italy being now once more at Peace within it selfe, their Publick Pleasures, and Delights did likewise encrease with their Power and security. When the Roman Games were exhibited, C. Claudius A. P. F. C. N. Crispus, and M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tullianus being Consuls, L. Livius Andronicus, in imitation of the Grecian Comedies and Tragedies, reduced the Stage Plays, which heretofore were only Satyrs into Fables, and feigned representations. The same year likewise gave beginning to another sort of sports. On the fourth of the Calends of May, the Floralia were instituted out of the *Spyllis* books, to avert the blasting of fruits and plants then springing forth. L. and M. Publicius Malleolus, Brothers and *Adiles* of the People did exhibit publick shews out of the Fines raised from Herdsmen who had fed their Cattel on Commons. The Magistracy of these Brethren was in another respect very memorable, in that they caused that Clift (which from them received the name of *Publicius*) to be made plain and even, for the more commodious passage of Carriages into Mount *Aventine*, whereas before the Rock in that place was craggie and almost impassable. They likewise built the Temple of *Flora* in the great thew place.

These things were acted at home, while all things were quiet abroad, onely there was a suspicion that the Gauls and Ligurians had a designe for War. That these Provinces therefore were assigned to the Consuls, and war was then commenced with the Gauls, is rather a Conjecture, then a true History, there being no ancient writer extant which accurately describes those things; This one thing is Certain, that a Latine Colonie was planted at *Spolegium* in *Umbria*. The next year also 'tis easier to say, there was no Peace because the Temple of *Janus* was not shut, then to declare where or with what successe the war was managed. And the Consulship of Q. Mamilius Q. F. Q. N. and Q. Valerius Q. F. P. N. is hardly known by any other passage then that *Ennius* the first Elegant Roman Poet was that year borne. But the year after, when *Ti. Sempronius* T. F. C. N. Gracchus and P. Valerius Q. F. P. N. Falso were Consuls, the Gallick wars brake out again, and the Ligurians a new Enemy, were then first invaded by a Roman Army. This Province fell to the lot of T. Sempronius. P. Valerius encountered by the Gauls, at the first with ill successe, having lost three thousand five hundred men: But, entering fight again he obtained a signall Victory, wherein fourteen thousand Gauls were slain, and two thousand taken. But, by reason of the loss sustained in the former battell, the Consul was denied the honor of Triumph, especially seeing his prosperous fight was rather to be attributed to the Fortune of the Common-wealth, then to his wise management of the business. For after the first fight, understanding that assistance was coming to him from *Rome*, he said, he had rather perish with all his Army, then obtain Victory by the helpe of others; and in this fury he cast himselfe and the Roman Army into the hazard of a battell. T. Gracchus had better and more happy successe, for having overthrowen the Enemy in a set battell, he depopulated great part of *Liguria*: From thence he crossed over into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and bringing back a vast multitude of Captives, gave occasion to that proverb of *Sardinia Venales*, whereby is signified any thing that is plentifull, and at an underrate to be sold.

But

But to confesse the truth, the Romans had at this time rather a good opportunity, then a just cause of possessing *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. The Carthaginians after the *Sicilian* Peace, were involved in a very troublesome war with their Mercenaries, and reduced even to the utmost extremity; whereupon other their Hirelings, who were in a Garrison in *Sardinia*, flew to the Villany, they inveigled his Army into a society of Rebellion, and apprehending him, nailed him to the Crose, and having flung all the Carthaginians, they had possessed almost all the strong holds throughout the Island, till upon a falling out between them and the Sardinians, they were expelled the land, and betook themselves into *Italy*. Then did they accomplish that which they while they were in *Sardinia* they could not, for at that time they had invited the Romans to the Dominion of that Island: But being now present either by the importunity of their Entreaties, or by plainly demonstrating what an occasion was offered of encreasing the Roman Power, they prevailed with them to sail over into *Sardinia*. For it is a virtue of no ordinary train, to ambitious men well or long dissemble their greedy desires: But 'twill not be amiss for the better understanding of this business, to relate some foregoing circumstances. The Romans, that they might gain the Reputation of Humanity, did in the beginning of this Warre, very much favour the Carthaginian cause. And, though they sent them no assistance as was desired, yet they refused to entertain the Uticans, or any others who revolted to them: They commanded their Merchants out of *Sicily* and *Italy* to accommodate the Carthaginians with all necessary Provisions, prohibiting all traffick with their Enemies, and gave licence of hiring men out of *Italy* for this war. They sent likewise Embassadors, though in vaine, to compose the strife: A little before there arose a controversy, because the Carthaginians had taken some *Italian* Merchants conveying Commodities to the Enemy, and secured them in publick Prisons, and they had now five hundred of them in chains, and having slain not a few, had cast them into the sea to prevent the discovery of the thing; whereupon the Romans declared themselves agrieved, and began to threaten War: But the Carthaginians restoring those whom they had in custody, so pacified the Romans, that they in answer sent back without Ransom all other Prisoners taken in the *Sicilian* war. Yet at length Ambition prevailed, with a desire to crush that People, with whom they had for four and twenty yeares together waged war with various successe, and foretold, that unless in time they prevented it, they must be forced to fight again. Wherefore when the Carthaginians, (having against their wills lost *Sardinia*, and now finished their war with the Mercenaries) mediation, and decreed, that War should be proclaimed against *Carthage*, unless they laid down their Arms, which they had taken up, seemingly against their Rebels, but indeed and really against the Romans. Whereupon the Carthaginians unwilling in an unreasonable time to undertake so great a War, did not only quit *Sardinia*, but upon the Romans demand, added likewise twelve hundred Talents of silver, to their former fine. This injury did most of all incense the minds of the Carthaginians, and is thought to be the only cause of that war which was soon after commenced, and prosecuted by *Hannibal*. For *Hannibal*'s constant Hatred of Romans (to which the second Punic war is chiefly imputed) was not by any other means more hotly exasperated, or strongly fomented. But these things happened afterwards.

In the mean time L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Claudius, and Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus being made Consuls had Gaul on this side the Po for their Province. That a Colonie was this year planted at *Valentia*, though many affirm it is no constant and general opinion, unless there be another *Valentia* besides *Vibo*, which Authors of better credit affirm to have been peopled fifty yeares after in the Consulship of Quintus Flaminius and Cn. Domitius Anobarburtion, but after they had divided their Legions out of greedinesse to waste more places, the Camp of M. Fulvius was in the night time assaulted and very hardly defended. The Gauls departing augmented. For the prime men of the *Bui* taking counsel secretly together, raised a vast power of Transalpinians against the Romans. In the mean time L. Lentulus the Consul, who had marched with his Army into the Ligurian Territories, obtained there a great victory. It was Some Authors report, That these Consuls were the first who led the Roman Army over the *Entrepis* Ligurians and Insubrian Gauls. But I rather believe, that the Po was crossed over and the Insubrians first encountered in their own Country in the next Gallick commotion. About this time Embassadors were sent to Ptolemie King of *Egypt* to profer him assistance in his wars against Antiochus and the Syrians; The King returned thanks, telling them withall, That he had no need of assistance inasmuch as the quarrel was compounded. After this *Hiero* came them to do, being a confederate Prince, having deserved much of them, and a companion of their greatest Victory. He bestowed on the people of *Rome* two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; he came to behold the sports which were prepared against next year.

For according to some Authors the secular sports were celebrated in the Consulship of P. Cornelius

Polib. 1.2.

Polib. 1.23.

Polib. 1.82.

Zonaras

Polibius. 1.23

Correl. Nepi.

Hannibal.

Asiatic. apud

Polib. 1.82.

Asiatic. apud

Zonaras

Polibius.

Polibius.

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Fasti Capitolini 417. **Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** and **C. Licinius P. F. P. N.** The Masters of the Revells were **M. Emilius M. F. & M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator**. In the mean time the Boian Princes, confiding in the multitude of Auxiliaries they had from beyond the Alps, sent to the Consuls demanding, *That Ariminum with its Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be returned them, otherwise a terrible and Desolative War would ensue.* The Consuls, having not drawn their forces together, durst not hazard those few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they consent unto the Gauls their demand, they answered therefore, *They should send Embassadors to the Senate, to signify their minds.* The Gauls accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for some days, while the Embassadors could go and return again. The Embassadors at Rome received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no noise, in asmuch as Fortune without the expence of Roman blood put an end to it? While the Embassadors returned, the Boians fought a set Battel with their *Transalpine* Auxiliaries, upon this Occasion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people, had marched as far as *Ariminum*, whence a suspicion arose, that their maine Errand was to possess that Territory themselves; the Boians therefore were so enraged, that having slain their Kings *Ater* and *Galatus* as Traitors, they endeavoured by force to expell these strangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battel was fought with much slaughter, and both sides being thereby much weakened; the *Transalpines* returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being so quickly dispatched, the Consuls went into *Liguria*: where **P. Lentulus**, having in a set Battel Overthrown the Enemy, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Castles, some by storme, some by composition. **C. Licinius** intending to saile over into *Corfica*, not having boats enough to transport his whole Army, sent **M. Claudius Glycias** before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he saw that the Corsicans were terrified at his coming, without any respect to the Consul by whose direction he was sent, or consideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himselfe the Glory of having reduced that Island. But the Consul following with the Residue of the Army, forbore not to prosecute them with armes (notwithstanding they alledged in their own behalfe the Claudian Peace) till he brought them into subjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputacion of Breach of Faith, ordered *Glycias* the Authour of that dishonourable peace, to be delivered up into the hands of the Corsicans; and they refusing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Consuls **L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** & **Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco**, who made no Lullation because *Cerco* died in his Cent-fourth. For all *Claudius* was delivered up to the Corsicans, and then executed as a Malefactor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be perswaded that the Roman war afterward was juſt against them. Their minds therefore being agrieved with the memory hereof were easily tempted to break out in armes in imitation of their neighbour Island *Sardinia*. For the Carthaginians by secret promises had incited the Sardinians to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Masters, nor loving their new ones.

This news being brought to Rome, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded *Sardinia*, but because they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which because they believed the sooner it was begun would prove the easier; (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themselves since the last war) they resolved to prepare themselves, and commence it as soon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to endure any thing rather than a Roman war, were hereupon so terrified, that having once and again sent Embassadors in vaine, they did at length fend ten of their Prime Nobility, most humbly entreating, *That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained.* Nevertheless they could not receive any mild Answer, till *Hanno* the youngest among the Embassadors, but of an undaunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, *If you are preposterously determined to deny us that Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at least restore us our price we gave you, Sicily and Sardinia: In private contrails 'tis no honest man's part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them.* Then the Romans, being ashamed to seeme the Authors of an unjust war, diffinied the Embassadors with a better Answer. So one of this yeares Consuls **C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bullus** (now the second time Consul) remained in *Italy*, the other, **T. Manlius. T. F. T. N.** went according to his lot into *Sardinia*. He, in many places encountering the Enemy with good success, appeald the whole Island, subdued the Sardinians, and triumphed over them the sixth of the Ides of March.

These things being accomplished, and the Roman Armes laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of *Janus* was shut; an unusual sight in Rome, and not seen after the dayes of *Numa*, for the space of about four hundred and forty yeares. In which respect I account the City of Rome very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wife man waight war but to procure Peace, this City after so many and great warres happily finished, sometimes could not obtain: but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few monthes, were heard of

of, which bereaved them of the sweetnes of that Peace, which they had scarce well tasted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been subdued, shake off the yoke, and the Corsicans brake out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raised Tumults, even in *Italy* it selfe. Therefore **L. Posthumus A. F. A. N. Albinus** and **Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C. N. Maximus** being Consuls had order to leavy new Armies, which being disposed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping one the other, **L. Posthumus** assailed the Ligurians, **Sp. Carvilius** the Corsicans, and **P. Cornelius** was designed for *Sardinia*. This Island being of a very unwholsome aire afflicted his Army with the Plague and other diseases, whereby many mortals with the Pretor also himselfe perished. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were soon quelled after the arrival of **Sp. Carvilius** in a great set battel; the Corsicans were likewise subdued by him. For which exploits it was decreed he should Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April. In *Liguria* likewise affairs succeeded well by the management of the other Consul with his Army. At *Rome* *Tutia* one of the Veltal Virgins being condemned of Incest which she had safely committed with a slave, flew her self with her own hands. After this **C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bullus**, **A. Posthumus A. F. L. N. Albinus** being Censors, made the fortieth Lullation. 'Tis probable the number of Citizens was this year lesse then heretofore (though I find not the number recorded) because the Censor, in order to the encrease of Citizens, compelled every man to swear, *That he would marry for the Procreation of children.* This year **Cn. Nevius** a Campanian who had received pay in the Carthaginian war, did first add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean time the Ligurians and Sardinians againe rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Consuls, **Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verrucosus** managed the Ligurian War, **M. Pomponius C. F. M. N. Matto** the Sardinian; whereas it was reported, *That the Carthaginians were the cause of this commotion, by private messengers stirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion:* There were Embassadors sent to Carthage with very harsh instructions, *To require the tribute due, to command them to abstain from all lands under the Roman jurisdiction, adding threats of war unless they performed what was required at their hands.*

The Carthaginians had now since their former calamities gathered strength and courage, chiefly by the industry of *Hamilcar*, who did not only reduce those who had revolted in *Africa*, but had further extended the Empire: They had likewise by his conduct acquired great Dominions in *Spain*. Wherefore they answered the Embassadors roughly enough to all particulars; but when they, according to their instructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a Caduceus, offering them their choice of which they pleased, they answered, *That they would chuse neither, but would accept of which sever the Legates should think fit to leave behind.* Hereafterward a cruel hatred began to burn between these two people, but neither party being willing as yet to commence the war, they continued in a shew of friendship, rather because they did not fight, then that the peace was firm.

Both the Consuls, returning to Rome and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. **Q. Fabius** had slain many Ligurians in battel, and had compelled the rest to contain themselves upon the Alps, and made the skirts of *Italy* secure from their plundrings. He triumphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ides of March afterward **M. Pomponius** Triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcome. Nevertheless the Sardinians did not abstain from War, but being by their losses rather incensed then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater strength. Therefore both the Consuls, **M. Aemilius M. F. M. N. Lepidus** and **M. Pellicius L. F. L. N. Maltolus** were sent into *Sardinia*: they gathered together great store of plunder and spoil in that Island, which when they carried over with them into *Corfica* they utterly lost, the Islanders there taking it from them. At home likewise there were very vehement tumults at this time, for **C. Flaminius** Tribune of the people *proponing an Agrarian Law, That the Pient and Gallick grounds which belonged to the Seniores should be equally divided amongst the people.* The Senate opposed it, and not being able to persuade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magistrates to raise an Army for defence of the Commonwealth; *Flaminius* could not yet be drawn from his resolution, obtinate against all force, and inexorably by intreaties. His father likewise admonished him, *To submit himselfe to the will of the Senate, and not be esteemed an author of sedition.* But he still persisting in his design, called an Assembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father *Flaminius* in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his son by the hand pulled him away.

A wonderful Example was there shewn with what Piety and Reverence all men held esteem of the power of a Father: For he who had contemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of work, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Constitution of Law would have been most acceptable, suffered himself by the hand of one only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modesty of the Assembly in this business is not to be forgotten, who though they saw all their hopes frustrated by the Tribunes departure, did not by the least murmure signify their discontent at his fathers action. But the Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. *C. Carvilius* the other Tribune assisting his Colleague, which as it caused corruption of manners among the Commons, so it gave beginning to that most grievous Gallick war which brake out the eighth year after the division of the grounds.

Appian
Illyr.
Polyb. 2.4.
Livie 22.33.
Polybius.
Polyb. 2.8.

lick injury from the citizens; and that he was not to be
his private persons from making what gain they could by sea. *Corneilius* the younger could
not refrain his anger at this arrogant speech but using an unseasonable liberty, though not u
just, replied, *But 'is a custom with the Romans, Teuta, to prosecute private wrongs with pu*

her vain opinion was confirmed by the actions of the Consuls, who having committed to Government of *Demetrius* the greater part of the Country they had taken, retired to *Trachium* with the Navy and Army. But when she saw that *L. Posthumius* stayed behind forty ships, and leaved an Army out of the Neighbour Cities to protect the *Arduennes*

and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then *Tenua* began utterly to despair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatsoever. At the beginning of the Spring therefore she sent Embassadors to *Rome*, excusing what was past as being done by the Command of *Agron* whose Acts it was necessary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of admitting affairs, neither had deserved any favour at that tribute, but to *Pinnus* the son of *Agron*, on these conditions, That he should duly pay what tribute was imposed on him, that he should quit all Illyrium, some few places excepted, that he should not sail beyond *Lissus* with above two Boats, and those unarmed. By this peace *Corycia*, should not fall beyond *Lissus* with above two Boats, and those unarmed. By this peace *Corycia*, *Pharnis*, *Ipsa*, *Dyrachium* and the *Asintanes* became wholly the Romans; what else was under *Agron* his jurisdiction being left to *Pinnus*. *Tenua* either for shame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which *Demetrius* undertook under the name of Protector.

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to *Greece*; the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to rise up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily encrease in *Spain*, which could not be established without great danger to the Romans. *Hadrubal* the Son-in-law and successor of *Hamilcar*, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Arms, but more frequently by his Wisdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthaginian subjection; and built another Carriage called the *Næv*, in a gulf of the sea by a most commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearer concernment, hindered for the present their designs against the Carthaginians: They sent likewise Embassadors to stop the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They sent likewise Embassadors to *Carthage* and to *Hadrubal*, warning them, To contain themselves beyond the River *Iberus*; and permit the *Saguntines* to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Laws. These things happened in the year when *Sp. Carvilius Sp.F. Cn.N. Calpurnius* Proconsul, who *Maximus Verrucosus* were again Consuls. About the same time *L. Posthumius* Proconsul, who wintered in *Illyrium*, sent Embassadors from *Corycia* to the *Ecotians* and *Achaïans*, declaring what he had done, For what causes the war was undertaken, with what success managed, and upon what conditions finished. They were kindly entertained forasmuch as those Nations and all the other Grecians did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reason of the continual Pyracies exercised by them under *Agron* and *Tenua*.

The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconsul had done, and moreover decreed another Embassie in the name of the Commonwealth, to the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*, declaring, The people of *Rome* give aid affection toward them, and their equity toward all men. Hereby the Romans purchased great good will amongst those people, and the *Corinthians* forthwith decreed this honour to the people of *Rome*, That they should be Partners in the *Isthmian Games*, which was one of the four greatest Solemnities in *Greece*. They were chiefly moved hereunto because the Romans had set at liberty, as *Apollonia* and other Grecian Cities, so *Corycia* likewise, which was a Colonie of the *Corinthians*; the *Athenians* also embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, They should have the liberty of the City of *Athens*, and of the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. In the mean time *Cn. Fulvius* Proconsul made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of *Quintilis*, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the first Triumph over the Illyrians.

The next year *P. Valerius L.F. M.N. Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius M.F. M.N. Regulus* being Consuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might fend some with command into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Amongst these *M. Valerius* was very great Pretor of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, *C. Flaminius* of *Sicily*. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for 'twas reported that the Boians and Insubrians consulted not only one with the other, but with the *Transalpine* people, and had hired a great strength of Mercenaries of the *Gelatæ* a people of *Gallia*. They used therefore not only ordinary remedies against this evil, but such as a severe judge would by no means excuse, but that the love of ones Country makes some things pardonable which in themselves are horrid. For when besides other prodigies they were terrified with) they found in the Sybills books, That the Gauls and Grecians should one day possess the City of *Rome*; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Priests, they buried alive two Gauls, of each sex one, and likewise two Grecians a man and a woman, in the beef-market, that so they possessing part of the City, might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when *M. Valerius M.F. M.N.* might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This year, amongst other no considerable occurrences, was most of it spent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raised a most incredible number both of horse and foot, toward this war all *Italy* in general joyning with the Romans. *Q. Fabius* the Historian, who was present at the translation of these affairs, reports, There were in arms eight hundred thousand men. That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thousand and two hundred footmen, and six and twenty thousand and six hundred horsemen. All the other multitude were Italians. The *Veneti* also and *Cenomanni* afforded the Romans the help of twenty thousand men, who by frequent alarms and incurious might compel the neighbouring Boians to tarry to the defence of their own Country, and not join themselves with the other forces of the

the Enemy, because they refused to hearken to Terms of Peace which the Romans propounded. For the *Veneti* and *Cenomanni* being persuaded to renew friendship with *Rome*, the Insubrians straggled, and Boians perfilled in Hostility; nevertheless their strength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men: but being forced to leave some at home to defend their Countries, with the rest (to wit, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse) they began their march through *Etruria* towards *Rome*.

In the mean time *L. Atilius*, *Q. F. Cn. N. Papus*, and *C. Atilius M. F. M.N.* had *Sardinia* and *Ariminum*, with the adjoining Gauls for their Provinces. For the *Sardinians* being aggrieved at the perpetual presence of a Pretor, with his Virges and signes of Authority, did again move Tumults; but *C. Atilius* the Consul soon quieted them without any great difficulty. *L. Atilius* had more to do with the Gauls, having broken through *Etruria*, and marching into *Rome*. The Pretor of *Etruria* being not able to hinder their passage, overtook them at *Clusium*, and late in the Evening planted his Camp not farre from them. The Gauls invenomed with all their Foot to *Fesula*, leaving the Horse behind with instruction at break of day only should be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewise they would on the sudden charge the Romans unawares.

The Romans were hereby deceived, and pursued the horse as if they had fled, and about *Fesula* were received by the Enemy, fresh and ready prepared, being themselves weary and void of Council, as in an occurrence not foreseen by them: Their only course was either by fight to defend themselves, or to sell their bloods at a dear rate: But the Gauls exceeding in number, besides other advantages, flow of the Romans six thousand upon the place, and put the rest to flight. The Gauls endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whether the greatest part of them which fled had betaken themselves) finding their strength to faile with their last nights march, the dayes fight, retired to cure and refresh their bodies, leaving a party of horse to besiege the hillcock, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or compulsion. In this very nick of time came *L. Atilius*, rather to be wished for, then upon any reasonable ground expected. For upon the first newes of the Gauls setting forward, he was sent to *Ariminum*, to defend the Coasts upon the *Adriatick* shore, but hearing their intention was to march to *Rome*, he marched by very great journeys from *Ariminum*, and by good luck came to this night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the Roman Army was come. Sent out some understanding the state of Affairs, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day set forward with his horse to the Hillcock, giving order to the Tribunes to follow him with the Legions. The Gauls likewise were informed by the time fires, that the Romans were come, and entered into counsell concerning the present affairs. King *Anacrusus* advised, that they should not encounter the Enemy, now their soldiers were laden with rich spoils, but to return home, and lay aside their plunder, and then, if occasion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble. Every one approving the counsell, they departed before night, taking their journey through *Etruria*, by the sea side. *L. Atilius* having taken in those who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a set battell, but resolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time should afford.

In this conjuncture of Affaires fortune once more dispensed an unexpected accident. The other Consul *C. Atilius* arriving at *Pise* from *Sardinia*, and there landing his Army, marched toward *Rome*, along the very same *Etrurian* shore where the Gauls were returning. Near *Telamon* a Port of *Etruria*, the Scouts of each Army first met one the other, and the Consul, by some Prisoners who were brought to him, understanding of the Gauls march, and his Colleagues following them, wondered at so unseasonable a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy cooped up between two Confular Armies, gave order to the Colonells, To array the Army as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiment in a square body, and a low Gauls must of necessity pass, set forward with a Party of horse to prepossess it. For he made believed by his Colleague, if his undertaking succeeded, to carry away the chief Glory of the Victory. The Gauls seeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horse, sent round about in the night time by *Atilius*, sent out likewise some of their own horse, with the assistance of some light armed men, to open the passage. But being informed that the other Consul was come, he was forced to array and marshal his foot, with their faces each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joined one to the other: For they saw *C. Atilius* before them, and well knew that *L. Atilius* followed them behind. Against *L. Atilius* they placed the *Transalpine* Mercenaries, in the front (who from their weapons are denominated *Gelatæ*) behind these, for a reserve, were the Insubrians. Against *Atilius* were opposed the *Tauriscans* and Boians. The Waggon and Carts were placed as a rampire about each Wing: all their plunder, with a sufficient guard, was laid aside upon a neighbouring hill.

hill. The fight was now begun at that hill which *C. Attilius* had possessed, whereby *L. Amilius* conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whose journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at *Pisa*. Taking Counsel therefore on a sudden he commandeth some of his own horse to ride to the place of fight. There the horse on both sides had a very hot encounter wherein *C. Attilius* the Consul was slain, and his head carried to the Gallick Kings: At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulsed the enemy. The Horse-fight being thus managed, the Foot charged each the other. There was to be seen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & strength of both parties, so for the strange ordering of the Battle; for the Gauls being included between two Roman Armies turned their faces on each side to battle; it being very doubtful whether this posture was a greater advantage to them, it that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear secure, and were of necessity compelled to stand to it having no way to flee, or that it was a greater disadvantage to be hemmed in by two Confular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aspect of the men who stood in the front, with stern countenances and vast bodies; partly encouraged not only with the sweetness of praise, but of plunder also, for among the former ranks of the Gauls there was not a man, but glistered with golden bracelets and arme strings.

The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great slaughter of the Enemy, especially where the *Gælatæ* stood, who in a barbarous ostentation had flung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the gallick shields being long and narrow not able to cover the whole body, they stood like so many marks exposed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to strike the enemy, nor to come to pel-mel with light armed men. Wherefore growing desperate some running rashly upon the enemy were killed with darts before they could come to handy-brooks, others by degrees retiring backward disordered their own Battle. The *Gælatæ* being thus vanquished by the light-armed men, the compleat armed did on every side charge the Boians, Infubrians, and Tauricans and slew a great number, nevertheless the enemy stood with resolute minds, being in nothing inferior but in their weapons; for neither did their shields defend their bodies, neither did their swords much offend the Romans, for being made only to hacke and hew they had no good points; they were likewise made crooked at the first blow, and unfit for a second, unless they be straightened againe by your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were assured of the victory by the returne of the horse, who, having put the Gallick horse to flight, riding down the hill made an impression upon the flank of the enemy, so much the more irresistible as coming from the higher ground. After this manner *Polybius* describeth the Battle of the Gauls in *Etruria*, from whence others with little reason do dissent. For who can easily beleive, that the Gauls were compelled by a tempest to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that *C. Attilius* setting upon their Rear was slain? That afterward, each party for some days kept within their defences, *L. Amilius* fought happily with them? neither are they any more to be credited, who relate the Battle as fought, not on the sea Coasts, but, in the Aretine Territories. There is no question made but that fourty thousand Gauls were then slain, little lesse than ten thousand taken, with *Consulatus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anserius* who then was of great reputation for power and courage, escaping with a small company, in his flight cut the throats of all his Kindred and his own also. There was great plunder found, which the Consul caused to be redressed to those from whom it was at first taken, every master owning his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of *Attilius*, through *Liguria* into the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his souldiers as a reward of their pains taken, and they in a few days being sufficiently laden with spoils, he returned to *Rome*, to the greater joy of all, because the war was formidable. Scarce any mans Triumph was ever so much celebrated with acclamations of the people; being otherwise of it fell very gallant and memorable as for the glory of his noble performances, so for the number of the Captives and the worth of the spoils. There were many military Ensignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongst the Gauls. But all mens eyes were chiefly intended upon *Britomarus* and the other Gallick Princes, whom *Amilius* by way of scoff led girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he tooke care they should fulfill the vow they had made, *Never to unloose their girdles or Belts, till they had ascended the Capitol*. *L. Amilius* made this Triumph over the Gauls on the third of the Nones of march. This year was made the one and fortieth Lustration by the Censors, *Q. Claudius Ap. F. C. N. Censor* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera*. The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the desire of revenge remained, and both the next years Consuls had *Gallia* for their Province; the Consuls were *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* again. The people cheerfully decreed them Armies and whatsoever accommodation belongeth to the Commencing or prosecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after so great a victory, they might easily drive away the Gauls from about the *Po* if they minded their business. The Consuls being gone with their Armies presently terrified the Boians into submission; their expedition afterwards was not their Armies presently terrified the Boians into submission; their expedition afterwards was not

so quick by reason of the Peltence and so many thows which fell. Others affirm, That these Consuls crossed the *Po*, and in a set battle overcame the Infubrians that they slew three and twenty thousand and took five thousand. But I rather follow the authority of *Polybius* in these affairs.

In the mean time because the Consuls being in a far Country, and were hindered either by action, or by showers, so that they could not return to the general Assembly: *L. Cæcilius L. F. Esfi Capit.* *C. N. Metellus* was Created for Deftatour, who conferred for Master of the Horse *M. Fabius M. F. N. Buto*, by the Assembly, and *Flaminius C. F. N.* and *P. Furius Sp. F. M. N.* *Philus* were made Consuls. These as I think were the first Romans, who making an invasion into the Infubrians Country, crossed the *Po* with their Army, where the River *Padina* falleth into the *Po*.

This boldness cost them much labour and some blood; for in their paffes over the River, and while they pitched their Camps, the enemy fiercely falling in upon them slew a considerable number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily encreased by many Prodigies related, as that in the *Picenean Territories*, a River ran blood, that in *Etruria* the sky was seen to burn, that at *Ariminum* in the night time light appeared, and three Moons were seen at the same time; also a Vultur was said to sit many times together in the Forum at *Rome*. For though these things were not thought to concern the Romans at all: Concerning the other Prodiges, the Augurs being asked their advice, answered, that the Consuls were not rightly chosen, whereupon letters were sent after them to recal them back to the City. In the mean time the Consuls having made a Truce, had quitted the Infubrians Country, and afterward having raised their liaries in the Country of the *Cenomanni*, had again begun to infect the pouds lying under the Alps; whereupon the Infubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden enignes (out of the Temple of *Minerva*) which were called *immovable*, because it was not lawful to stir them but in the time of Extrem Necessity; and had now met the Romans with an Army of fifty thousand men, ready to enter battle. At this very time came the letters from the Senate. *C. Flaminius* either guessing at the substance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perswaded his Colleague, not to open them before battle.

Being resolved to fight, they consulted about their Mercenary Gaules, lest if they were neglected, they might have cause to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occasion of doing harm. For they feared their inconstancy, especially fighting against Neighbours and Kinmen. At last they thought fit to place them on the other side of the River, where the bridge being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to the greater praise of the *Tribunes* then the Consuls. For *C. Flaminius* had ordered the Battle had been forced to Retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the *Tribunes* having had experience by former battels, that all the Gallick Vaborne, there is no more to be feared from them; did divide the spears of the *Triarii* among the first ranks, that with them they might receive the first onset, and afterward flinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallick Swords were presently blunted, and made crooked at the first stroke upon the spears, and while they were busie in making them straight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the use of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallick Swords, that being made only to hack, some time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the strokes, which if it is denied, they are of no use: But the Romans thrusting with the point could do their business in a moment, and so pressing forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did securely thrust them into the face and breasts.

This reported that nine thousand Gauls were slain, and double the number taken. After the Victory, they spoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they thought fit to read the Senates letters, the contents whereof *Philus* was ready to obey: But *C. Flaminius* insisted, that this was the envy of some Senators, and not the fault of the *Aspices*, whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he said also, he would not return till either the War was finished, or his Magistracy expired: adding moreover, that he would cause the Romans to leave off the foolish observation of *Auguries*, and such superstitious fears. Nevertheless *P. Furius* persisting in his resolution, the Army of *Flaminius*, did him to tarry for some few days; but he did utterly abstain from all actions, *Flaminius* taking in the mean time some Cattles, as also a City of no small renown among those people. The spoils he gave to his souldiers, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he knew would arise between him and the Senate. This City indeed was so moved with indignation, that none went out according to the custom to meet the Consuls, and not only *Flaminius* but for his sake *Philus* also was denied the honour of Triumph. At length *Flaminius* by the peoples favour entered the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. Many rich spoils were to be seen in that Triumph: Great store of Armes, and chains of Gold, out of which *Flaminius* dedicated a Token of Victory to *Jupiter* in the Capitulum, inverting the Gallick Vow, who had promised out of the Romans spoils to dedicate a *Caput* to *Mars*. Afterward the other Consul triumphed over the Gauls, and the Ligurians on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. The Senates ill will being hereby rather intended then overcome, did not

not cease till they were both forced to disdain this their second Triumph : about the same time, by the like severity, two very eminent persons were deprived of their Priesthood, *M. Cornelius Cethegius*, because he had not aright laid open the Entrails, and *Q. Sulpicius*, because in the time of sacrifice his cap fell from his head. When these Confuls time was out, the Assembly was held by an Interrex, where *M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus* being made Conful, passed for his Collegue *C. Cornelius L. F. L. N. Scipio Calvus*. These Confuls denied Affiance to the Insubrians though they petitioned for it, *M. Marcellus* chidingly refusing all Conditions, out of his desire to Triumph. And the Gauls themselves seemed to meditate war rather than Peace, for having a new hired thirty thousand *Gesate*, and overcome the Alpes, they had gathered together a far greater number of Insubrians.

The war being thus begun, the Confuls set out in the beginning of the spring, and besieged *Acerra*, a Town between Po and the Alpes. It seeming difficult to drive the Romans from the siege, *Britomarus* with ten thousand *Gesate*, resolved to go forth, and waste the Regions about Po, which the Confuls understanding, so divided their Forces, that *Cn. Cornelius* might with part of the Army prosecute the siege, while *Marcellus* with two thirds of the Horle, and a choice company of light armed men, went about to succour and defend their Associates. Having chosen the lightest and nimblest, not above six hundred; with these and his Horle he marched day and night toward the Enemy, whom having overtaken at *Clasidium*, he presently encountered before he could refresh his men, not of his own good will, but forced by the fury of the *Gesate*, who being superior in number, and arrogating to themselves the mastery in horsemanship, hearing the Conful had brought but few foot along with him, left off their siege of *Clasidium*, and forthwith spurr'd on to crush him. *Marcellus*, having drawn out his battell at length, that he might not be encompassed by the multitude of his Enemies, marched forward to meet them. Their bodies were now not far asunder, when the Conful intending to begin the Charge, his Horle affrighted with the clamour and shouts of the Gauls, started aside and carried him back. The Conful fearing least this accident being esteemed an ill Omen, should damp the courage of his men, as his horle wheeled about he adored the Sun, as if he had turned about his Horle for the same purpose, according to the ancient custom, men using to turn themselves about when they worshipped the Gods. 'Tis reported, that before the first onset, he vowed to *Jupiter Feretrius* the spoils of the Enemies Armes; And presently espousing *Britomarus* in the head of his Troop, his armour glittering with Gold and Silver, and other colours, he judged that to be the Armes which he had vowed. The King also, having seen the Roman General, advanced far before his men, and by voice and gesture challenged him to Combat; *M. Marcellus* accepted, and immediately having run him through the breast-plate, wounded him with the spear, and with the force of his horles Carreer tumbling him to the ground, reiterating his strokes he flew him in the place, whereupon leaping off his horle, and holding the armes in his hands, he lift up his eyes to heaven, saying, *Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the deeds of Valiant Commanders in battell! Behold, I the third Roman, as thy self saist Witness, a General having slain a General of the Enemies, doe consecrate the Royal spoils unto thee: Doe thou suffer our affaires prosperously to succeed even to the issue of the wars.* *Marcellus* taking horle again, they entered battell with all might and main, the Romans fighting most courageously; the Conful's boldness and good Fortune having filled them no less with Valour for the Encounter, then with hopes of Victory. Wherefore neither the Gallick horle nor yet the Foot which came to their relief could endure the brunt; so that a few men, which is rarely seen, carried away the Victory from a numerous Army. The spoils being gathered up, the Conful returned to his Collegue, who having taken *Acerra* where he found great store of Corne, being now about *Mediolanum*, had much ado to defend himself from the Enemy, for while he was busie in the siege of their strongest and most populous City, the Metropolis of Insubria, they had as it were round besieged him with great multitudes. But *Marcellus* his approach quickly altered the Scene. For the *Gesate* being informed of their Kings death, went away, and *Mediolanum* being by them forsaken, was not able to defend it self. So that many of the Insubrian forces being slain, *Mediolanum*, and after that *Comum* taken, the other Cities together with the whole Nation submitted themselves to the Romans, being fined in a summe of money, and part of their grounds, having otherwise good Conditions of Peace. *M. Marcellus* being returned home, made a most illustrious triumph over the Insubrian Gauls, and the Germans on the Calends of March. This is the first mention of the Germans in the Roman History, who being hired, came from the Nations beyond the Rhene, under the conduct of *Virdomarus* their General. These and the Gallick Captives, men of vast stature of body, with other rich spoils were led before the Triumphant Chariot. The Conful followed, with the rarest spectacle, carrying the armes of the slain General to *Jupiter Feretrius*; after him marched his souldiers harnessed with glittering Armes, making shouts, and Military Acclamations. In this order being come to the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, *M. Marcellus* descending from his Chariot, dedicated his Royal spoils to *Jupiter*, being the third after *Romulus* and *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who had done so, and after him no man ever did the like. The people of Rome beheld these Armes with the greater pleasure, in that the Enemies were said to have vowed the Roman Armes to *Vulcan*. So great was the Joy of this Victory, that the Romans out of the spoils, sent a Golden Cup to *Apollo of Delphos*, and of the Gallick Armes to their Associate Cities round about

Frontinus
Strabon 4.
Plutarch

Orsius 4.13.
Plutarch

Val. Maximus
3.2.5.
Zonaras
Polyb. 5.34.
Plutarch
Polyb.
Orsius 4.13.
Plutarch

Eutropius 8. 3.
Zonaras
Orsius
Zonaras
Livie. Epit. 10.
Capit. Mar.

Triphert. 4. 10.
Plutarch. Mar.
c. 10.
Virg. AEn.
6. 85.
Florus 2.4.5
Plutarch
Livie 1.10.9
Plutarch

Florus
Plut. Marc. 6.1

about To *Hiero King of Syracuse*, besides some of the spoils, they sent the price of that Corn he had accommodated them with during the Gallick War. After this a new enemy arose, the Insubrians who infested the Seas with Piracy, and had taken some of the Roman Confuls. Against these both the Confuls were sent, *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Minucius Rufus*, who brought into subjection many people either by force or composition. Nevertheless I do not find that these Confuls Triumphed; perhaps because their Victory cost too much Roman blood. This year arose a Starre in Spain destructive to many Cities and Nations; to wit, *Hannibal* the successor of *Hadrabal*, of whose beginnings and proceedings ye will shortly read more from a greater Pen.

In the mean time the new Confuls *L. Veturius*, and *C. Lutatius* marched to the Alpes with their Army, but making more use of Treaties then Armes, they joyed many of those people with their own good liking to the Roman Societie. At this time the Illyrian War was renew'd, by Demetrius Pharius his fault, against whom many complaints were made, in as much as under pretence of the Roman friendship, he had vexed and afflicted the neighbour Cities according to his will, and having the Romans invetted with power, because he had revolted from *Tenta*, self like a King, and grew very heavy and intolerable both to the people of the Countrey, and the people of Illyricum, the friends and associates of the Romans, and moreover contrary to the league, he sailed beyond *Lissus* with fifty Armed Vessel, to the Ilands *Cyclades*, some of them he plundered, from others he exacted money, and had now drawn into his party, as many Illyrians as since the late War bore a grudge to the Romans, and forced the *Aristantes* to his side. Neither did he any whit fear the Romans, who being involved in a Gallick War, and fearing a *Panick* one, he thought had neither strength nor Liefure enough to revenge the Injuries of their associates. And he promised himself any favour from *Philip Kings of Macedon*, whom he had assisted in the *Clementian* War, being General of the Illyrick Auxiliaries: A War was therefore decreed against him, and preparations made. In the mean time *L. Aemilius* and *C. Flaminius* being Censours made the three and fourcieth Lustration, there were numbered two hundred and seventy thousand, two hundred and thirty Citizens. A promiscuous multitude of Libertines being dispersed amongst the Tribes, had hindered the great confusion; in imitation therefore of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the Censours reduced them into four Tribes, the *Equiline*, *Pelatinæ*, *Suburanæ*, and the *Colline*. *C. Flaminius* in the same Countourship fenced in the high way to *Ariminum*, and built a shew-place, both called by his name, The *Flaminian* shew place, and the *Flaminian* way. The same Centours committed *Mutilis* of the Dyers trade, *Chicus Flamini* to the judgment of the people; not thinking it to be beneath the dignity of so high a Magistracy to enquire into petit things. About the same time the Illyrian rebellion caused the Senate to give the charge of that province to *M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator*, and *M. Aemilius M. F. Paulus* the Confuls. *Demetrius* on the other side, was not slack in preparing himself for the War, having sent a strong Garrison to *Dimalus*, and providing all necessaries for the sustaining of a long siege. In some places he gave order for the slaughter of the prime men, whose fidelity he mistrusted, and committed the Government to his own creatures. Out of the whole Kingdome he gathered a choice strength of six thousand men, whom he kept with himself in Garrison at *Pharus*.

In the mean time *L. Paulus* the Conful setting forth in the beginning of the spring, sailed over into Illyricum, and understanding that the enemy put great hopes in the strength of *Damalus*, which they thought impregnable; he rightly judged that it would strike much terror into them, in case he should make himself Master of it: Assaulting it therefore with very much courage and cheerfulness, he took it by storm in seven dayes time. Neither was the Conful deceived in his project, for the news hereof being spread into the neighbour Regions, messengers came flocking from every City, offering up themselves, and all their goods into the hands of the Romans. The Conful having received them into protection, sailed to the Iland of *Pharus*, where *Demetrius* kept his Court. But understanding that it was well manned with a Garrison of stout Souldiers, furnished with provision of all sorts; strong, both by situation, and also with artificial works, and guarded with the presence of the Tyrant himself; the Conful unwilling to begin a tedious siege, contrived a stratagem of great use to the speedy effecting of Victory.

For sending over the greater part of his Army in the night time, with order to cover themselves in woody Tracts; Himself appears in open day with twenty ships making towards the Haven, whereby he drew out the *Pharians*, among whom was *Demetrius* himself, to hinder his landing. Upon the first engagement it hapned, as is usual, that many more by degrees running to the succour of their friends, the City was left almost naked of Souldiers. In the mean time those Romans who had landed in the night time, taking their journey through covert places, possessed an hill even in the midst between the City and the Haven, thereby rendering it impossible for those who were come out of the Town to return safe Back.

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Demetrius

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Zonaras

Livie Epit. 20.

Zonaras

Appian 11th.

Dio apud Val.

Jussinus 1.

Polyb. 3. 16.

Polyb. 4. 16.

Appian

Polyb. 3. 16.

Livie 23. 12. 5.

Livie 1. 11. 20.

Livie 9. 46. 14.

Livie Epit.

Cassiodorus

J. 1. 1. 1.

Pliny 3. 5. 17.

Pliny 3. 18.

Polyb. 3. 18.

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Demetrius observing what was done, took as good Counsel as in such a dangerous case could be, for declining the present skirmish, and calling his souldiers together, *Valiant men*, saith he, it appears that our courage is formidable to the enemy, for, betaking themselves to stratagems, they declare little trust in their force of arms. They have made use of the night season to creep into this Island, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they shall possess no more, then what they can cover with their bodys having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of *Pharos*, and young men of *Illyricum*, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and make the Romans know, 'twas neither their valour nor our cowardize, which gave them occasion once to Triumph at *Rome* over the *Illyrians*. It was not *Enlius* or *Posthumus* with all their Counsel and strength, but *Tenza* which conquered *Illyrium* by her rashness and impotence of affections. And, to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been so easie, but that *Tenza* chose to have me rather her enemy then her Protector. But because I firmly trust to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I shall say no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye see the necessity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your selves, and your Cite unless by your valour ye repel it. Let us on then with happy fortune charge these men who are newly crept out of their hiding places: We shall do well enough with those who are landing: if we once overcome these, the others will flee to their ships in greater haste then now they leave them.

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge those who were possessed of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themselves sustained his charge, till they, who in the meane time had landed, coming upon his Reare utterly routed his whole body with great slaughter. Some few by flight escaped to the Town, others by blind paths slipped away. *Demetrius* who in certain by-places had boates ready prepared for all adventures getting aboard one of them fled to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, by whom being entertained, he did by flattery, and Tyrannical advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likewise was authour unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this flight *Pharos* was taken, and by the Consul's Command plunder'd and demolished. The *Illyrian* affaires being afterward settled to his own liking, the Consul now at the end of Summer returned to *Rome* to obtaine his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewise chosen to follow *Polibius*, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finishing this War to both the Consuls, who having summoned *Demetrius* to appeare before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Island of *Issa* by the same arts as I have related, and then taking *Pharos* by Treachery expelled him out of the Dominions. Concerning whose end likewise they differ from *Polibius*, who lived neerer these times and these places, but those things as being after this time I shall passe by. But the Romans, for King *Pinnes* his sake, whose years declar'd him innocent of these designs, did spare the *Illyrians*, and renewed the league with him, with addition of some Articles. *L. Aemilius* made a most glorious Triumph over these people, and I find also that *M. Livius* Triumphed for this War, but most writers mention it not; 'tis likely, because the performances of *L. Paulus*, being the more eminent, did obscure the glory of his Colleague.

More notable a while after was the Judgment and condemnation of the same *M. Livius*. He and *L. Paulus* being out of Envy accused, That they had not equally distributed the spoils among the souldiers, but had converted many things to other uses, did undergoe the sentence of the people. *L. Paulus* hardly escaped, *M. Livius* was condemned by all the Tribes except only the *Mæcian*. Which disgrace and indignity he took so heavily, that departing the Cite, he avoyded all meetings, till the Commonwealth's occasions recalled him to his former course of life. But these things hapened in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. But in the same year when *M. Livius* and *Paulus* were Consuls, one *Archagathus* the son of *Lysanias* came out of *Peloponnesus* to *Rome*, who professing Physick was made free of the Cite, endowed with all the privileges of a Roman, and had a shop bought for him at the Publick charge in the *Acilian* street. A thing not so much worthy taking notice of, but that then first was the name of the Medicinal faculty heard of and known at *Rome*; they having to this time preserved their healths by temperance and remedies not bought. In the same Consul time Colonies were deduced to *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the *Gallie* Territories, Being none of the least causes of anger which moved the Boians and Insurbrians to incline to *Hamibal*, who, now assaulting *Saguntum* with all might, did by the rulnes thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But these and other commotions, which in great number, and with no lesse Terror and violence presently assailed the Romans, will the better be understood by relating foregoing Circumstances.



A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

<i>Ælius</i>	<i>Eutropius</i>	<i>Pighius</i>
<i>Agellius</i>	<i>Fasti Capitolini</i>	<i>L. Piso</i>
<i>Amianus Marcellinus</i>	<i>Fazellus</i>	<i>Plinius</i>
<i>L. Ampelius</i>	<i>Festus</i>	<i>Plutarchus</i>
<i>Appianus & ejus Excerpta à Fulvio Ursino & Henrico Valejo edita</i>	<i>Florus</i>	<i>Polybius & ejus Excerpta</i>
<i>Aristoteles</i>	<i>Gotefridus Viterbiensis</i>	<i>Pomponius Mela</i>
<i>Athenæus</i>	<i>Herodotus</i>	<i>Ptolemeus</i>
<i>Autor de Viris Illustribus</i>	<i>Hieronymus</i>	<i>Quintiliannus</i>
<i>Augustinus</i>	<i>Horatius</i>	<i>Sextus Rufus</i>
<i>Berneggerius</i>	<i>Joannes Antiochenus</i>	<i>Sallustius</i>
<i>Bongarsius</i>	<i>Joannes Sarisburiensis</i>	<i>Seneca</i>
<i>Capitolina Marmora</i>	<i>Julius Higgins</i>	<i>Servius</i>
<i>Cassiodorus</i>	<i>Julius obsequens</i>	<i>Sigonius</i>
<i>Cata</i>	<i>Jus Justinianum</i>	<i>Silius</i>
<i>Censorinus</i>	<i>Justinus</i>	<i>Simnius Capito</i>
<i>Cicero</i>	<i>Livius & ejus Epitome</i>	<i>Solinus</i>
<i>Claudians</i>	<i>Lucanus</i>	<i>Strabo</i>
<i>Cluverius</i>	<i>Lycus</i>	<i>Suetonius</i>
<i>Cornelius Nepos</i>	<i>Macrobius</i>	<i>Suida</i>
<i>Curtius</i>	<i>Marianus Scotus</i>	<i>Ser. Sulpicius</i>
<i>Dio & ejus Excerpta</i>	<i>Martianus Capella</i>	<i>Tabula Vetere</i>
<i>Diodori Excerpta</i>	<i>Matthiæus</i>	<i>Tubero</i>
<i>Dionysii Excerpta</i>	<i>Olausonius avayepsi</i>	<i>Tuditanus</i>
<i>Dionysius Periegetes</i>	<i>Orosius</i>	<i>Valerius Antias</i>
<i>Ennius</i>	<i>Otto Frisingensis</i>	<i>Valerius Maximus</i>
<i>Etymologici Autor</i>	<i>Ovidius</i>	<i>Varro</i>
<i>Eusebius</i>	<i>Paanius</i>	<i>Vegetius</i>
<i>Eusebathus</i>	<i>Pavinius</i>	<i>Velleius</i>
	<i>Paulus Diaconus</i>	<i>Virgilius</i>
	<i>Pausanias</i>	<i>Zonaras</i>

FINIS.